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WILLIAM V. KELLEY, D.D., EDITOR.

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CONTENTS.

PAGE

I. The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit. *Bishop S. M. Merrill, LL.D., Chicago, Ill.* 513

II. Christianity and Mohammedanism in Arabia, Egypt, and Northern Africa. *Rev. B. F. Kidder, Ph.D., New Haven, Conn.* . . 528

III. Did Paul Preach on Mars' Hill? *Professor Richard Parsons, M.A., Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, O.* 548

IV. The Relations of Knowledge and Feeling in Spirituality. *Rev. F. W. Crowder, Ph.D., Rockville Center, N. Y.* 552

V. Revived Aryanism in Connection with the Modern Theistic Movement in India. *Rev. J. W. Brooks, Ph.D., Chicago, Ill.* . . 559

VI. Paul and Ananias Before the Sanhedrin at Jerusalem. *S. L. Beaman, S.T.D., Newark, N. J.* 570

VII. Abraham Coles, the Physician-Poet. *A. H. Tuttle, D.D., Newark, N. J.* 580

VIII. Bishop Haygood as a Philosopher and Reformer. *H. M. Du Bose, D.D., Tyler, Tex.* 587

IX. New England Liberal Theology. *Rev. E. T. Curnick, M.A., Lowell, Mass.* 599

X. A Political Reform. *Hon. H. L. Sibley, Marietta, O.* 610

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS:

Notes and Discussions 617

Our Schools of Theology, 618; Four Years Ago—A Remembrance, 620; The Tasks of Methodism, 625; Pure Religious Evolution, 629.

The Arena 633

The Value of Land, 633; "Is Dr. Wheeler Right?" 633; An Answer to the Question, 635; The Carbon Compound, 636; Dr. McCreary on Sociology, 637.

The Itinerants' Club 639

The Minister's Ideals, 639; Obligations of the Church to Educational Institutions, 640; The Revised Text in 1 Tim. iii, 16, 642.

Archæology and Biblical Research 644

Baker's Polychrome Old Testament, 644; Ecclesiasticus and Philo, 646.

Missionary Review 648

The "Parliament of Religions as Seen on Foreign Mission Fields, 648; Affairs in Formosa, 649; The Bearing of Confucianism on Civilization, 651.

Religion Outlook 652

Summary of the Reviews and Magazines 660

New Notices 664

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CONTENTS.

PAGE

THE DOCTRINE OF THE HOLY SPIRIT..... 513
Bishop S. M. MERRILL, LL.D., Chicago, Ill.

CHRISTIANITY AND MOHAMMEDANISM IN ARABIA, EGYPT, AND NORTHERN AFRICA..... 528
Rev. B. F. KIDDER, Ph.D., New Haven, Conn.

DID PAUL PREACH ON MARS' HILL?..... 546
Professor RICHARD PARSONS, M.A., Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, O.

THE RELATIONS OF KNOWLEDGE AND FEELING IN SPIRITUALITY 552
Rev. F. W. CROWDER, Ph.D., Rockville Center, N. Y.

REVIVED ARYANISM IN CONNECTION WITH THE MODERN THEISTIC MOVEMENT IN INDIA..... 559
Rev. J. W. BROOKS, Ph.D., Chicago, Ill.

PAUL AND ANANIAS BEFORE THE SANHEDRIN AT JERUSALEM. 570
S. L. BOWMAN, S.T.D., Newark, N. J.

ABRAHAM COLES, THE PHYSICIAN-POET..... 580
A. H. TUTTLE, D.D., Newark, N. J.

BISHOP HAYGOOD AS A PHILOSOPHER AND REFORMER..... 587
H. M. DU BOSE, D.D., Tyler, Tex.

NEW ENGLAND LIBERAL THEOLOGY..... 599
Rev. E. T. CURNICK, M.A., Lowell, Mass.

A POLITICAL REFORM..... 610
Hon. H. L. SIBLEY, Marietta, O.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS:

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS..... 617
Our Schools of Theology, 618; Four Years Ago—A Remembrance, 620; The Tasks of Methodism, 625; Pure Religious Evolution, 629.

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The Value of Land, 633; "Is Dr. Wheeler Right?" 633; An Answer to the Question, 635; The Carbon Compound, 636; Dr. McCreary on Sociology, 637.

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ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH..... 644
Haupt's Polychrome Old Testament, 644; Ecclesiasticus and Philo, 646.

MISSIONARY REVIEW..... 648
The Parliament of Religions as seen on Foreign Mission Fields, 648; Affairs in Formosa, 650; The Bearing of Confucianism on Civilization, 651.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK..... 652

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES..... 660

BOOK NOTICES..... 664
Hopkins's The Religions of India, 664; Wildeboer's The Origin of the Canon of the Old Testament, 666; Gordon's How Christ Came to Church, 667; Huddilston's Essentials of New Testament Greek, 668; Dawson's Eden Lost and Won, 669; Berdoe's Browning and the Christian Faith, 670; Morse's Life and Letters of Oliver Wendell Holmes, 672; Davis's Three Gringos in Venezuela and Central America, 676; MISCELLANEOUS, 677.

METHODIST REVIEW.

JULY, 1896.

ART. I.—THE DOCTRINE OF THE HOLY SPIRIT.

THE Scriptures, as a whole, are a magazine of facts, incidents, metaphors, symbols, and implications, out of which doctrines must be formulated, covering the wide field of creation, providence, sin, redemption, immortality, and eternal destinies. From this storehouse of precious things we gather the doctrine of the Holy Spirit; but we are indebted especially to the discourses of our Lord, and to the record of the planting of the Church, for the foundation facts and guiding principles by which we are to be led to right conclusions in this particular study. In these are statements which stand out with the prominence of mountain peaks, pointing us to high and solid ground where we may stand with firm footing and look with serene confidence upon the open vista of divine communion with the human soul.

Underlying this doctrine is the basal fact that there is a Holy Spirit. Our first apprehension of this fact comes to us, not by direct statement, but like our first recognition of the being of God, by assumption in the work of creation: "And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters." In that mysterious era of unrevealed duration known as "the beginning," after the substances of which the universe is composed had been spoken into existence by the fiat of Omnipotence, the divine energy which molded them into form and energized them with intrinsic and vital forces was the Spirit of God. From the inner recesses of the eternal Godhead, he proceeded forth to

the work of garnishing the heavens and filling the earth with life and gladness.

The ordinary conception of the Holy Spirit as a divine personality has its vindication in the distinctness of his office in creation. It is also justified to us by a rational view of his place and agency in redemption. His work in the soul in recovering it from sin is as clearly personal and divine as is his work in creation; and since our interest in the study arises more from the latter than from any other feature we shall endeavor to grasp the work attributable to the Spirit in renewing the sinner in righteousness, and gather therefrom the doctrine of the Spirit in its most important relations. In order to accuracy we must be somewhat careful of definitions and try to give exact expression to the reasons governing our belief, although it is aside from the purpose of this writing to state the grounds of our faith in the divinity and personality of the Holy Spirit, involving the doctrine of the Trinity, as distinct from that conception of the unity of God which is common to Unitarians and deists.

The work of salvation comprehends all the processes of canceling guilt, removing condemnation, breaking the reigning power of sin, imparting life to the spiritually dead, washing away moral uncleanness, and establishing the heart and life in righteousness and true holiness. The immanence of the Spirit of God, and his activity in all these processes which take place within the soul, are the central facts around which must be grouped the incidents and implications of the Scriptures in making up the doctrine of our study.

That God in some way touches the human soul and affects it, impressing upon it somewhat that awakens desires, impulses, inclinations, and affections, giving it a character and capabilities not otherwise possible to it, is a truth which pervades revelation and distinguishes the Gospel from all other schemes of religion. There must be, therefore, in the nature of man, some quality or aptness, or some susceptibility to divine influence, which adapts him to this invisible contact, and which in itself marks the soul as designed for this high communion and prophesies its exalted destiny. Without this assumed capacity for immediate intercourse with Deity it would be vain for us to look for testimonies to the manifestation of God to

man, or for any data for building or interpreting the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. A mere hypothesis about the Spirit as an entity, or as an agent, or as a personality, with conjectures touching the filial or processional relations of the persons in the Godhead, is not such a doctrine as is demanded by the moral exigencies of the race. A doctrine is more than an hypothesis, more than a theory, more than a conjecture or a speculation; it is formulated truth, with traceable sources, with rational attestations, and with apprehensible purpose. It is truth declared, teachable and taught, which, when received, increases the store of knowledge, shapes the activities of the faculties, dominates the sensibilities, regulates the motives, tones up the volitions, and nourishes the life with which the soul is endowed. It is higher and nobler than dogma, because it is sustained by evidences which commend it beyond the external authority requiring its propagation. He who speaks lightly of doctrines, and especially of those relating to God's gracious power in dealing with souls and in preparing destinies, speaks ignorantly, or speaks from the exuberance of his vanity.

God is invisible and intangible. When he comes forth from the immensity of his being, and from the hidings of his personality, to reveal himself to intelligent creatures, he always appears within the sphere of finite contemplation in the person of the only begotten Son, "who is the image of the invisible God," or else in the activity and life-giving energy of the Holy Spirit. These are the personal manifestations of his presence, the personal agents appearing in all his works, in all his relationships, and in all his revelations of himself in creation and in redemption, and especially in the applications of his grace to the salvation of sinful men. These personal agents are divine, each of one substance, power, and glory with the Father, and each in his sphere revealing God and doing the work of God. As in the nature of God there is neither mixture nor confusion because of the distinction of persons or because of the manifestations of personality in the outgoings of the Deity in the Son and in the Holy Spirit, so in the official work of these divine persons, in the scheme of human recovery, there are distinctness and departmental separateness, without confusion or impingement, and yet with complete and constant cooperation. In other words, the Son of God has his official sphere of personal activity,

within which the Holy Spirit has neither place nor official recognition ; and the same is true of the Holy Spirit. He also has an official sphere within which he works alone, so to speak ; works the work of God, works as God, and works with ceaseless regard to the one supreme will, to the unbending purpose of love, and to the invincible nature of responsible man.

Can these official spheres be ascertained ? Can we trace the lines which separate these departments of official activity ? Are there not at least some pointers which indicate their boundaries ? Think it not presumptuous to make the inquiry. If we fail in this, or think it rash to undertake it, we are doomed to abide in such a state of ignorance that clear conceptions of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit will be impossible. What then is the office of the Holy Spirit, as distinguished from the office of Jesus Christ ? Where is the sphere of his operations, and what his limitations ? If we can outline these with an approximation to accuracy we shall gain a point of view that will be helpful in surveying the whole field of moral and spiritual impressions.

In the first place, let it be noted that there are two distinct needs to be met in the case of every sinner. A man condemned as a criminal at the bar of justice, in order to become a good citizen and enjoy his freedom, must be released from the legal penalties he has incurred, and then he must take on new qualities of character, becoming honest and upright. So the sinner's relation to the divine law must be adjusted, and his inner self must be transformed. These two needs are met in the scheme of redemption, one by each of the divine persons engaged in the undertaking. Whatever is legal in the scheme belongs to the official work of the Messiah, the Son of God. He adjusts the relations of mankind to the law of God. He magnifies the law, maintains its honor, and redeems from its curse. He was made under the law, that he might redeem them who were under the law. Forensic terms represent his distinctive work. He redeems, propitiates, reconciles, justifies ; and such terms also describe his offices as mediator, advocate, intercessor, and judge. This legal work is his alone. In all the wide range of his kingly authority the work of the Spirit is not found. The Son of man has power on earth to forgive sin, because he himself became the propitiation for sin and met the

legal demand, so that forgiveness to the penitent is as consistent with law as it is in itself an act of grace. On the other hand, the office of the Holy Spirit is to meet the other need. All that is moral, or that relates to the inner state of the man, requiring the adjustment of personal qualities to fit the soul for its purchased legal privileges, belongs to the department or sphere in which the Holy Spirit is supreme. He only can reconstruct the moral nature and make it a temple of the living God. In the order of thought the official work of Christ is antecedent and procurative, while that of the Holy Spirit is subsequent and resultant. The latter is impossible without the former, while the former is incomplete and fruitless without the latter. Both are requisite to fill the measure of the divine love and wisdom in the salvation of sinners.

Can we trace signs of this distinction of official work in the earlier revelations? It has been said that every essential doctrine of the New Testament was in some way foreshadowed in the Old Testament. Whether this is an extreme statement or not we shall not contend, but it is evident that in the Levitical services under the Mosaic ritual there were typical adumbrations of some distinction of the kind we are considering. The proper classification of all the typical ceremonials which had respect to deliverance and purification from sin is into blood sacrifices and water ablutions. The blood redeemed and the water purified. The sin offering of the lamb or the bullock was indispensable, but it was unavailing unless followed by the required washing with water. The sin offering typified the redeeming act of the Son of God as "the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world" in the stipulation of the everlasting covenant; and the washing with water typified the purification from sin which is wrought within the soul by the agency of the Holy Spirit. All religious uses of water under the old covenant pointed to this result. The sprinkling of the water of purification prefigured the washing of regeneration and the renewing of the Holy Ghost. The blood and the water together indicated the redemption complete. The fountain opened to the house of David was "for sin and for uncleanness"—for "sin," the transgression of the law; and for "uncleanness," the moral defilement to be washed away by the purifying power of the Holy Spirit. These two aspects of the work of

salvation show the ground of the distinction between the legal and moral in the process, and prove that each arises from the actual relation and condition of the sinner. The distinction is not fictitious, existing only in the imagination, but is necessary to the understanding of the needs of the soul and to an appreciation of the wonderful provisions of grace to meet its emergencies.

As has been already anticipated, we find the sphere of the Spirit's work in the moral nature of man, as affected by sin, and not in the legal relation the sinner sustains to the divine government, either before or after his conversion. It is therefore impossible to develop the doctrine of the Holy Spirit without ascertaining, as nearly as possible, what there is in the soul that renders it susceptible to divine influence. What is there in man that opens to spiritual touches from God? The best psychology at command is defective. We must therefore proceed tentatively, and yet there is firm footing in reach, so far as necessity compels us to go into the study of the soul's attributes with our present object in view. A perfect analysis of the associated faculties which inhere within the immaterial entity we call the soul is neither necessary nor possible; yet this imperfection does not hinder a proximately accurate classification of the powers we do apprehend, with an approach to certainty adequate to the purposes of our inquiry. While the soul is an assemblage of different powers or capabilities, each sufficiently distinct to be identified in its special character and work, and to be differentiated from all others, there is no such separateness to any of them as to require the belief that the soul is compounded or in any sense resultant from the union of different or divisible organs. It is rather a simple essence, a unit, an indivisible entity that cannot be distributed into parts, some of which may be supposed to be actively employed, while others are at rest. This entity acts as a whole, in its unity, or it does not act at all. What we call faculties are not branches or separable parts, but simply powers or activities employed always under the guidance of the complete personality. They are attributes or capacities for the pursuit of different ends, working under dissimilar conditions and motives. The will is the soul itself exercising its volitional power. So with all the faculties. The memory is the soul's capacity for retaining im-

pressions, ideas, or the knowledge of facts previously acquired; the understanding is the soul apprehending material of knowledge; the reason is the soul tracing and discriminating the relations of things; and the imagination is the soul busying itself with pure intellections. All these, and possibly others, are the natural faculties—powers without which the functions of rational soul-life would be impossible; and yet we can conceive of each and all of them as existing in completeness without any leaning or bent to sin, or without any positive preference for the good. Not that anyone so exists, as a concrete fact, with all his natural faculties in full play, without bias to good or evil; but such a thing is possible to our conceptions, so that we may imagine this utter destitution of predisposition; that is, we may think of an individual endowed with all the essential faculties of the soul and yet devoid of moral character. He may have mind, will, memory, and reason, and yet have no inclination for or against moral rectitude. If these natural faculties were all the powers of the soul there might be a soul without the elements of moral character. But these are not all the powers of the soul. There is another class of powers in everyone, which, if not faculties, are so related to the faculties as to be inseparable from them. They are the powers which give the soul its character for goodness or badness. They form a sort of vestment to the soul, giving to it inclinations, impulses, biases, affinities, and aversions; and in these are found also the spiritual sensibilities or the capacity for impressions. As are these powers, so is the man in all moral characteristics.

Here, then, we may assume that the soul itself, with its natural faculties, is the person, the conscious self, the substratum of being; but the personality is not complete without this second class of powers which we distinguish from the natural faculties, and which determine the moral quality of the soul by giving bent or inclination to all its faculties. These are the avenues through which sin enters; these are the forces which dominate the soul to the extent that it is not governed by pure reason; and these are the powers which open to the touch of all spiritual influences. Here is the seat of depravity, the carnal or fleshly mind, "the body of the sins of the flesh," designated "the old man" in the words of the apostle; for

here is the evil bent of nature which affiliates the man with all that is sensual and corrupting.

This department of the immaterial nature is called in the Scriptures both the "heart" and the "spirit," when specifically mentioned as distinct from the soul. When "soul" and "spirit" are conjoined, so that each must have its specific meaning, the "soul" expresses all the natural faculties, and the "spirit" those that are moral. The "spirit" is not the "soul," but it is the cluster of its moral qualities; it is to the soul what warmth is to the sunbeam, or what fragrance is to the flower, or what the temper is to the steel. It is of the soul, and yet it is not the essence of being. It is a changeable quality—something that may be transformed, renewed, put on or put off, without affecting the identity of the soul. In scriptural usage it is also called the "heart." The words "heart" and "spirit" are used interchangeably in the Old and New Testaments, so as to demonstrate the identity of their significance. We never speak of the soul as good or bad, as right or wrong, but we do of both "heart" and "spirit." Indeed, all moral qualities, good and bad, are ascribed to these. When the psalmist prayed, "Create in me a clean heart, O God; and renew a right spirit within me," he sought one blessing, and not two, using repetition for intensity, as was common in ancient usage. Thus also the prophet Ezekiel wrote: "A new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you: and I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and I will give you a heart of flesh." The "heart" and the "spirit" are the subjects of that transformation which makes the man a "new creation"—a change wrought by the Holy Spirit—while the soul retains not only its identity but all its natural faculties, with all their aptitudes and acquisitions. When converted the man, in respect of "heart" and "spirit," like King Saul before his coronation, is "turned into another man;" but he loses nothing of his proper personality in the change. In the essence of his being, in the essential attributes of his spiritual nature—in mind, will, reason, and judgment—he remains himself alone; so that the work of the Holy Spirit is in the "heart," in the "spirit," or in the moral qualities of the soul which give character to the man, making him what he is for goodness or badness.

Some one may ask, "Is not this restricting the sphere of the Holy Spirit's work to narrow limits?" It does not restrict it below the limit imposed by the nature of the case. The Spirit works for the eradication of sin, and works where sin reigns; and he works for the implantation of new qualities and for building up the new life imparted, so that his whole sphere is where dwell the elements of moral character. Unless the essential being of the man is invaded, and the invincible basis of his moral freedom is subjected to extrinsic forces, involving his accountability, this limitation of the divine working within him must be a sacred reality. It is simply what exists, what is revealed in the Scriptures, and what everyone may read distinctly in the disclosures of his own consciousness, as well as gather from any true philosophy of his own being.

The sphere of the Spirit's work thus ascertained is not a narrow one when viewed with any just regard to the vastness of the empire within, or with a rational conception of the resultant possibilities. It is not a little thing to touch and transform a human heart, through which the whole man is swayed. While the first contact of the Holy Spirit is with the spirit of man, touching the sensibilities, the thrill of that contact vibrates throughout the realm of moral consciousness and sensation. It is as when God said, "Let there be light: and there was light." The moving of the Spirit of God upon the assemblage of susceptible powers, metaphorically called the heart, is like the brooding of that same Spirit over the disorder of the chaotic earth at the dawn of creation, when the morning stars in concert sang their jubilant anthem of praise and the sons of God in celestial spheres shouted their joyous greeting to the newborn world. The regenerated soul becomes "a habitation of God through the Spirit." The kingdom of God set up within drives out alien forces till every power yields to the sway of righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost—a dominion wider than the continents of earth.

Human philosophy stands appalled at the greatness of this work. Its tiny fingers touch nothing like it. Its sensuous wisdom is dumb before it. Science falters and is silent when God's Spirit renews a soul. The greatest stretches of its power cannot reach an agency capable of such an achieve-

ment. The highest human learning can find nothing beyond the subjective energies of the man for his uplifting and reconstruction. These are not disregarded but subordinated in the operations of the Holy Spirit. He works in harmony with every natural power. Whatever intrinsic capability the soul possesses is energized, directed, and utilized by the Spirit in the processes of salvation. While grace is supernatural in its source it comes into harmonious relations with the natural order of working out results in the spiritual kingdom, supplementing, inciting, and vitalizing the inherent forces, so that the resultant development of "newness of life" is attributable reciprocally to the Holy Spirit and to the active agency of the human will. It is God working within and man working out his own salvation.

The true doctrine of the Holy Spirit is synergistic, and not monergistic. There is found in it the presence of two distinct agencies, each retaining its essential character and working in its appropriate sphere, and yet blending and working together as with a single aim to a single end. The Spirit of God reinforces the spirit of man. This is the supernaturalism of the Gospel. It is not a supernaturalism which overrides the human will with arbitrary compulsion or sets at naught the unbending laws of the moral universe, but a supernaturalism which, without departing from the order of the higher realm, comes into the sphere of humanity with the light and quickening power which the lapsed condition of man renders indispensable to the restoration of the lost image of God. There was a supernaturalism of miracles that, at the beginning of the dispensation of the Spirit, had a most important mission, which was to attract attention, to arouse inquiry, and to authenticate messengers and messages from God; but that supernaturalism could not be incorporated into a system of religion for permanent continuance, because the constant recurrence of miracles would destroy their purpose as extraordinary attestations. In an important sense not to be disparaged miraculous manifestations enter into our faith and support it. The historical records reporting them command our assent. The incarnation and the mighty works of the Son of God stand out before the world as the foundation of our faith, and with the historical verity of these extraordinary fact-

Christian institutions must stand or fall. This extraordinary supernaturalism is an integral part of Christianity, but it has fulfilled its mission, so that we no longer look for miracles under the Gospel ministry. They are not needed. The supernaturalism which the doctrine of the Holy Spirit warrants is less tangible to the senses, but not less real nor less satisfying to the heart when clearly apprehended. It attests the verity of our faith with convincing power equal to that of miracles. "He that believeth on the Son of God hath the witness in himself." Through the Holy Spirit the Gospel evinces its own divinity, and, by producing in believers the fruits of righteousness, commends itself to "every man's conscience in the sight of God."

The doctrine of the Holy Spirit presents God as working in the human soul for its recovery from sin. This is its first and last thought. Through all the dispensations this essential work has been going on. Since no other power could ever renew the heart or fit the sinner for communion with God, this power must have been available from the time the first sinner needed salvation. God working in men is not a new thing in human history, nor a something peculiar to the Gospel dispensation. Because it is essential some manifestation of it must be found in every age and among all the peoples and generations out of which have been gathered jewels to deck the Redeemer's crown. The memorable words from the mouth of God before the flood, "My Spirit shall not always strive with man," although of warning tone, indicate that the Holy Spirit was then working with men, and that his absence at any time must be disastrous to human hopes. In their rebellion Israel "vexed his Holy Spirit: therefore he was turned to be their enemy, and he fought against them." David, in his penitence, prayed, "Cast me not away from thy presence; and take not thy Holy Spirit from me. Restore unto me the joy of thy salvation; and uphold me with thy free Spirit." Evangelical as is this prayer, and as clearly as it recognizes the work of the Holy Spirit in the heart, there is no reason for regarding it as indicating an experience beyond the common privilege of the pious of that day. Indeed, we cannot conceive of the piety and saintliness of character exhibited by the worthies of Old Testament history without suggestions of a divine work in

the soul which has never been wrought except by the Holy Spirit.

The first significant manifestation of the Holy Spirit in New Testament history is in connection with the person of the Messiah, Jesus of Nazareth. Not only was he conceived by the Holy Ghost, but in the temple the Spirit revealed his presence to Simeon and inspired Anna to speak of him to all that waited for salvation in Jerusalem. When he appeared on the banks of the Jordan, to fulfill all righteousness in his baptism, the heavens opened and the Spirit of God descended upon him, while the voice of the Father attested his sonship. From that hour whithersoever he went he went by the Spirit. The prophecies which went before, predicting his Messianic achievements, pointed to this anointing, and ascribed the establishment of his kingdom to it. In the first sermon ever preached to a Gentile audience Peter spoke of a report published throughout all Judea, "How God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghost and with power: who went about doing good, and healing all that were oppressed of the devil." This comprehensive summation of the life of Jesus accords with all prophetic testimonies in ascribing his miracles to the Spirit, which the Father gave without measure unto him. Jesus himself had said, "But if I cast out devils by the Spirit of God, then the kingdom of God is come unto you." We must not therefore wonder that all the instrumentalities ordained for spreading the kingdom of God on earth receive their efficiency from the presence and energizing power of the Holy Spirit. Chief among these is the preaching of the Gospel, which wins success and approves itself unto men as "the power of God unto salvation," when preached "with the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven."

The disciples who were called to be apostles—who gave up all to follow Jesus as their Master and Lord, and who witnessed his miracles, heard his discourses, and shared his most intimate fellowship—were doubtless partakers of his saving grace and renewing power, experiencing the work of the Holy Spirit up to the measure of privilege under the dispensation in which they lived; and in some respects they transcended the ordinary privileges of the saints, in that they were endowed with miraculous gifts under the commission which ended before the

crucifixion. But these same disciples, after being witnesses of all that Jesus did and suffered, and then of his resurrection and ascension, were still short of needed qualifications for the Gospel ministry till after an enduement of power from the Holy Ghost which they had not yet received. They were commanded to wait for this special endowment, and not to open their ministry till it should come upon them. Must we not then deem it essential?

This special gift to be waited for was "the promise of the Father," which Jesus had previously declared in their presence should come to them after his departure. We find it in the wonderful discourse delivered by him just before his passion. He then designated the Holy Ghost as the *Paraclete*—the "Comforter," "Advocate," or "Helper." The Spirit was not unfamiliar to the disciples, but now he was to take a new official relation and become to them what the personal presence of the Master had been—their teacher, defender, guide, and helper. His coming was to be an epiphany, the manifestation of Christ himself, in fulfillment of his promise, "I will not leave you comfortless: I will come to you." Nay, more; it was to be the revelation of both the Father and the Son: "He that loveth me shall be loved of my Father, and I will love him, and will manifest myself to him. . . . If a man love me, he will keep my words: and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him." He was to manifest himself to his disciples as he did not to the world. But this special manifestation of the Father and the Son, in the person of the *Paraclete*, the Holy Ghost, was not to be the second coming of Christ in the clouds with the angels, but the consummation of his first advent. It was the coming of the Son of man in his kingdom, or the coming of the kingdom of God with power.

The promise of the Holy Spirit had been in the minds of the disciples from early in Christ's ministry. In his sermon on the duty and privilege of prayer he had said: "If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him?" But now they stood face to face with a crisis. He whom they trusted and loved, who had been their instructor, guide, friend, and helper, was about to leave them.

They knew not as yet how, nor why. Sorrow filled their hearts. In some way they felt that new trials and new responsibilities awaited them, demanding larger measures of divine help than had been vouchsafed to men, except in the personal leadership of Him who was now to depart. It was then he said, "If ye love me, keep my commandments. And I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you forever; even the Spirit of truth; whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth him not, neither knoweth him: but ye know him; for he dwelleth with you, and shall be in you." A little later in this discourse he reiterated the promise of the Comforter, and indicated his work: "These things have I spoken unto you, being yet present with you. But the Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you." The next step in this instruction with regard to the mission of the Comforter points out to the disciples what should be their own office and work under this divine leadership: "But when the Comforter is come, whom I will send unto you from the Father, even the Spirit of truth, which proceedeth from the Father, he shall testify of me: and ye also shall bear witness, because ye have been with me from the beginning." Further on in this address, still tenderly encouraging their saddened hearts, Jesus said: "Nevertheless I tell you the truth; It is expedient for you that I go away: for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you; but if I depart, I will send him unto you. And when he is come, he will reprove the world of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgment. . . . He will guide you into all truth: for he shall not speak of himself; but whatsoever he shall hear, that shall he speak: and he will show you things to come. He shall glorify me: for he shall receive of mine, and shall show it unto you."

From these passages, so rich in promised blessings, we pass over to the time beyond the "hour and the power of darkness," when the risen Christ recalled to his disciples "the promise of the Father," "which," he said, "ye have heard of me." Gethsemane, the cross, and the tomb were now behind him; the last commission had been given; and having bidden them to wait for the promise, and not to depart from Jerusalem with-

ent its fulfillment, he spoke what were probably his last words before his ascension from Olivet: "But ye shall receive power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you: and ye shall be witnesses unto me both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth." Surely, then, a new dispensation of the Spirit was at hand—one whose glory should eclipse all that had preceded.

On one occasion, quite a while before his suffering, when Jesus stood up on the great day of the feast of tabernacles and cried, "If any man thirst, let him come unto me, and drink," and spoke of "rivers of living water," he anticipated this effusion. For the evangelist who recorded his words explained: "This spake he of the Spirit, which they that believe on him should receive: for the Holy Ghost was not yet given; because that Jesus was not yet glorified." After all the revelations of the Spirit, and the work he had done among men, working in them and striving with them through the centuries, "the Holy Ghost was not yet given" in the sense contemplated in "the promise of the Father;" he had not yet come as Comforter in the revelation of the Father and the Son, in the higher experiences to which the Church is called under the new dispensation. This brings us to the epoch of the Pentecost—the starting point for the study of the doctrine under the Gospel; an epoch which opens to the Church visions of spiritual power never known before. It was the day of the opening of the New Testament temple, with walls of salvation and with gates of praise. Beginning at this point we study the work of the Holy Spirit as set forth in the Acts of the Apostles, and as interpreted in the epistles, in his convincing, illuminating, regenerating, sanctifying, and witnessing power—with endowments for comfort, strength, testimony, work, and victory, surpassing all that preceding dispensations had revealed.

S. M. Merrill

Art. II.—CHRISTIANITY AND MOHAMMEDANISM IN ARABIA, EGYPT, AND NORTHERN AFRICA.

North of the Mediterranean, Christ; south of the Mediterranean, Mohammed. This is not history, and it may be even less true as prophecy; yet it marks what almost seems to be a natural division of territory between two great religions, each of which aims at universal empire. Mohammedanism made important conquests in Spain, which it held for centuries; but long ago it was driven back across the Strait of Gibraltar. Suleyman the Magnificent planted the standards of Mohammed at the very gates of Vienna, and all Europe trembled before the conqueror. Yet, for more than three centuries, the retreat of Islam has been as steady and as inevitable as though attended by a Nemesis. All that is left in Europe to the present Sultan of Turkey is a very precarious foothold in the city of Constantine; and it is not very rash to prophesy that his successors, in the not distant future, will preside over the seraglio in some capital beyond the confines of Europe.

Christianity does not furnish the historical counterpart of this picture south of the Mediterranean, yet it presents points of resemblance which in some respects are suggestive. During the early centuries of the Christian era the Gospel made some of its most important conquests in Egypt and the countries of northern Africa. But in its later conflict with the forces of Arabia so completely was it defeated that Gibbon wrote: "The northern coast of Africa is the only land in which the light of the Gospel, after a long and perfect establishment, has been totally extinguished." *

The past is an index to the future only when the philosophy of history is carefully studied.

I. The inhabitants of Arabia just prior to the Christian era were idolaters, principally of the Sabian sect, who worshiped the fixed stars and the planets, and also angels and their images, regarding these as inferior deities acting as intercessors with the one true God. Some tribes worshiped a tree, or a lump of dough, or a stone. Magian worship had also

* *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. v, p. 267.

been introduced by the Persians, and the worship of Jehovah by Jewish refugees.

Whether Paul preached the Gospel in Arabia is not certain; but Christianity was introduced into the country at a comparatively early date. Unfortunately, however, the type of Christianity which found its way into Arabia was not of a character to enable it to cope most successfully with idolatry or to give it any very essential spiritual victories. The Arabian Christians were mostly of the sect of the Jacobites; and before the time of Mohammed the country had become a hotbed of the heresies of Ebion, Beryllus, the Nazaræans, and the Collyridians. The latter introduced the worship of the Virgin Mary as God. Had the Gospel in its purity been established and maintained in Arabia Islam might never have become one of the great religions of the world. But the idolatrous worship of the Virgin, saints, images, and relics is too little removed from the worship of angels and their images, trees, dough, and stones, to give the one any marked advantage over the other.

Christianity was more firmly established on the western shores of the Red Sea than on the eastern. Tradition has attempted to connect the earliest knowledge of the faith with the testimony of Candace's servant, the eunuch to whom Philip so faithfully preached. The conversion of the Ethiopians to Christianity is supposed to be due to Frumentius, who, with a fellow-student, was under the care of a philosopher, Meropius, when the ship in which they sailed was wrecked on the Ethiopian coast. Meropius was killed by the barbarians, but the young men were spared. At Axum they attracted the favor of the queen; and it was as tutor to the prince, her son, that Frumentius began to sow the seed of the Christian faith. On communicating his work to Athanasius, Patriarch of Alexandria, that prelate at once appointed him Bishop of Axum. The Arian heresy, which soon after rent the Church, did not reach Abyssinia. But the Abyssinian Church was far from representing Christianity in its purity. Not a few rites and ceremonies borrowed from the Jews, and some also which had perhaps survived from the early pagan customs, were incorporated into the Christian ritual. At length the monophysite heresy found acceptance with the Church in Egypt and was

communicated by the patriarch to his bishop in Axum. Yet subsequent events proved that the faith of Jesus had taken deep root in the soil of Ethiopia.

Of the history of the Alexandrian Church during the first century and a half we have little real knowledge. According to an early tradition its founder was St. Mark. Eusebius does little more than mention the names of its bishops. Many things, however, would indicate that the Church at Alexandria early attained considerable importance. The catechetical school was founded at an early date, and exerted a wide influence. In 180 A. D. it was presided over by Patænus, a celebrated convert from Stoicism. Patænus was succeeded by Clemens, and Clemens by Origen. At Alexandria Athanasius wrote and spoke. It would seem that the seed of Christian truth was here planted so deep that even the fury of the Saracens could not root it up. But an enemy more destructive than the sword of Mohammed assailed it, not from without, but from within. Monophysite, Gnostic, and other heresies, with schisms and the general decline of spirituality, began to declare the downfall of the Alexandrian Church long before the armies of Arabia appeared.

We are without information as to when, or by whom, Christianity was introduced into Carthage; but before the end of the second century it was pretty generally established along the North African coast. Its prevalence and strength may be inferred from an expression recorded by Tertullian in his *Apology*, that the whole country was beset with Christians, and that every sex, age, and condition, even to the highest rank, were passing over to this denomination. The council held at Carthage in 215 was attended by not less than seventy bishops. This would indicate a considerable constituency. The Church grew rapidly in numbers and influence. The African countries of the Mediterranean were the scene of the labors of some of the most noted of the early fathers—Cyprian, Augustine, and many others. In the times immediately preceding the Mohammedan conquest Christianity ruled northern Africa. The bishops of the country are said to have numbered from four hundred to five hundred, which would mean many thousands of churches and priests. Had its internal life been strong the Church of northern Africa

might have remained until this day; but, like the Churches of Egypt and Arabia, it was rent by many heresies.

II. Mohammedanism arose like a whirlwind in the desert, and swept over more countries of the earth than the Roman arms ever subdued. The idolatry of Arabia had left a spiritual vacuum which a spurious Christianity, a Mariolatry, could not fill; and a new movement was sooner or later inevitable. However unspiritual Mohammedanism may afterward have become, it seems reasonable to suppose that the first impulses of Mohammed were toward a purer and more spiritual worship. For nearly forty years he was a devout worshiper of the gods of Arabia. But his soul recoiled from idolatry; and he seems to have resolved upon restoring the ancient worship of God as professed by Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and the prophets. How far his enthusiasm at first led him to dream of his own exaltation it is difficult to determine. But it appears that his claims for personal recognition increased somewhat in the ratio of his success. The first to whom he unbosomed his purpose was his faithful wife Khadijah. She at once acknowledged his prophetic mission. His servant, Zeid, and his young cousin, Ali, soon followed. Not till he had labored in secret for three years did he venture to proclaim himself the prophet of God. Up to that time he had succeeded in making only fourteen proselytes, but they included some of the chief men of Mecca, foremost among whom were Abubeker and Omar. Thus strengthened, he ventured upon a more open career.

The first public announcement of his mission was made to a company of about forty of his nearest relations. They received his claims with ridicule. But he was nothing daunted. For ten years he continued his public ministry in Mecca, proclaiming the worship of the one true God, and declaring himself to be the prophet of God. During all this time he relied solely upon persuasion, declaring for liberty of conscience and disclaiming all intention or right to use violence. Chapter lxxxviii of the Koran, after speaking of the terrible day of judgment, says: "Wherefore warn thy people, for thou art a warner only; thou art not empowered to act with authority over them." Opposition became more and more intense. His enemies said: "Mighty miracles were performed by the prophets of God, Moses and Jesus; why are not such acts wrought by you?"

This challenge, often repeated, greatly annoyed Mohammed, but he always replied, in substance, that the Koran is the miracle of miracles, and that there need be no other. He boldly claimed that it was eternal, of the very essence of God himself. He said that it was inscribed with a pen of light, in the highest of the seven heavens, and sent down to the lowest heaven by the angel Gabriel, from whom he received it, chapter by chapter, sometimes verse by verse. Relying upon the beauty and the sublimity of the Koran as the one divine seal of his mission, he audaciously challenged both men and angels to equal the excellencies of a single page. This boast was not without its effect upon the untutored, imaginative Arabian mind, although it will hardly carry conviction in the West. Gibbon says:

> The harmony and copiousness of style will not reach, in a version, the European infidel; he will peruse with impatience the endless, incoherent rhapsody of fable and precept and declamation which seldom excites a sentiment or an idea, which sometimes crawls in the dust, and is sometimes lost in the clouds. The divine attributes exalt the fancy of the Arabian missionary, but his loftiest strains must yield to the sublime simplicity of the Book of Job, composed in a remote age, in the same country, and in the same language.*

In the twelfth year of his mission Mohammed announced that he had made the night journey to Jerusalem. The story was so absurd that some of his followers left him. But Abubeker professed to believe it, and Mohammed's reputation immediately rose to a great height.

Whether Mohammed was an enthusiast to the point of insanity is a disputed question. It seems to have been a matter of doubt with himself, as he sometimes questioned his own mental soundness and several times contemplated suicide. But, whatever his mental state, there appears a subtle policy behind his maneuvers. As he launched out upon his career he seemed confronted with one of two alternatives, either to declare himself a prophet inspired of God and instructed by his angel, or to stand before the people as one possessed by a jinn, or devil. He chose the former course, and, as he went on, new revelations and spiritual visions were forthcoming, to correct any mistakes he had made, and to intrench him in his

* *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. v, p. 110.

positions. They enabled him eventually to show his magnanimity by taking not less than fifteen wives, although he had declared four to be the rightful limit, and to very essentially change his ecclesiastical policy.

In the thirteenth year of his mission opposition became so intense at Mecca that it was no longer safe for him to remain in the city, and with a few faithful followers he fled to Medina, whose people had already extended the offer of their hospitality. His flight from Mecca occurred September 13, 622 A. D. The first thing that he did on arriving at Medina was to build a mosque for worship and a house for himself. He soon became so strongly intrenched that he could not only defend himself against his enemies, but make inroads upon their territory. He attended faithfully to the religious services in the mosque on Fridays; but, between times, he found it convenient and remunerative to intercept and plunder caravans. His change of policy as he increased in strength is interesting. With an army at his back he no longer believed in liberty of conscience or relied upon peaceful means for the propagation of his faith. New revelations armed him with the sword for religious conquest. Enthusiasm became fanaticism of the fiercest type. In the sixth year of the Hegira he entered into a covenant of peace with the Meccans which was to remain in force ten years. But in the second year of this truce, without any formal declaration of war, he marched against Mecca and reduced it to submission. Of course the excuse was put forth that the Meccans had violated the treaty; but it is certain that Mohammed refused to consent to further peaceful relations. Soon after the subjugation of Mecca the Khoreish—the descendants of Ishmael and the most powerful of the Arabian tribes—also submitted and accepted Islam. Other tribes, seeing that resistance was now useless, soon followed their example. Mohammed's scheme seems to have been to unite in the worship of the one eternal and invisible God the followers of the three different religions of Arabia—idolaters, Jews, and Christians. Whatever may have been in his thought at the beginning of his career, it was soon a part of his purpose to bring them all into submission to himself as the chosen prophet and ambassador of God, commissioned with authority both as chief pontiff in things spiritual and as supreme ruler in things temporal. His ultimate dream stopped

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nothing short of universal conquest by the sword. Many who refused allegiance to Islam were put to death before his eyes, while he enthusiastically pronounced the act a divine judgment.

The Christianity of Arabia was not equal to coping with this kind of an antagonist, and the flickering spark was soon practically extinguished. Of course the sword of Islam did not rest content with the conquest of Arabia. On the death of Mohammed Abubeker was chosen the first caliph of Islam. He put down insurrection among the Arabian tribes and made important conquests in Syria. He was succeeded in the caliphate by Omar, during whose reign of ten years the Saracens conquered 36,000 cities or castles, razed 4,000 churches or temples, and built 1,400 Mohammedan mosques.

Ethiopia, less than two hundred miles distant from Mecca, was naturally among the first countries to suffer the onslaught of Mohammedan arms. But the people remained true to the Christian faith. Although the country was ravaged again and again by Moslem armies, it does not appear that the tenets of the Koran were ever acknowledged in any part of Abyssinia. This steadfastness seems all the more remarkable when we remember that the Abyssinian Church did not represent a pure Christianity. The Abyssinians defended themselves against the Saracens, but were unable to protect their brethren on the other side of the Gulf. Nubia, converted at a later date than Abyssinia, afterward renounced Christianity for Islam. Omar was on the throne of the caliphs when the conquest of Egypt was begun. His general, Amrou, boldly entered the country with only four thousand men. He took Farmah, or Pelusium, a key which unlocked Egypt as far as the site of modern Cairo and the ruins of Heliopolis. Reinforced by four thousand Saracens he advanced against Memphis. After a siege of seven months the city and its strongholds were taken. The remnant of the Greek garrison took refuge in the Isle of Ronda. The besiegers entered the fortress with the shout, "God is victorious!" The Coptic Christians resolutely refused to become proselytes—a position which, as a body, they have maintained to the present—but, both above and below Memphis, they covenanted to pay tribute to the caliph. It was on this occasion that they threw off allegiance to the Byzantine

Church and established themselves in the communion of the Jacobites. Amrou next laid siege to Alexandria. The resistance was obstinate. The siege lasted fourteen months and cost the Saracen army the loss of twenty-three thousand men. But at length the city was taken, and the standards of Islam were raised over the great southern Christian stronghold. The philosopher and grammarian, Philoponus, besought the conqueror to spare the great library. The reputed answer of Omar is well known: "If these writings of the Greeks agree with the book of God, they are useless and need not be preserved; if they disagree, they are pernicious and ought to be destroyed." Some have affected to discredit the truth of this report; but such oriental scholars as Professor White, M. St. Martin, Von Hammer, and many others of like standing consider the destruction of the Alexandrian library by the command of Omar to be indisputable.

The conquest of northern Africa followed hard upon that of Egypt. Othman had succeeded Omar as caliph. An allied army of forty thousand Moslems, under command of Abdallah, boldly advanced into the unknown regions of the West. At length they pitched their tents before Tripoli. The prefect Gregory indignantly rejected the offer of the Koran or tribute. Day after day the armies fought, until the burning heat of midday compelled them to retire to their respective camps till the following morning. The daughter of Gregory, a damsel of great beauty, fought by the side of her father. From a child she had been trained to the saddle and the use of arms. As the battle grew desperate her hand in marriage and one hundred thousand pieces of gold were offered for the head of the Arabian general. Abdallah retaliated by offering a like reward for the head of the prefect. By strategy the Christians were defeated. Gregory was slain and his daughter was taken prisoner. But it is said that his slayer, the peerless Zobeir, declined to possess his incomparable prize, declaring that his sword was consecrated to the service of religion, and that he looked for a reward infinitely beyond the joys of this transitory life. The Moslem conquest of northern Africa was not accomplished without frequent interruptions and reverses. And the overthrow of the cities of Barbary was not due solely to the Arabian arms. The Byzantine emperor, hearing of the tribute which had been laid

upon his African subjects, imposed upon them a like tribute; and it became a question with them whether they would suffer the extortions of two masters or only one. About twenty years after the fall of Gregory the Arabian general, Akbah, marched his army from Damascus to the Atlantic confines of Morocco, subduing many cities and provinces. The religious zeal of this fanatic was characteristic of the whole Mohammedan movement. Spurring his horse into the Atlantic, he raised his eyes to heaven and said, with drawn sword: "Great God! if my course were not stopped by this sea, I would still go on to the unknown kingdoms of the West, preaching the unity of thy holy name, and putting to the sword the rebellious nations who worship any other gods than thee." A few years later Carthage fell. The Greeks and the Goths rallied again and again, but Africa was lost.

Attempts were made to rekindle the dying embers of Christianity, but with little avail. In the eleventh century the solitary priest who remained on the throne of Carthage appealed to the Vatican for help, complaining that his naked body had been scourged by the Saracens. The outer glory of the Church had departed; but, worse than this, the fire had gone out upon the altar. About the middle of the twelfth century Christian worship disappeared from the coasts of Barbary.

Gibbon is not always a safe authority in matters of religious opinion, although in the simple statement of fact he is less open to objection; yet his observations recorded in the chapter on the Saracens in Spain cannot but awaken serious reflection, when considered in connection with the problem of Christianity and Mohammedanism in Arabia, Egypt, and northern Africa. He says: "More pure than the system of Zoroaster, more liberal than the law of Moses, the religion of Mohammed might seem less inconsistent with reason than the creed of mystery and superstition which, in the seventh century, disgraced the simplicity of the Gospel." *

III. Tides ebb and flow, but not without sufficient cause. We have seen the tide of the Gospel recede from the North African coast, partly because driven back by furious storms, but more, we believe, because the power of spiritual attraction was gone. The tide of Christian civilization is again set-

* *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. v, p. 264.

ting toward those shores; and the question is most pertinent whether the forces that govern it are able to carry it into all the bays and inlets of the Dark Continent.

This tide does not come from the direction of the Coptic or the Abyssinian Church. Through all the centuries of persecution and Mohammedan supremacy these sects heroically maintained the Christian profession. But grievous errors crept in which sapped their spiritual vitality. At the present time neither of these Churches can be regarded as a power for Christ. The Copts are continually diminishing in numbers, being more and more absorbed by marriage and by conversion into the Mohammedan population. In faith they are divided between the Roman Catholic, the Greek, and the Eutychian or Jacobite communions, the larger proportion belonging to the latter sect. They are very bigoted, and in moral character they do not have the reputation of being superior to their Moslem neighbors. The Abyssinian type of Christianity is still worse, being hardly more than a dead formalism, with no small admixture of that which is entirely foreign to Christianity. The priesthood is very numerous, but utterly without spiritual power. The Virgin is adored as queen of heaven and earth and as intercessor for the sins of mankind. There is far more adoration of saints than worship of God. At present the Church is divided into three factions, so bitter against each other that they will not take the communion together. In neither the Coptic nor the Abyssinian Church, the only survivors from the early days, do we find indications of those currents of power which are necessary for the evangelizing of peoples and civilizations.

There are, however, Christian influences which are being strongly felt in Egypt, and whose results promise to be permanent. Whoever has carefully studied the work of the American Mission in Egypt has probably felt that he saw the light of that morning of which Isaiah spoke: "In that day shall there be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar at the border thereof to the Lord. And it shall be for a sign and for a witness unto the Lord of hosts in the land of Egypt: for they shall cry unto the Lord because of the oppressors, and he shall send them a saviour, and a great one, and he shall deliver them." The work is comparatively

new, having been begun at Cairo in 1854. But its upward of one hundred and fifty stations, extending from the Mediterranean for five hundred miles up the Nile, have become centers of Christian education and spiritual power. Its dissemination of a pure Gospel through missionaries and native pastors; its work by colporteurs and Bible readers, by harem workers, by its religious press, and, last but not least, by its medical staff, have brought to the Christian conquest of Egypt forces which Islam will find it difficult to meet. The day of "the Koran, tribute, or the sword" is a thing of the past, except possibly in some isolated, spasmodic instances. The contest of the future is to be along other lines.

It is not a question of climate, or race, or temperament, or tradition. All these may exert some temporary influence; but the religion and the civilization which can do most to brighten human life and elevate mankind is the one which the world desires and will ultimately have. Perhaps no stronghold has ever been harder for Christian truth to storm than that of Mohammedan fanaticism. Yet the Mohammedan mind can be made to appreciate the beauty and value of a living Christ. A converted Moslem woman put the matter suggestively to two Moslem boatmen who had cursed the Christians in her presence. She said, "Which is better, to ask a favor of a living person or of a dead one?" They replied, of course, "Of the living." And she answered, "Mohammed is dead, but Christ is living."

In any adequate account of the Christian forces in Egypt the English Episcopal and the Scotch Presbyterian Churches, both of which are carrying on educational and evangelistic work; the Kaiserwerth Deaconesses; and the North African Mission, which commenced work at Alexandria in 1892, would be worthy of more than a passing notice. The aggressive work which has been successfully inaugurated by practically all of the Protestant missions in Egypt is full of promise. But the positive results which they report, although good, are not more suggestive than the fact that the general currents of thought and life are beginning to feel the influence of this new power. Mohammedan education at the Alhazar still pursues its dreary monotony of memorizing the Koran and the traditions; but a few Mohammedan schools outside are beginning

to leave the old ruts. The presence of Christian schools is creating the demand for something better than Moslem education. The government schools have exerted a tremendous influence in favor of Western ideas and methods. And the fact that Christianity is in line with all that is progressive and best in education is a fact whose significance at least a few Mohammedan minds are coming to appreciate. Here and there one is beginning to realize that, unless Islam can adapt itself to the needs of expanding thought and life, its ultimate defeat is assured.

The influence of Christian truth has as yet been less strongly felt along the North African coast than in Egypt. Strange as it may seem, this region, with such a history and of such marvelous possibilities, has been almost wholly neglected by modern missionary enterprise. Fourteen years ago the North African Mission was inaugurated as an independent movement, because service for this field had been declined by the great denominations. It began its work in Kabylia in 1881. Progress has been slow, because obstacles well-nigh insurmountable have been constantly met. In the interior of Morocco its schools have been closed by the Sultan, and both the scholars and their parents threatened with death. Its missionaries have several times been warned by the French to quit Algeria, ostensibly for fear of a Mohammedan uprising, and thus far it has hardly more than crossed the frontier of the North African territory. Its total number of stations is only about a score, with not more than a hundred workers. The most hopeful work among these peoples—ignorant, degraded, many of them half barbarous, wretched, and helpless—is done through the medical missions. With no way of curing disease but by some text from the Koran, or by some other charm prepared by the hakim, or doctor, the touch of a healing hand is welcome and helps to prepare the way for Christian truth.

The work of redeeming northern Africa and of making it the home of great Christian civilizations will be wrought, not alone by evangelistic efforts, but with the cooperation of the gospel of the railroad, the printing press, and the public school. The fact that "science is the handmaid of [the Christian] religion" is strikingly illustrated in Barbary. Before the occupation of Algeria by the French the native popu-

lation of the country was at a standstill; its annual increase is now about one hundred thousand. While it can hardly be said that the French have introduced any very strong moral force into Barbary, yet they have compelled the bigoted Mohammedan to realize that there is something in the material world better than anything his type of civilization has produced. The general influence of this is to break down old barriers of prejudice and to compel the Moslem mind to think along all lines. It is a kind of secular John the Baptist, declaring that a new kingdom is at hand. Whether that kingdom belongs to the true kingdom of God among men will be determined, not by the baptism of John, but by the words, the life, the spirit, and the works of Him who is to come. The temporary evil of this new order of things is that the Moslems are naturally led to think that this type of civilization, in all its aspects, stands for Christianity. An intelligent and serious-minded young Mohammedan was asked what he considered the distinguishing characteristic of the disciple of Christ, and he replied, "To drink a great deal of wine." This kind of delusion will, of course, be broken when the Moslem has thought long and deeply enough. At the bar of intelligence both Christianity and Mohammedanism must ultimately be tested by what they are and what they do.

That Mohammedanism has done much for the southern countries probably no one will deny. It is vastly superior to the old idolatry which it displaced. But this leaves its comparison with Christianity still untouched. The ultimate goal of religion is not a better condition of things as contrasted with idolatry, but the soul's best estate, with all that this implies. The laws which govern the human mind are independent of geographical lines. So far as the question of ultimate supremacy is concerned the merits of Christianity and Mohammedanism may be as unerringly tested for Arabia as for Massachusetts.

IV. In the comparison of Christianity with Mohammedanism we wish to call attention briefly to three things: (1) The sacred Scriptures of the two religions; (2) the salient points of faith and practice as set forth by each; and (3) the personal character of Christ and of Mohammed. The Bible stands in contrast to the Koran in that the former is essentially original, so

far as its great and fundamental teachings are concerned, while the latter is essentially copied. It is true that other ancient scriptures, besides those of the Hebrew nation, have taught more or less clearly the doctrines of the supreme God, the immortality of the soul, and future rewards and punishments. But nowhere are they so clearly stated as by the Hebrew and Christian writers; and there is not the slightest reason to believe that the faith of Abraham and his descendants was derived either from the nations round about or from their sacred writings. On the other hand, the Koran, so far as these great central teachings are concerned, simply restates with various modifications that which Mohammed had heard from Jewish and Christian sources. Indeed, he only claimed to be restoring the faith of the ancient worthies from Adam to Christ, professing himself to be the last great prophet in this illustrious line of prophets. That Mohammed derived his information, at least in part, from apocryphal sources is proved not only by the character of the Church of Arabia in his time, but also by his own allusions. For example, he says:

> When God shall say, "O Jesus, son of Mary, remember my favor toward thee and toward thy mother; when I strengthened thee with the Holy Spirit, that thou shouldest speak unto men in the cradle, and when thou wast grown up; and when I taught thee the scripture, and wisdom, and the law, and the Gospel; and when thou didst create of clay as it were the figure of a bird by my permission, and didst breathe thereon, and it became a bird, by my permission,"* etc.

All that is new in Mohammedanism—and in its present form it is practically a new religion—must be traced to Mohammed; but the current of its great spiritual teachings will be found to be much purer, and will be studied with much more satisfaction farther up the stream. The Bible is again a unit composed of many parts. Its books were written by men who lived in different ages. It presents a multitude of independent witnesses, coming up to testify to the same great central truths. The Koran, on the other hand, was the work of one man. Its revelations are confirmed only by his testimony.

The Mohammedan confession of faith is twofold: "There is no god but the true God, and Mohammed is his prophet." Under this is comprehended six distinct articles: (1) Belief in

* Koran, chap. v, Sale's edition, pp. 96, 97.

God; (2) in his angels; (3) in his Scriptures; (4) in his prophets; (5) in the resurrection and day of judgment; and (6) in God's absolute decrees and predestination of all things which come to pass, both good and evil. The Mohammedan rule of practice covers four points: (1) Prayer, including such ablutions as are a necessary preliminary to prayer; (2) alms; (3) fasting; (4) a pilgrimage to Mecca.

The Mohammedan creed differs less from the Christian doctrine in its simple statement than in its practical development. The Koran teaches that "God is one God, the eternal God; he begetteth not, neither is he begotten; and there is not anyone like unto him." * Omer Nessefi (1142 A. D.) states the doctrine concerning God in these words:

> God is one and eternal. He lives and is Almighty. He knows all things; hears all things; sees all things. He is endowed with will and action. He has neither form nor figure, neither bounds, limits, nor numbers, neither parts, multiplications, nor divisions, because he is neither body nor matter. He has neither beginning nor end. He is self-existent, without generation, dwelling, or habitation. He is outside the empire of time, unequaled in his nature as in his attributes, which, without being foreign to his essence, do not constitute it.

The Westminster Catechism says: "God is a spirit, infinite, eternal, unchangeable in his being, wisdom, power, holiness, justice, goodness, and truth. There is but one only, the living and true God." The first article of religion of the Methodist Episcopal Church also declares: "There is but one living and true God, everlasting, without body or parts, of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness; the maker and preserver of all things, visible and invisible." The difference between the Mohammedan and the Christian conception of God does not therefore appear to be very great. The lack of moral attributes is noticeable in the definition given by Omer Nessefi. But it is not true that the God of Islam is wanting in moral qualities. The ninety-nine names which the Moslem gives to Deity ascribe to him well-nigh every conceivable excellence, as "Most Holy," "Just," "All-loving," "Merciful." The God of Islam is an absolute oriental monarch, wise and good, yet reigning not within his people, but over them. Says President Washburn:

* Koran, chap. cxii. Mohammed is said to have regarded this short chapter as equal in value to one third part of the whole Koran.

The essential difference in the Christian and Mohammedan conception of God lies in the fact that the Moslem does not think of this great King as having anything in common with his subjects, from whom he is infinitely removed. The idea of the incarnation of God in Christ is to them not only blasphemous, but absurd and incomprehensible; and the idea of fellowship with God, which is expressed in calling him our Father, is altogether foreign to the Mohammedan thought. God is not immanent in the world in the Christian sense, but apart from the world and infinitely removed from man.*

The difference between the Mohammedan doctrine, that God absolutely foreordains everything which comes to pass, and the corresponding tenet of Calvinism is not logically very great. But practically the Mohammedan dogma has degenerated into the worst kind of fatalism, while this Calvinistic interpretation of Scripture has well-nigh disappeared from Christendom.

A striking difference appears between the Mohammedan and the Christian conception of the future life. It is not true that Mohammed promised his followers only sensuous joys in heaven, but the sensuous practically overshadow the spiritual. After describing the entrance of the righteous into paradise Mohammed says:

Youths which shall continue in their bloom forever shall go round about to attend them, with goblets and beakers, and a cup of flowing wine; their heads shall not ache by drinking the same, neither shall their reason be disturbed; and of fruits of the sorts which they shall choose, and the flesh of birds of the kind which they shall desire. And there shall accompany them fair damsels having large black eyes, resembling pearls hidden in their shells.†

It is also said that the meanest Moslem in paradise is to have not less than eighty thousand servants and seventy-two wives of the girls of paradise, together with the wives that he had in this world.‡ In order to qualify his followers for this enjoyment Mohammed promised that each should be indued with the strength of a hundred men. This kind of a paradise is peculiarly attractive to the warm Arabian temperament. But the quickened moral consciousness unites with the spirit of the Christian Scriptures in declaring that it is infinitely below the Christian ideal, and, furthermore, that there can be no such

* Extract from Paper read before the World's Parliament of Religions.
† Koran, chap. lvi. See also chap. lxxviii.
‡ See Sale's Koran, "Preliminary Discourse," p. 70.

place or condition as the Moslem paradise in the universe of God.

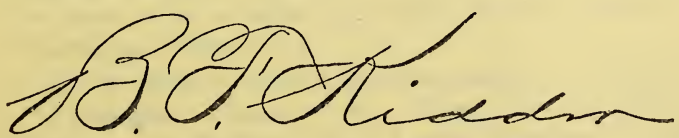
But the greatest difference between the Mohammedan and the Christian dogma is in relation to the character and the office of Jesus Christ. The Koran accords to him the highest place among the prophets prior to Mohammed, and acknowledges his miraculous birth, his sinless perfection, and his miracles; but it denies that he was the Son of God, rejects the idea of the Trinity, and denies the atonement, the resurrection, and the whole mediatorial work of Christ. Mohammed is of course given the highest place, as first and noblest of created beings and the great mediator between God and men. The Holy Spirit, as set forth in Christian doctrine, is not so much as mentioned in the Koran. Mohammed changed the παράκλητος of the promise into περικλυτός (in Arabic, "Ahmed," the same as "Mohammed"), and appropriated to himself the office of the Spirit. The Christian looks to Christ, the author and finisher of his faith, and goes forward in the power of the Holy Ghost. The Moslem substitute for the second and third persons of the Trinity is the prophet of Arabia.

The Moslem code of morals resembles the Christian code in many particulars. The Koran enjoins such excellencies as honesty in business, justice, and benevolence; but it does not teach such distinctively Christian virtues as meekness, humility, and love toward enemies. The part of the Moslem code which regulates outward observances was essentially borrowed from the Talmud. The fundamental difference between the Mohammedan and the Christian code is in regard to the nature of sin. To the Mohammedan sin is the violation of legal enactment; to the Christian it is violation of an eternal principle. In the Mohammedan conception God may change his laws so that what was wrong shall become right; in the Christian conception God's laws are an expression of his own divine nature, and are holy and unchangeable. The Mohammedan does not appreciate the necessity of the regenerating and sanctifying work of the Holy Spirit in a human soul, before it can be truly blessed, because he does not realize that sin is itself corruption and its wages death. Mohammedan morality, therefore, rests upon general reformation of conduct, outward observances, and good works; Christian morality rests upon a new life, a divine

operation in the soul from which right conduct springs as fruit from a living vine.

There are some particulars in which the difference between the Mohammedan and the Christian laws of life are of infinite importance to the progress of civilization. The Koran sanctions polygamy, the practically unrestricted power of a man to put away his wife, and human slavery. These things, which strike at that which is most sacred in life and vital to society, can never be forbidden under Islam. Christianity, on the other hand, stands for the purity and the inviolability of the home, sanctioning divorce only for the one cause which violates that which is fundamentally sacred in the marriage relation. Christianity also stands for human freedom and equality and the universal brotherhood of man. Mohammedanism is intolerant; Christianity is liberal. Mohammedanism is stationary; Christianity is progressive. The types of civilization with which the two systems have severally been identified are indicative, in a general way, of the inner law of each. In the progress of human thought and the evolution of society there can be no doubt as to which of these great religions must give place to the other.

One test still remains which is higher than any we have yet considered, and that is the personal character of Christ and of Mohammed. Mohammed put men to death in order to exalt self; Christ loved us and gave himself for us. The Mohammedan to-day gives his prophet the highest place in his admiration and affection. But, as his mental horizon becomes wider, his vision clearer, and his moral consciousness more refined, Mohammed's life, both private and public, will appear in more and more painful contrast to the life of Christ; and the authority of the prophet of Mecca over the souls of men will give place to that of Him in whom "dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily."



Art. III.—DID PAUL PREACH ON MARS' HILL?

That passage in Acts wherein is recorded the story of how the moral consciousness of the new Judaism as represented by the apostle Paul first confronted Greek philosophy in its strongholds can never fail to command the interest of every intelligent Christian. Unfortunately, this interest is not elicited by either accuracy or felicity in our English versions. Probably no other passage of equal length has suffered so severely as has the episode of Paul's visit to Athens, as narrated in the seventeenth chapter of Acts. Here, more than elsewhere, the Revised Version has availed rather to soften the asperity of error than to retain with fidelity the spirit and the form of the original Greek. How else, for instance, can we explain its rendering of Paul's graceful compliment "eminently God-fearing" (*δεισιδαιμονεστέρους*)—which in 1611 was tortured into "too superstitious"—into a tame "somewhat superstitious?" Similarly, the earlier rendering of *ἀγνοοῦντες* by "ignorantly," which has been softened into "in ignorance" in the revision, is equally ineffectual in recalling the word of the inscription on the altar that might be translated by some such phrase as "whom ye know not." Both translations fail to preserve the dignity and the courtesy of the great address, or rather the heads of the address delivered before the philosophers and populace of Athens.

While such minor discrepancies are to be deplored a more serious error is perpetuated in these two translations, both of which, either by the text or in the margin, suggest to the casual reader that the address was connected in some way with a hill, and was probably delivered upon its summit. The object of this article is, first, to point out that Luke, the author of the Acts, did not have it in mind to speak of a hill; and, secondly, to show it to be most improbable that the address was delivered upon Mars' Hill.

Let us premise that the Greek equivalent of "Mars' Hill" is "Areopagus" (*Ἄρειος πάγος*). It may be worth while to add that *πάγος* is the Greek for "a solid substance," "a hill," and that *Ἄρειος* means "belonging to, or devoted to, the war god Ares, or Mars." It is not disputed that originally the term

"Areopagus" was applied to a hill or huge rock in the southern part of the city of Athens, near the Acropolis. It is also admitted that the name "Areopagus" was bestowed upon a senate or council of one hundred members, which originally met by night upon the hill of that name. Now, just as "tuileries" came to suggest not a tile-works, but a palace or government, and "sublime porte" grew to designate, not a gate, but an authority; just as "the porch" came to mean, not a stoa, but a school of philosophy; and just as "court" passed from the meaning of an inclosed place to that of a judicial assembly, so "Areopagus" came to designate a court without any reference to its actual place of meeting. To-day the supreme court of Greece is styled the "Areopagus," but it never meets on Mars' Hill (Areopagus). Nor is the transfer of meaning any greater than in English, where a "hill" in corn-planting parlance means a hole in the ground.

It is important in reaching a correct conclusion to observe that Luke nowhere speaks of ascending or descending any eminence. He is elsewhere very careful to use precise terms. His style is clear, and his construction good for the time and place in which he wrote. Not only does he elsewhere use his prepositions with discriminating nicety, but especially here he cannot be misunderstood. In the nineteenth verse of this (seventeenth) chapter of Acts the preposition used is ἐπὶ. This word is very common, in both Luke's gospel and in the Acts, in the sense of "unto" or "before;" but nowhere does it mean "up" or "into." From our list of occurrences we select a few. In Luke xii, 11, "*before* the synagogues and the rulers;" Luke xii, 58, "*before* the magistrate;" Luke xxiii, 1, "*before* Pilate." Had Luke been thinking, not of approach, but of entrance or ascent to a hill, he would have used not "ἐπὶ" but "εἰς," as in Luke ix, 28, "*into* the mountain;" Luke ii, 15, "*into* heaven;" Luke iv, 9, "*into* Jerusalem." Since the same Greek verb is used in this last passage, "he led him to Jerusalem," and in Luke xxiii, 1, "brought him before Pilate," as in the verse under consideration—and as the preposition in both Luke xxiii, 1, and Acts xvii, 19, is ἐπὶ—it is evident that in the latter case Luke is speaking of a tribunal and not of an elevation, and that the correct translation is, "they brought him before the Areopagus."

That "Areopagus" in verse 22 is used in the same sense as in verse 19 we know from the extreme harshness of any supposed change of meaning, and from Luke using the phrase ἐν μέσῳ elsewhere (Acts i, 15) in reference to an audience. The contrary phrase ἐκ μέσου, verse 33, is followed by the pronoun αὐτῶν, "from the midst of them." Luke then speaks of a court only, and says nothing of a hill. The distinction is just as clear as between the two meanings of "court" in the propositions, "He came before the court," and "He ascended the steps into the court."

Verses 19, 22, and 34 should then read as follows:

19 And taking hold of him they brought him before (the court of) the Areopagus, saying, May we know what this new teaching is which is spoken by thee?

22 And Paul standing in the midst of (the court of) the Areopagus said:

34. . . . Among whom was Dionysius, a member of (the court of) the Areopagus, . . .

Having then shown that Luke implies nothing about any ascent of the hill Areopagus, the second point of inquiry must be whether it was probable that Paul was conducted up that hill. To answer this question we must ask what was the relation of the Ἀγορά (market place) to the hill Areopagus; what was Paul's habit; and where was the place of meeting of the court of the Areopagus. On the first topic the excavations of the last few years throw a flood of light. The recent exhumations of the Archæological Society of Athens on the Pnyx show that the ancient city did not extend as far south of the Acropolis as was formerly supposed, but occupied mainly the site of the Athens of to-day, north of the hills. The excavations of the German Archæological Institute, under Dr. William Dörpfeld, in 1894 and 1895, have made it plain that the market place (Ἀγορά) did not lie south of the Areopagus, as mapped in Smith's Greece and elsewhere. The long street of Roman days, excavated between Areopagus and Pnyx, shows no indication of stately public edifices. It is now realized that the market place (Ἀγορά) lay near the temple of Hepaistos, that is, the Theseum as shown by the accompanying diagram. In this vicinity are remains of the magnificent Stoa of Attalos, which was three hundred and seventy feet long by sixty-three feet wide. Here, too, was the

Painted Stoa, the seat of Stoic philosophy, and the Βασίλειος Στοά (royal portico). That the market place covered the region indicated is made plain by reading the descriptions of Pausanias, who visited Athens about one hundred years after the apostle, in the light of the recent excavations.

Further, Paul would never voluntarily have forsaken the political Ἀγορά (market place), with its stoas erected for addresses

1. Market place according to Smith (erroneous).
2. Basileios Stoa where Paul spoke. (Dotted lines show market place approximately.)
3. Stoa Poikile of the Stoic philosophy.
4, 5. Excavations 1894–95.
6, 7. Excavations of Archæological Society of Athens.
8. Theseum.
9. Stoa of Attalos.

and discussions, for a spot so distant, inconvenient, and exposed as the hill Areopagus. That a great throng of curious citizens and metics surrounded him, burning to hear a dialectical encounter between the representatives of the old philosophies and the herald of the new faith, seems to be the implication of the parenthetical observation in the twenty-first verse. Neither at Philippi, nor at Corinth, nor at Ephesus, nor at Jerusalem was Paul remarkable for turning his back on the common people. It would be strange indeed for him to abandon those vast halls where for centuries the great problems of philosophy and

religion had been freely and publicly discussed, and where all could conveniently hear, to gratify a select few with esoteric explanations of his views, as is assumed by some commentators. He was not seeking to enjoy a glorious view of Hymettos and Salamis, but an occasion to impress the eternal certitudes of God and his worship, of man and his accountability. There is nothing, either, to show that Paul was regarded as under arrest and forced up steep streets to the rear of the Areopagus, whence is the only ascent to its summit. There was no accusation, no plaintiff, no trial. He went out from their midst without hindrance from the mocking crowd, instead of escaping down the narrow steps of the Areopagus (the hill).

Finally, it is almost certain that the court of Areopagus did not in Paul's time meet on the hill Areopagus. In the early days of Athens the council of Areopagus had assembled by night on the hill of that name to consider charges of impiety. The rocky hill bore a distinct relation to the early city, yet embraced within the narrow limits of the Acropolis. It was a place unhallowed outside the city sacred to the goddess Athena, and beyond the protection of her holy temples and altars. While the Athenians connected its name with legends about the dread war god (Ares), and built a temple for his cult near by, a better etymology makes it not the hill of Ares, but the hill of *ἀραί*, "curses," from the imprecations pronounced there upon the impious and profane.* It seems to have had no temple upon its summit in the time of Pausanias. Rough, barren, weatherworn, it contains no particle of soil to-day, and by its grimness yet suggests imprecations, and not philosophy. The entire hill, indeed, was devoted to deeds of punishment and rites of awful mystery. It is improbable that in Paul's time a stranger would have been admitted to its dread precincts. In Greek literature references are numerous to philosophic discussions in the stoas, but we read of no such gatherings upon the hill Areopagus.

The history of the court and council of Areopagus is involved in some obscurity. We know that its powers were defined and curtailed by the reform of Ephialtes (460 B. C.). We learn that the council of Areopagus met in the Βασίλειος Στοά four hundred years before Paul's time.† The Greeks were so

* Æschylus, "Eumenides;" Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments of Athens*, p. 563.
† Demosthenes in *Aristogitona*, 776.

given to preserving or inventing legends of remote historical origin for their institutions that the claims of this court to topographical connection with the hill are subject to reasonable suspicion. Granting, however, that the court did thus derive its name, it is mere commonplace to suggest that law and political terms long survive their original connection, as for instance "woolsack" and the numerous feudal terms still lingering in our law books. The court was styled "Areopagus" rather as a matter of history and origin than to designate its place of actual session. There is little doubt that the Areopagus which Paul addressed was convened in some stoa; and there is no reason, either from the text, the literature, or the monuments of Athens, to claim that the apostle made his immortal address on Mars' Hill.

Richard Parsons

Art. IV.—THE RELATIONS OF KNOWLEDGE AND FEELING IN SPIRITUALITY.

The object of this article is to find out the relative importance in Christian experience of knowledge and feeling, in order that we may know to what extent each deserves attention and cultivation. The discussion may be vastly simplified by supposing the will element eliminated and allowing the query to stand in this form: Given a will in harmony with God, what are the relations to each other of knowledge and feeling in spirituality? This supposition is difficult because of the interaction of the will with the other faculties of the soul. In Christian experience the will is constantly influencing the thought and the feeling; and, *vice versâ*, the thought and the feeling are constantly reacting upon the will. But in spite of this hindrance let will be posited as a constant quantity, and a Christian life assumed, so far as the will is concerned. Hence, in this discussion the term "knowing" will not refer to the activity of the intellectual faculty as holding fundamental Christian truths in question, to be convinced by them or not, but as cognizing them in faith. Nor will the term "knowledge" refer to received truth in its effect upon the will before conversion, but upon the soul's spirituality after conversion in so far as that spirituality can be conceived of as affected by the thought and the feeling alone. The positing of a right will secures the moral conditions necessary to the knowledge in question. Having thus defined the limits of the theme, let us proceed to consider it.

In the first place, in ordinary psychical processes the thought about anything antedates the feeling about it. The emotions may not always respond, but they cannot become active without the preceding thought activity. More than this, knowledge about anything is not simply antecedent to, but is in the main determinative of, the feeling about it. The feeling depends for its nature and intensity upon the knowledge presented or represented by the intellectual faculty. It is true that often the feelings react upon the intellect in determining judgment. It is too true that our estimates of things are often influenced by our feeling toward them. But this is an order

which common sense recognizes as inverted, and repudiates under the name of prejudice. Now let us apply this last proposition to knowledge and feeling as elements of spirituality. But in doing so we are passing from knowledge and feeling in relation to a single event to knowledge and feeling in relation to a whole body of truth. This, doubtless, is admissible. But we are also passing from knowledge and feeling in relation to a single event to knowledge and feeling in relation to a highly exalted state of the soul, in which there are divine as well as human elements. And we are abruptly brought up to the question, What is spirituality? To give what might be conceived to be a full definition would be to beg the general question before us. The divine elements, however, in spirituality, it may be suggested, must act through natural channels. God's presence in the human soul is not another department added to it, but operates as an exaltation of the faculties already present. Faith cannot be looked upon as a new faculty, but must be regarded as an old one greatly empowered and differently directed. It can be believed, therefore, that the laws governing ordinary feeling and thinking may be applied with fair exactness to spiritual feeling and thinking.

But, before the general proposition that knowledge of anything determines feeling about it can be applied to spirituality, the question must first be answered, What is the seat of spirituality? Let it be recalled here that a right will has been posited as a constant quantity. We are considering the spirituality of one whose heart is right with God, and hence are concerned only with the two elements of knowledge and feeling. Let it for the moment be supposed that spirituality is mainly a state of the feeling, a position widely held among Christian people. Therefore, if knowledge not only precedes but actually determines feeling, then, no matter whether spirituality is a state of pure feeling or a state of thought and feeling, it must be conceded that knowledge determines this state, and consequently that spirituality is primarily a matter of knowledge.

This is one of the positions to establish which is the aim of this article. Feeling is unimportant so far as attention and cultivation are concerned. It is not to be directly sought after. What is needed in the average Christian experience, next to upright living, more than anything else, is a clearer and deeper

knowledge of divine truth, intenser reflection upon God, and more thoughtful, more intelligent prayer. "Finally, brethren," wrote Paul, "whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things."

The sensibilities are not under the immediate control of the will, and therefore cannot respond directly to it. We cannot feel whenever we please, but we can only feel when something pleasurable or painful is presented to consciousness, whether it be of a physical, mental, or moral character. Only in so far as this something is under the control of the will, and the feeling responds to this something, is the resultant feeling under the will's control. Only to this extent is the soul responsible for its feeling. In the case of spiritual feelings this something is divine truth, brought to our remembrance, applied to our minds, and converted into knowledge through the assistance of Him who is called "the Spirit of truth." We should immediately note the injustice of the command had the apostle written, "Whatsoever things are true, honest, just, pure, lovely, and of good report, *feel* about these things," even though all of them appeal to the moral emotions. Our religious emotions are determined by our religious thoughts, when our will is so in harmony with the divine will as to permit our thoughts about God and our conceptions of divine things to be of such a character as will affect the life. The fact that at times, by reason of physical conditions, the emotions fail to respond to the thought proves that they are unreliable as a test of the depth of spirituality. But whenever the religious feelings do respond they are determined by the religious knowledge. But this latter is under the direct control of the will. The nature of the thought is what we please to make it. To knowledge, therefore, we must give our attention. For it we are morally responsible.

Now let us come back to the definition of spirituality. Above it was taken for granted for the moment that its seat was in the emotional nature of man. But it is plainly evident that it is not a purely emotional state. The spiritual feelings, so called, contain thought elements in such a degree as to make

this position untenable. Indeed, knowledge plays so important a part in spirituality, and the emotional element is in many cases such an illusive and uncertain one, that it is to be strongly suspected that spirituality is not only primarily but mainly a matter of knowledge. Paul's idea of spirituality was not so much one of feeling as that the region of the spiritual is that of clearest insight, most accurate perception, and fullest knowledge. His constant prayer for his converts was that God would give them "the spirit of wisdom and revelation in the knowledge of him," the eyes of (their) heart "being enlightened;" and that they might grow up to this knowledge till they should "all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man." Thus we see that it is impossible to place spirituality in the feeling alone, as much as the feeling may respond to God's worship and the presence of the Holy Spirit. Indeed, it must be concluded that knowledge is not only determinative of spirituality, but that spirituality is to a large extent a state of knowledge as well as feeling.

It is spiritual knowledge, then, supposing the will right, that must be cultivated in order to promote a deep spirituality. It is thinking on high and noble thoughts that, through divine help and the help of an upright life, will change the soul from image to image and from glory to glory, in its progressive attainment of Christlikeness. Herder cried in his dying hour, "Give me a great thought, that I may feed upon it;" and great thoughts are the food upon which alone we can grow up into Christ our living head in all things. It is the open vision of God to the human soul that spiritualizes it; and God, Christ, and the truth in them, constantly present to the mind, brooded over, and meditated upon, will expand the soul to noblest proportions and will spiritualize its atmosphere until it becomes a holy of holies, the fit place for the indwelling of the divine Spirit.

But the question may be asked, "Does not this position discredit and underrate the emotional element in spirituality?" Not at all. The feelings have simply been given their proper place. And here let it be emphasized that the emotions have a place, and a large place, in the Christian experience. A really rational and vital Christianity cannot be without feeling, even though the feeling may not be responsive at every point. Such

a state of affairs is absolutely inconceivable. Let a Christian get into his mind, immovably and deeply fixed, some of the wonderful truths about God, his justice and his love, about Christ and his dying passion, about the Holy Ghost and his marvelous power, and these thoughts will thaw out his soul though it be like an iceberg, and will set the furnace fires of his being going, stoking them until every feeling within him glows with fervid intensity. It is the sudden vision of the truth that excites the deep fear and produces the penitence of the willful transgressor of God's law. It is the revelation of God's anger and mercy to the mind that stirs the corresponding emotions of fear and love. One cannot feel about divine things without first thinking upon them, and it is equally true that no one can think deeply upon Bible truths, if his will be right, without a tremendously moving effect upon his emotional nature. Let the Christian then fill his mind with the great truths of the Gospel; let him meditate, as Paul commanded Timothy to do, on these things; let him nurture himself upon the living word of God. Then holy emotions will be stirred within him; the sounds of laughter and gladness will ring through his soul; love will glow; light will shine; birds will sing; and "joy unspeakable and full of glory" will be his.

Let us now turn our attention to several dangers which menace the Christian holding the view that spirituality is an exclusively emotional state. The first of these is theological. If spirituality is mainly a matter of the feelings, then it is apt to be concluded, as many thinkers in this day have concluded, that theories and doctrines have small place in it. This is the position in which free thought and unbelief have strongly intrenched themselves. This very belief that spirituality is an emotional life gives the color of probability to their way of thinking, and strength to their position. While it is declared by some that, since religion is a purely emotional experience, the doctrinal or thought element is of minor importance, still others say that if this is true we can go still farther. If religion is merely an emotional life, then it is the same the world over, equally divine and equally human, whether found in Christian or in heathen lands, whether founded upon the Indian Veda or upon the Scriptures. The doctrinal ideas are simply the mold in which the true religious life in the feelings seeks

for itself expression and preservation. The following is an utterance of Professor Tyndall's:

> The immovable basis of the religious sentiment is in the emotional nature of man. To yield this sentiment reasonable satisfaction is the problem of problems at the present hour. And grotesque as many of the religions of the world have been and are . . . it will be wise to recognize them as forms of a force, mischievous if permitted to intrude on the region of knowledge, over which it holds no command, but capable of adding, in the region of poetry and emotion, inward completeness and dignity to man.

Matthew Arnold's definition of religion as "morality touched by emotion" is familiar to all. Herbert Spencer says, "Religion is a feeling, a feeling of wonder, a feeling of wonder in the presence of the unknown." Again, Renan has declared that the true theology of our time holds to two propositions: "1. Religion will be eternal in humanity; 2. All religious symbols are assailable and perishable." Lastly, the program of the liberal Protestant party in France is thus summed up by one of its members: "A Church without a priesthood; a religion without a catechism; a morality without dogmatics; a God without an obligatory system." Thus it is seen to what extremes of thought he is in danger of drifting who holds to the view that religion is primarily or mainly a thing of the feelings. The office of the mind in relation to the Scripture truth is thus unintentionally minified; the truth itself as it is in Jesus tends to become unimportant; and then the temptation is presented to conclude on these premises that so long as we cultivate the religious sentiment, which we know is lodged in every human breast, it makes little difference so far as our conception of religion is concerned whether we worship God or the ghosts of our deceased ancestors.

Another danger to which he is exposed who holds that spirituality is primarily or mainly an emotional state is that of fanaticism. Just as soon as the truth is dethroned from its kingly position in the Christian experience the soul is in danger of becoming credulous in the extreme and the feelings are placed at the mercy of all sorts of queer and dangerous fancies. This is a danger common to all who deal with the supernatural. To it Christians are peculiarly exposed. Faith is sometimes spoken of in religious circles as if it were divorced from reason,

not simply among the thinkers of the Ritschlian school, but also among those to whom Ritschl's "value judgments" are unknown. It must be remembered, however, that in the Bible faith is not contrasted with knowledge, but with sight. "We walk by faith, not by sight." "Faith is . . . the evidence of things not seen." Faith is not ignorance, but a high type of knowledge. Intelligent faith is a virtue. Credulity in the Christian is a crime. To trust the passing impulses of the feelings is the sheerest credulity, and to follow them may lead to the wildest fanaticism.

Another danger to which this way of thinking in question exposes the Christian is that of instability of Christian character and service. "A religion based on mere feeling is the most unreliable, the most unstable, of all things." It is well enough for Christian teachers to emphasize the feelings, but they can accent them too strongly and italicize them too frequently. Such undue emphasis leads the Christian to look to his feelings for impulses to Christian activity, and he who depends upon his feelings as a motive power to service is more than likely in many cases not to feel moved. There will constantly menace him the danger of descending in his conception of his feelings to the level of his inclinations. Such a Christian is apt to become unsteady and unreliable. A stable religious life can be built up on no other ground than that of intelligent connections of truth and duty.

These are the tendencies. The evils themselves do not always result. Thousands of strong, intelligent, orthodox, deeply pious Christians hold the view which this article has endeavored to combat. Nevertheless, we believe the view a wrong one, and believe that we have seen its evil effects prevalent in many portions of the Christian Church. Let us close with a quotation from an eminent Scotchman: "A religion divorced from earnest and lofty thought has always, down the whole history of the Church, tended to become weak, jejune, and unwholesome; while the intellect, deprived of its rights within religion, has sought its satisfaction without, and developed into godless rationalism."

F. N. Crowder.

Art. V.—REVIVED ARYANISM IN CONNECTION WITH THE MODERN THEISTIC MOVEMENT IN INDIA.

Already two generations of Christians have been watching the progress of reformed Hinduism in India. There has generally been on our part a sympathy with the Brahmos, and at times almost a sense of spiritual kinship. A quarter of a century ago W. H. Fremantle did not stand alone in viewing the Brahmo Somaj as the nucleus of the Church of Christ in India, and in enthusiastically declaring of its leaders: "Few persons, I think, can listen to their words without feeling their own Christian life strengthened by their simple and sincere estimate of Christ and his teachings." *

Students of comparative religion have watched with deepest interest the efforts of these Indian reformers. The Somajes have been in themselves societies of comparative religion; and the effort has been not only to compare, but to combine, all the historic religions, ancient and modern, oriental and occidental. That Brahmoism has been a blessing, in opposing popular idolatry and in promoting a multitude of social reforms, no one can deny. That it has the essential Christ, or that it is even a John the Baptist, going before and preparing the way for the Christ, is a matter for grave doubt on the part of orthodox Christians. It seems fitting that we should take a brief survey of this movement in order to discover its most pronounced features, to ascertain the origin of its most vital principles, and to see how far it can be relied upon as a regenerating force for saving young India from the corrupting and degrading influences of idolatry.

The first Somaj was founded in Calcutta in 1828 by Rajah Ram Mohun Roy, who declared it his purpose "to persuade my countrymen to forsake idolatry and to become monotheists." The appeals of this first great leader met a generous response. A considerable congregation was gathered, and in two years the funds were raised for a new building, which was erected in 1830 "for a place of public meeting of all sorts and descriptions of people as shall behave and conduct themselves in an orderly, sober, religious, and devout manner for the worship

* *Contemporary Review* of 1870.

and adoration of the eternal, unsearchable, and immutable Being who is the author and preserver of the universe." The founder of this Adi (or original) Somaj in his autobiographical sketch says: "The ground which I took in all my controversies was not that of opposition to Brahmanism, but to a perversion of it; and I endeavored to show that their idolatry was contrary to the practice of their ancestors and the principles of the ancient books and authorities which they professed to revere and obey." * Roy was consistent in his antagonism to idolatry; though the monotheism which he attempted to establish, and which he professed to base upon the Upanishads, was not well defined, and soon came to be, like the early faith of the Veda, at times scarcely distinguishable from pantheism. His great desire was to establish a Church in which the followers of all religions might unite in the worship of the supreme God, in whom it was assumed they all believed. Those who have read Miss Carpenter's loving memoirs need not be told that the characteristic features of the different Somajes to-day are traceable directly to the principles laid down by Mohun Roy. He was a monotheist, and as such abominated idolatry. He aimed at the establishment of a universal religion; and, though calling himself a "follower of Christ" and "a believer in him as the Son of God, in a sense peculiar to him alone," he still constituted the Upanishads, not the New Testament, the canonical Scriptures of the Somaj, and professed to base his system upon the early Aryan faith.

Mr. Nagarkar, in his address at the Parliament of Religions upon "The Spiritual Ideas of the Brahmo Somaj," when speaking of the historic religions of the world, declared, "The essence of all these faiths is one and the same." He summarized his creed under three heads: (1) Belief in the existence of one true God, (2) Unity of truth, and (3) Harmony of prophets. He further said:

> We believe that the prophets of the world, Vyas and Buddha, Moses and Mohammed, Jesus and Zoroaster, all form a homogeneous whole. Each has to teach mankind his own message. Every prophet was sent from above with a distinct message, and it is the duty of us who live in these advanced times to put these messages together, and thereby harmonize and unify the distinctive teachings of the prophets of the world.

* *Modern Hinduism*, by W. J. Wilkins, p. 107.

It would not do to accept one and reject all the others, or to accept one and reject even a single one. The general truths taught by these different prophets are nearly the same in their essence; but, in the midst of all these universal truths that they taught, each has a distinctive truth to teach, and it should be our earnest purpose to find out and understand this particular truth. To me Vyas teaches how to understand and apprehend the attributes of divinity. The Jewish prophets of the Old Testament teach the idea of the sovereignty of God. They speak of God as a king, a monarch, a sovereign who rules over the affairs of mankind as nearly and as closely as a human king. Mohammed, on the other hand, most emphatically teaches the idea of the unity of God. He rebelled against the Trinitarian doctrine, imported into the religion of Christ through Greek and Roman influences. . . . Mohammed's ideal of the unity of God stands supreme and unchallenged in his teachings. Buddha, the great teacher of morals and ethics, teaches in the most sublime strains the doctrine of Nirvana, or self-denial, or self-effacement. This principle of extreme self-abnegation means nothing more than the subjugation and conquest of our carnal self; so, also, Christ Jesus of Nazareth taught a sublime truth when he taught the noble idea of the fatherhood of God. . . . In this way, by means of an honest and earnest study of the lives and teaching of different prophets of the world, we can find out the central truth of each faith. Having done this, it should be our highest aim to harmonize all these and to build up our spiritual nature on them.

Thus, modestly, it is observed, "the Brahmo Somaj seeks to Hinduize Hinduism, to Mohammedanize Mohammedanism, and to Christianize Christianity."

Bose has said of Roy, "His religion was more a theory of the head than a moving principle of the heart."* After his departure from India his system failed to exert much influence upon his countrymen, who came to regard him as "in essentials all things to all men, a Hindu among the Hindus, a Mussulman among the Mussulmen, and a Christian among the Christians." After the rajah's death the affairs of the Somaj languished for several years, until Babu Debendra Nath Tagore in 1839 founded the *Tattwabodhini Sabha*, or Society for the Knowledge of Truth, and became the successor of Roy. Though unlike him, he professed to get his light exclusively from Hindu Scriptures. The grand aim of this was "to make known the religion of Brahma, to ascertain what the original Shastras were, and to discover the primitive religion," which was to be exhumed from the sacred literature of the Hindus. The moral system inculcated was of a lofty character. The member-

* *Brahmoism*, by Ram Chandra Bose, p. 42.

ship of the society, which was combined with the Somaj in 1843, increased rapidly until in 1847 there were, according to W. J. Wilkins, of the London Missionary Society, seven hundred and sixty-seven who signed the covenant to abstain from idolatry and to cultivate the habit of prayer. Mr. Tagore seems to have been the real father of revived Aryanism, though it must be admitted that his success was more pronounced while he restricted himself to his imagination than when he actually through learned pundits explored the Vedas at Benares. Though two years were spent by four pundits under his direction in searching and copying from the Vedas, the result was that while the Somaj in 1850 gave up Vedantism and formally abandoned pantheism, it also abandoned belief in the canonical authority of the Vedas. Wilkins truly says: "The aim of the leaders of these sects has professedly been to lead back the Hindus to the primitive worship of their Aryan forefathers, although it is evident to all unprejudiced students of their doctrines that it is in many respects the teaching of the Vedas, very largely modified by the Christian Scriptures, that is prevailing among them." *

The writer for the *Contemporary Review* † was not altogether wrong when he said: "The Brahmo Somaj is a product of Western civilization. No one can doubt this who reads the publications of the society. They are saturated through and through with modern thought. They could not by any possibility have been written one hundred years ago. Apart from the fact that they are addressed in English to the people of India, the whole tone of thought is European." Yet the leading apostles of Brahmoism to-day tell us that, "so far as religious progress and spiritual culture are concerned, they have little or nothing to learn from the West." "In the first place," says Mr. Nagarkar, "we have to revive many of our ancient religious and social institutions. Through ages of ignorance they have been lost to us, and what we need to do with regard to these institutions is to bring them to life again. We have been in darkness and had well-nigh forgotten our bright and glorious past." Regarding social reform among the Hindus he testifies: "The glory of their ancient religion, the purity of their social institutions, and the strength of their political constitution had all been

* *Modern Hinduism*, p. 106. † Vol. xv, p. 73.

eclipsed for the time being by a thick and heavy cloud of decay and of decrepitude. Yet the Lord of love and mercy was moved with compassion for them. He yearned to help them, to restore them to their former glory and greatness."

So, Mr. Protap Chundra Mozoomdar thus introduced the Somaj at the late Chicago Parliament: "Our society is a new society; our religion is a new religion; but it comes from far, far antiquity, from the very roots of our national life hundreds of centuries ago. . . . The principles were those," he asserts, "of the old Hindu Scriptures. The Brahmo Somaj founded this monotheism upon the inspiration of the Vedas and Upanishads." And again he declared: "In prehistoric times our forefathers worshiped the great living Spirit, God, and after many strange vicissitudes we Indian theists, led by the light of ages, worship the same living Spirit, God, and none other." The quiet observation of one of our veteran missionaries in India, after hearing Mozoomdar, was not without point: "He draws largely upon his imagination for his alleged facts." But just here is the strength of the system. So long as these modern apostles draw their Aryanism, like Tagore, from their imagination, their theories are safe; but when, like him, they attempt to base their theories upon the ancient literature, they are doomed to more or less of disappointment.

In 1858 Babu Keshub Chunder Sen joined the Brahmo ranks. His boundless enthusiasm, his philanthropic activity and missionary spirit, coupled with the graces and accomplishments of a natural orator, at once imparted new life to the moribund society. Four years later he was made minister, and for a time the work went on harmoniously, but in 1865 the Somaj was too conservative to follow Sen's radical leadership, and so with a few friends he formed the Progressive Somaj. Since that time the original Somaj, instead of making progress in theistic faith, has rather gone back toward Hinduism.* "It is," we are told, "somewhat like an endowed but dead Church. It has a name to live, but is dead!"

The Progressive Somaj under Mr. Sen's enthusiastic leadership soon began to attract much attention, not only in India, but among all English-speaking peoples. His one idea seemed to be that of religious unification. "There are some truths

* Comp. *Modern Hinduism*, p. 111.

which form the essence of each and all of the jarring religions of the world." These truths constitute the essence of all religions, the religion of religions, the creed of creeds. Under this banner all the religions of the world may unite or coalesce into one faith. To bring about such unification was the supreme purpose of Sen's life, to raise up a national Church in which the three great religions of India could unite. Hinduism, Mohammedanism, and Christianity, he believed, could be unified and welded into one homogeneous system. His two doctrines were proclaimed as "the fatherhood of God" and the "brotherhood of man." Mr. Mozoomdar doubtless represents the view taken by Mr. Sen when he says:

> Christianity declares the glory of God; Hinduism speaks about his infinite and eternal excellence. Mohammedanism, with fire and sword, proves the almightiness of his will; Buddhism says how joyful and peaceful he is. He is the God of all religions, of all denominations, of all lands, of all Scriptures, and our progress lay in harmonizing these various systems, these various prophecies and developments, into one great system. . . . The Christian speaks in terms of admiration of Christianity; so does the Hebrew of Judaism; so does the Mohammedan of the Koran; so does the Zoroastrian of the Zend-Avesta. The Christian admires his principles of spiritual culture; the Hindu does the same; the Mohammedan does the same. But the Brahmo Somaj accepts and harmonizes all these precepts, systems, principles, teachings, and disciplines, and makes them into one system, and that is his religion.*

Here is the ideal of the Brahmo-Somaj, "whose religion is the harmony of all religions, and whose congregation is the brotherhood of all nations."

Speaking of Mr. Sen's innovations, the following comment of the *Spectator*† seems to us very fair: "It is clear that this curious experiment aims at satisfying the cravings of all creeds known to Mr. Sen, and at doing homage at once to the Hindu expression of the infinite multiplicity and variety of the divine agency, to the Mohammedan expression of the divine absoluteness, and to the Christian expression of the divine spirituality and love; and that in attempting to unite them it makes every one of them hollow and unreal." Mr. Sen evidently did not appreciate the force of this criticism. His plan of unity was for a time heralded as the star of promise betokening the dawn

* *The World's Parliament of Religions*, by Dr. J. H. Barrows, vol. i, pp. 350, 351.
† Vol. lvi, p. 39.

of a brighter day. In one of his "Town Hall Addresses," at Calcutta, he pleads:

> Cultivate communion, my brethren, and continually absorb all that is good and noble in each other. Do not hate, do not exclude others as the sectarians do, but include and absorb all humanity and all truth. Let there be no antagonism, no exclusion; let the embankment which each sect, each nation has raised be swept away by the flood of cosmopolitan truth, and let all barriers and partitions which separate man from man be pulled down, so that truth and love and purity may flow freely through millions of hearts, and through hundreds of successive generations, from country to country and from age to age. Thus shall the deficiencies of individual and national character be complemented, and humanity shall attain a fuller and more perfect standard of religious and moral life. There is no reason, my European friends, why you should move eternally in your narrow groove, rejecting everything which is Eastern and Asiatic. Why should you not add to your national virtues those of the East? Why should you not add to your philosophy and science and civilization the faith and poetry of Asia?*

To us the most interesting feature of the Somaj, in the early days of Mr. Sen's administration, was the reverence shown to Christ, and the unique position assigned to him by Mr. Sen in his public addresses.† Yet we do not have to look long to discover the incoherence and ambiguity of his views of the person of Christ. From his addresses it would be impossible to affirm that he had any well-defined Christology, such as would satisfy any evangelical Christian. His Christ was rather an imaginary Christ, an ideal, a spiritual potentiality which took possession of Jesus, but which has also favored all great reformers. Thus Mr. Mozoomdar goes a little farther into visionary mysticism, yet it is along the same line, when he says: "Jesus lay discovered in my heart as a strange human kindred love, as a repose, a sympathetic consolation, an unpurchased treasure, to which I was freely invited. . . . It was not a bodily Christ. . . . A character, spirit, a holy sacrificed exalted self, whom I recognize as the true Son of God."‡ It is scarcely necessary to dwell upon the extravagances and vagaries that were characteristic of the Proteus-like doctrine of "The New Dispensation." The Sadharan (or universal) Somaj was started in 1878. The unsatisfactory marriage of Mr. Sen's daughter, and the growing dissatisfaction with his autocratic

* *Contemporary Review*, vol. xl, p. 583. † *Modern Hinduism*, p. 112.
‡ Rose's *Brahmoism*, p. 157.

management of the Somaj, and with his original notions, prompted a majority of the Brahmos and Brahmicas to condemn him. Their secession led to the organization of the Sadharan Somaj, and left Mr. Sen free to follow out his ideas unhindered by the more conservative Brahmos. Then "The New Dispensation" was inaugurated. This was to reconcile all existing dispensations. Mr. Sen characterized it as "the precious necklace in which are strung together the rubies and pearls of all ages and climates;" as "the sweet music of diverse instruments harmonized;" and as "the wonderful solvent which fuses all dispensations into a new chemical substance."* "Come, then," he says, in his lecture on "We Apostles of the New Dispensation," "to the synthetic unity of the new dispensation. You will see how all other dispensations are harmonized and unified in this, a whole host of Churches resolved into a scientific unity. . . . Where others see only confusion and anomaly it sees order and continuity. Joyfully it exclaims, 'I have found the science of dispensation at last, unity in multiplicity.' . . . Our position is not that truths are to be found in all religions, but that all religions are true. The new dispensation is to harmonize all religions and revelations."

The sacraments of the Christian Church, together with the worship of Indra and Agni, were adapted and adopted by this Protean system. "Adapt and adopt" was the motto. It was everywhere applied, and Sophia Dobson Collet showed good judgment when she said, "I can hardly believe that such a compound can be regarded with approval by any sane Christian or by any honest Hindu." Again she characterizes it, "a heterogeneous tissue of contradictory notions and inconsistent ceremonies."† It was pointedly asked by Mr. Bose twelve years ago, "Why should Christian patronage be lavished on a Church in which Christ is brought down to the level of human beings, the Bible is represented as a piece of human composition, the God of the Old Testament is facetiously described as a bearded Jew, and the holy sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper are burlesqued?"‡

Perhaps the most interesting features of this movement in recent years are to be seen in the Arya Somaj, which was

* *Contemporary Review*, vol. xl, p. 576, article by W. Knighton.
† *Ibid.*, vol. xl, p. 729. ‡ *Brahmoism*, pp. 165, 166.

founded by Dayananda Saraswati, who, according to the *Indian Evangelical Review* (vol. xiii, p. 298), "endeavored to substitute his views of the ancient religion of India for what he believed to be its modern corruption and to see in the ancient religion, by his own original method of interpretation, all the blessings of modern Christian civilization." This Somaj is strictly monotheistic, though it inconsistently claims to base itself upon the Darsanas. It is hostile to caste and to pessimism. Its ethics are of a high order. Women and children are held in esteem, and female education is promoted; heaven and hell are represented as conditions of character, not locations. It is essentially missionary in spirit and compromising in character; but, in proclaiming that there is no incarnation, it raises aloft the two-edged sword with which to antagonize Christians on the one hand and Hindus on the other. One of our most scholarly and fair-minded missionaries says:

> The relation of the Arya Somaj to Christianity and to Western thought is unique and full of interest. It is exceedingly hostile to Christian propagandism, and yet it is a far more efficient handmaid to Christianity than was the Brahmo Somaj in its most palmy days. It is more efficient because its attitude toward all Hindus is more conciliatory and more persuasive and influential. It is less radical as to changes in doctine, and yet not one step more radical with respect to those great social movements which Christianity is striving to promote. Moreover, the Arya Somaj is a real ally of Christianity against the various current phases of Western infidelity. It takes the side of truth against the agnosticism of Huxley and Herbert Spencer. It is strongly theistic. It believes in an intelligent and omnipotent first cause and a real creation of the world. It maintains benevolence of design in the creation and government of the world, which Tyndall and Darwin reject. It is in advance of Max Müller in the doctrine of preternatural revelation of God to man. It brings all virtue and philanthropy within the domain of religion. It challenges all forms of pessimism, and maintains that the one God of the universe is wise and good, and therefore worthy of all reverence and love. [But it is added:] While modern Aryanism is in some sense an ally of Christian civilization it must not be forgotten that it is more or less an intrenchment of essential Hinduism. The more nearly it counterfeits the truth of God, and shuns disgusting rites, the more plausible does it become.

Another of our veteran missionaries writes of the entire movement, "I do not think it has gained any ground in the past ten years; rather, I should say that it has retrograded." Ten years ago there were, according to Wilkins, one hundred

and seventy-three Somajes, with fifteen hundred enrolled members and about eight thousand adherents. The census returns of 1882 show only seven hundred and eighty-eight in the whole of Bengal. Yet, as they are almost all educated, their influence is by no means measured by their numbers. Two thirds of the number are reported as in Calcutta. "It is beyond doubt," observes the census report, "that they have described themselves, or been described in many cases, as Hindus—a course which is not remarkable when we consider that many persons rank them as a Puritanical monotheistic sect of the Hindus." That the Brahmos and Aryas will ever be more than sects is exceedingly doubtful; yet we should not belittle the part they have taken in bringing about social reforms and in breaking down the old religion by their uncompromising opposition to idolatry, superstition, and caste.

What the Bramos say of themselves and their achievements must be taken *cum grano salis.* It was not without poetic fervor that Mozoomdar at Chicago referred to the Brahmo Somaj as a movement "whose religion is the harmony of all religions, and whose congregation is the brotherhood of all nations;" yet five years earlier, through the *Interpreter*, he said plaintively, "We cannot hide from ourselves the fact that our beloved Church is in a course of steady decline, that the interests of spiritual life in the Brahmo Somaj, as a whole, show a fearful tendency to relaxation; this, to our regret, we find becomes more and more true." * We are told that the system has derived its inspiration from the ancient Aryan faith, and again that the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man are its very corner stones. Yet a candid Brahmo said, in the *Theistic Annual* of 1873: "The idea of the brotherhood and equality of all mankind before God, I am sorry to say, is not to be found, because it is never recognized in any of our ancient writings. The idea is foreign."

Regarding social reform we will let a Brahmo speak for himself:

> The religion of the Brahmo Somaj has, from its very birth, been the foremost to proclaim a crusade against every social evil in our country. The ruthless, heartless practice of suttee, or the burning of Hindu widows on the funeral pile of their husbands, was abolished through the instru-

* *Missionary Herald*, December, 1889, p. 521.

mentality of the great rajah, Ram Mohun Roy. His successors have all been social reformers as much as religious reformers. In the heart of the Brahmo Somaj you find no caste, no image worship. We have abolished early marriage and helped the cause of widows' marriage. We have promoted intermarriage; we fought for and obtained a law from the British government to legalize marriages between the representatives of any castes and any creeds. The Brahmos have been great educators. They have started schools and colleges, societies and seminaries, not only for boys and young men, but for girls and young women. In the Brahmo community you will find hundreds of young ladies who combine in their education the acquirements of the East and the West; oriental reserve and modesty with occidental culture and refinement. Many of our young ladies have taken degrees in arts and social sciences in Indian universities.*

So far as this is true it is to be appreciated; yet if our missionaries had not gone these reforms would not have come.

And, finally, a word regarding the constantly reiterated boast of their very ancient and honorable pedigree. While it is true that the early religion of the Hindus was free from many of the debasing features of modern Hinduism, and while there is in the Veda what occasionally appears to us as a close approximation to monotheism, yet all this recent talk about "the glory of their ancient religion," "their former glory and greatness," "the purity of their social institutions," and "their bright and glorious past" comes from those victimized by chimeras and gifted with resplendent imagination.

We must agree that so far as the Arya Somaj, or any other form of revived Aryanism, hopes to regenerate India it is doomed to disappointment. In the words of another, "It cannot long utilize the forces of Christian ethics and Christian civilization under Vedic labels. The fraud will be discovered." And we conclude with Bose that "it is our duty, when we see persons loitering before the gate of the Church, and led by conceit, or want of the spirit of religious earnestness, to refuse to enter in, to toll the tocsin of alarm and not come out with congratulations and encomiums which vanity and ambition may convert into stepping-stones to absolute spiritual ruin."

* Address by B. B. Nagarkar, in *The World's Parliament of Religions*, vol. 1, pp. 778, 779.

Jesse W. Brooks

Art. VI.—PAUL AND ANANIAS BEFORE THE SANHEDRIN AT JERUSALEM.

When Ananias commanded that the apostle should be smitten on the mouth with the iron heel of a shoe it was intended as an act of supreme contempt for his utterances of conscientiousness just made respecting his own conduct, especially since he became a Christian. The following facts and proofs are noteworthy:

1. That Ananias "was the son of Nebedæus," the twentieth high priest (Josephus, *Antiquities*, xx, 5, 2; xx, 8, 4, n.).

2. That Josephus, "son of Camydus," immediately preceded him in office (xx, 1, 3; xx, 8, 4, n.).

3. That Herod Agrippa II removed Josephus, and made Ananias high priest, about 48 A. D.* (xx, 5, 2).

4. That Jonathan immediately succeeded Ananias, but was murdered about the year 57 (xx, 8, 5).

5. That this Ananias was in character extremely arbitrary, violent, and lawless (xx, 9, 2).

6. That Quadratus sent Ananias in irons to Claudius Cæsar for trial, about 52 (xx, 6, 2; Josephus, *War*, ii, 12, 6).

7. That Ananias ordered Paul to be smitten on the mouth with the shoe, in 58 (Acts xxiii, 1–5).

8. That Ananias also died by assassination by the Sicarii, in the year 58 or 59 (*War*, ii, 17, 9).

9. That Jonathan, being assassinated, was succeeded by "Ismael, son of Fabi," in 59 (xx, 8, 11; also 8, 6).

Three principal theories have been entertained to explain the relations of Paul to the high priest Ananias, when the apostle was a prisoner in the hands of the Romans and placed before the Jewish Sanhedrists, by order of the military commandant, Lysias, at Jerusalem.

First Hypothesis: That Ananias was then properly the high priest, though he was afterward removed; that in Paul's long absence the high priesthood had undergone many changes under Agrippa II, so that Paul did not know that Ananias was indeed high priest; that the apostle was at fault in spirit in reproving Ananias publicly for the perpetration of the outrage upon his person, a fact conceded by the apostle by his apology, etc.; that owing to his impaired eyesight Paul did not recog-

* See Thomas Lewin's *Fasti Sacri* as to this chronology.

nize either the place or the white vestments of the high priest. (See Alford and others.) The weakness of this theory is found in the fact that it assumes without proof that the apostle did not and could not see the high priest, while the narrative itself relates that he did see discerningly all over the assembly, discriminating the Pharisees from the Sadducees, and thereupon divided the council by announcing his adherence to the Pharisaic doctrine of the resurrection of the dead as the very ground upon which the Sadducees were so fiercely assailing him. The two statements are incompatible.

Second Hypothesis: That Ananias had been high priest, but was not high priest at that time, having been deposed and sent in chains to Rome for judgment; that Jonathan, his successor, had been assassinated by the connivance of the procurator Felix, and Ismael had not yet been appointed to the office. A vacancy was thus created for some time, during which, with characteristic insolence, Ananias returned and arrogated to himself the authority of the high priesthood, he being a man of lawless procedures and exercising a powerful influence over the Jews; and at exactly the time of this vacancy of the office Paul was brought before the Sanhedrists for trial, where he refused to acknowledge the right of this pretender to the place, because he was not in fact the high priest at this time; and that the apostle rightfully and righteously reproved his assurance and insult just on the spot where it occurred, denouncing the order of Ananias as an act which would be punished by God. The opinions of some eminent scholars on this point are as follows:

The high priesthood was vacant at this time (Lightfoot). Ananias usurped the office (Michælis, Eichhorn, Kuinoel, and others). Paul said he did not consider that Ananias was high priest (Conybeare and Howson, *Life of Paul*, ii, 324). The arrogant Ananias, the high priest, took upon himself to occupy the chair, though the presidency of the council, if we may believe the Jewish accounts, was at the time vested in Rabbi Symeon, son of the famous Gamaliel (Thomas Lewin's *Paul*, ii, 149). Paul said that he did not recognize the speaker [giving the order] as high priest (Farrar, *Paul*, i, 660).

This Ananias, the son of Nebedaeus, was a man of criminal life who was afterward displaced from his office and dragged to Rome to answer for his conduct, so that the reproach cast upon him by Paul was entirely merited. Besides, he was not the legal high priest, for after he was liberated through Agrippa's intercession at Rome he did not recover his dignity, though he still arrogated to himself the power of the office (Olshausen,

Com., in loco, p. 606). Ananias presided in the assembly as high priest, an office which he possessed by usurpation rather than by legitimate authority (Milman's *Christianity*, i, p. 413). But, *per contra*, he was at this time the actual high priest. . . . There is no ground for believing that his office was vacated (Alford, *Gr. Test.*, Eng. ed., pp. 252, 253. So Bisco on Acts, p. 48, § 8).

Now, upon inquiry into the history of the age it turns out that Ananias, of whom this account is spoken, was in truth not the high priest, though he was sitting in judgment in that assumed capacity. The case was that he had formerly held the office and had been deposed; and that the person who succeeded him had been murdered and another had not yet been appointed; and that during the vacancy he had of his own authority taken upon himself the discharge of that office. This singular situation of the high priesthood took place during the interval between the death of Jonathan, who was murdered by order of Felix, and the accession of Ismael, who was invested with the high priesthood by Agrippa [II]; and precisely in this interval it happened that St. Paul was apprehended and brought before the Jewish council (Paley's *Evid.*, xxii, p. 280; Dr. W. W. Sleigh, *Christian Defensive Dictionary*, p. 429). Probably [Lysias] himself, and not the high priest, presided over the informal inquest (Whedon, *Com.*, in loco.).

The only references in proof are those made to Josephus's *Antiquities*, xx, 8, especially xx, 9, 1. While Ananias may have been the high priest by usurpation the evidence does not seem to be conclusive of that point.

Third Hypothesis: This disregards the legitimacy of Ananias's high priesthood as irrelevant to the case. It seeks an answer to the question as lying wholly in the character of the assembly, and must be found, (1) in the authority exercised in calling together the Sanhedrists; (2) in the regularity or informality of the assembly convened; and (3) in the purpose and procedure of the Sanhedrists when assembled. These points may be traversed.

1. It is evident from the facts narrated that the members of the Sanhedrin were called together solely on the authority of Lysias, the military commandant of Castle Antonia at Jerusalem. "On the morrow . . . he commanded the chief priests and all their council to appear" (Acts xxii, 30). A military man had no legal authority to assemble that senate as a court of judicature. For the transaction of legitimate business the authority to assemble the Sanhedrin was vested in that body itself, which was distinctively and exclusively a Jewish organiza-

tion. It was never made subject to military power for the exercise of its own functions in times of peace. Lysias could of course call together the members of the Sanhedrin as individuals, but he had no right whatever to organize them into a court of trial and place the apostle Paul before them on his defense.

2. What then was the occasion and purpose of Lysias in assembling the members of the Sanhedrin as individuals? We have not far to go for an answer. The military officer was sorely perplexed with the situation; he had a prisoner on his hands who seemed to be treated as if he were a criminal, and in view of the turbulence and riot of the Jews on the temple grounds prior to Paul's arrest he could not understand what it all meant. Besides, the prisoner claimed to be a Roman citizen—a fact which greatly embarrassed the situation (Acts xxii, 25), and which was understood perfectly to be a valid claim (xxii, 27, and xxiii, 27)—and was so treated with consideration; and altogether he naturally felt himself responsible for making a legal disposition of his prisoner. He had suppressed the tumult and riot of the Jews, but he did not understand the cause which had given rise to it. Accordingly, upon rescuing the apostle Lysias "inquired who he was, and what he had done." The Scripture then continues as follows:

> And some shouted one thing, some another, among the crowd: and when he could not know the certainty for the uproar, he commanded him to be brought into the castle, [and] the multitude of the people followed after, crying out, Away with him (xxi, 34–36). [And when Paul by permission addressed the maddened mob from the stone steps of the castle it was in the Hebrew tongue, which Lysias did not understand (xxi, 40); and when] they lifted up their voice, and said, Away with such a fellow from the earth: for it is not fit that he should live, [and] threw off their garments, and cast dust into the air, the chief captain commanded him to be brought into the castle, bidding that he should be examined by scourging, that he might know for what cause they so shouted against him (xxii, 22–24). But on the morrow, desiring to know the certainty, wherefore he was accused of the Jews, he loosed him, and commanded the chief priests and all the council to come together, and brought Paul down, and set him before them (xxii, 30). [And afterward, when delivering the apostle over to the procurator for his proper trial, Lysias in his letter explains the procedures which led up to Paul's arrest:] And desiring to know the cause wherefore they accused him, I brought him down unto their council (xxiii, 28).

Thus we know from Lysias himself what the sole purpose was in this assemblage of the Sanhedrists. It clearly was not to put Paul upon trial on specific charges already ascertained, but to determine what the accusations were, and upon what the indictment was based. The procedure then was in the interests of Lysias exclusively as the military officer in command, that he might address himself intelligently to the business in hand and dispose of his prisoner in a legal manner, and that he might withal be able to render a reasonable account to the procurator Felix—exactly as he did do afterward (Acts xxiii, 25–30).

Now, if Lysias was simply seeking to discover what the accusations against Paul were, for his own advantage, the Sanhedrists certainly were not there to deliberate upon the accusations in a court of justice, as if the charges were already ascertained and preferred. As a military man, himself being a Roman citizen (Acts xxii, 28), he had no legal right or power to organize a court of foreign jurisdiction to try a Roman citizen, nor yet to preside over such a court of trial. It was the exclusive function of the procurator, who governed the whole province, to preside over the Sanhedrin of the Jews when a Jew was to be tried, after the prisoner was once in the Romans' hands. The high priest could not then preside. But even the procurator himself could not bring a prisoner to trial before the Sanhedrin without the prisoner's own consent. This is clearly shown further on in the case. At Cæsarea, Festus asked the apostle, "Wilt thou (θέλεις) go up to Jerusalem and there be judged of all these things before me?" But Paul refused consent, saying, "I am standing before Cæsar's judgment seat, where I ought to be judged: . . . if none of those things is true, whereof these accuse me, no man can give me up unto them. I appeal unto Cæsar" (xxv, 10, 11).

The apostle being a Roman citizen, in the hands of the Romans, he must be tried either by the procurator or by the emperor. A soldier had no legal authority to organize a judicature among the Jews to try any man, and least of all could he arraign one who was a Roman citizen. For it was a principle of Roman jurisprudence that no Roman could be tried by a foreign court. On this point the following opinions may be quoted:

No Roman citizen could be handed over to a foreign tribunal (Olshausen on *Acts*, p. 615). For as Paul was a Roman, and the case had been taken up by the Roman governor, it could not lawfully, without the prisoner's consent, be remitted to the Jewish judicature (Myer, *Apostg.*, 423, quoted by Thomas Lewin, in his *Paul*, ii, 172, n. 130). But it was accordant with a soldier's prerogative that Lysias should have commanded the chief priests and all the council to come together and set him [the apostle] before them (Acts xxii, 30).

That this assembly was summoned, not for the purpose of trying Paul, but to elicit information in the form of accusations, develops in the procedure further on in the history of this case. Festus the newly appointed procurator, arriving at Cæsarea, where Paul had been kept bound, visited Jerusalem. The narrative then states (Acts xxv, 2–11):

And the chief priests and the principal men of the Jews informed him against Paul; and they besought him, asking favor against him, that he would send for him to Jerusalem; laying wait to kill him on the way. Howbeit Festus answered, that Paul was kept in charge at Cæsarea, and that he himself was about to depart thither shortly. Let them therefore, saith he, which are of power among you, go down with me, and if there is anything amiss in the man, let them accuse him. . . . He went down unto Cæsarea; and on the morrow he sat on the judgment seat, and commanded Paul to be brought. And when he was come, the Jews which had come down from Jerusalem stood round about him, bringing against him many and grievous charges, which they could not prove. . . . But Paul said, . . . To the Jews have I done no wrong, as thou also very well knowest. If then I am a wrongdoer, and have committed anything worthy of death, I refuse not to die: but if none of those things is true, whereof these accuse me, no man can give me up unto them.

Finally, as the result of Lysias's preliminary investigation referred to, we find that Tertullus, the Jews' advocate in his indictment of Paul when brought to trial before Felix, clearly represents the Sanhedrists as still appearing in the capacity of informers and accusers, and not as the triers of the apostle (compare Acts xxiv, 1). The Scripture then continues (Acts xxiv, 5–9):

For we have found this man a pestilent fellow, and a mover of insurrections among all the Jews throughout the world, and a ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes: who moreover assayed to profane the temple: on whom also we laid hold: from whom thou wilt be able, by examining him thyself, to take knowledge of all these things whereof we accuse him. And the Jews also joined in the charge, affirming that these things were so.

These facts legitimate the induction that the transaction ordered by Lysias was of the nature of a preliminary investigation, somewhat analogous to the function of our grand jury, which is to ascertain the state of the case simply, not to try given charges. This has an important bearing on the final conclusion of Paul's case.

3. The utterance of Paul to Ananias before the assembled Sanhedrists in Lysias's presence remains to be explained in agreement with this conclusion. "Sitteth thou to judge me according to the law, and commandest me to be smitten contrary to the law?" * (Acts xxiii, 3.) In accusing the apostle of crime they were already "judging him according to the law;" for if the accusations they would make had no application to the law they would not have troubled to make them. In that sense, then, did they sit judging Paul according to the law. On this point certain authorities say:

> This seems not to be a court for judicial trial and sentence, but an informal calling together for inquiry. Lysias assembles the Sanhedrin simply to know the certainty whereof he was accused of the Jews. And probably Lysias himself, and not the high priest Ananias, presided over his inquest.†
>
> Not only the informality of this assemblage, but the previous excitements of its members and the riot with which it broke up, indicate that Ananias occupied no seat of honor, and wore no costume to distinguish him from the crowd. His person was unknown to Paul, who had been absent from Jerusalem. When, then, he ordered Paul to be smitten he not only committed a violence for which he there and then had no authority, but there was no sign to indicate to Paul that the order was given in due authority.‡
>
> We know from Josephus that there was the greatest irregularity in the appointments [of the high priests] about this time.§

4. In respect to Paul's severe response to Ananias's malignant order to smite the apostle, opposite opinions have been

* Καὶ σὺ κάθῃ κρίνων με κατὰ τὸν νόμον, καὶ παρανόμων κελεύεις με τύπτεσθαι. The word κρίνων is obviously the key-word in this sentence, which means "to inquire, search into" (Liddell & Scott); "to estimate, exercise judgment upon, to bring under question" (Bagster's *Green*); "to find out the right (Acts xxiii, 6), without implying the nature of the judgment" (Cremer's *Bib.-Theol. Lex. of N. T.*, 2d ed., p. 370); "(1) to judge in one's own mind what is right, proper, or expedient; (2) to form and express a judgment of a person or thing, to decide in one's own mind, not judicially; (3) to judge in a judicial sense" (Robinson's *Dict. of N. T.*). Delitzsch, on Deut. xxxii, 35, says: "The LXX by no means used it merely of a sentence of condemnation, but also of helpful decision in one's favor: for example, Psalm liv, 3; nor merely of legal administration of a cause for others, but also of administrative rule generally; for example, Psalm lxxii, 2" (as quoted by Cremer in loco).

† Whedon on Acts xxii, 30. ‡ *Ibid.*, Acts xxiii, 4.

§ Conybeare and Howson's *Paul*, ii, 324, Eng. ed.

expressed, one, that Paul acted with undue haste, but redeemed himself by apologizing manfully; the other that he spoke from inspiration and made no apology. In support of the former opinion it is said:

> If his conduct in yielding to a momentary impulse was not that of Christ himself under provocation,* certainly the manner in which he atoned for his fault was Christlike" (Hackett, indorsed by Walcott, and substantially by Howson, Wordsworth, and Lechler).

In support of the second opinion it has been said:

> I understand the words above in their most obvious and natural sense. He knew not who the person was, and God's Spirit suddenly led him to denounce the divine displeasure against him [Ananias]. . . . If I had known he was high priest I should not have publicly pronounced this execration; for respect is due his person for the sake of the office. I do not see that Paul intimates that he has done anything through inadvertence, nor does he here confess any fault. He states two facts: (1) That he did not know him to be high priest; (2) That such or any ruler of the people should be reverenced. But he neither recalled nor made any apology for his words; he had not committed any trespass, and he did not acknowledge one. We must beware how we attribute either to him in the case before us."†

If the former opinion be entertained, what is to become of our Lord's own assurance to his apostles, of whom Paul was confessedly chief, when he says: "But when they deliver you up, take no thought how or what ye shall speak: for it shall be given you in that same hour what ye shall speak. For it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you" (Matt. x, 19, 20). "For I will give you a mouth and wisdom, which all your adversaries shall not be able to gainsay nor resist" (Luke xxi, 15). "For it is not ye that speak, but the Holy Ghost?" (Mark xiii, 11.)

That these circumstances fit Paul's case is unmistakable. Our Lord puts the whole responsibility of the utterance upon the Holy Spirit, and denies it to the apostle in any case. Now, did the Holy Spirit fail Paul in the very first instance of his experience before Jewish rulers?

5. It has been claimed that we have in this experience of Paul an instance of divine inspiration in an apostle, and yet

* "One of the officers standing by struck Jesus with his hand, saying, Answerest thou the high priest so? Jesus answered him, If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil: but if well, why smitest thou me?" (John xviii, 22, 23.)

† Dr. Adam Clarke's *Com.* on this passage.

he did not know that Ananias was the high priest of the Jews. Admitting that Ananias was in fact the high priest—which is questioned with no little probability—the sufficient answer is that to know that which is unknown requires not inspiration but revelation. Revelation brings information; inspiration communicates that information to others. If it be insisted upon that a revelation was requisite in this case, it should also be shown what great or good purpose would be subserved in Paul's knowing that Ananias was high priest, that a divine revelation was called for. Nevertheless, it was a revelation that disclosed the mode of Ananias's death as predicted by the apostle; and it was inspiration that moved Paul to denounce God's displeasure upon Ananias's conduct toward his servant. For neither revelation was at fault in foreshowing, nor inspiration in foretelling, that Ananias would be judicially smitten, when the apostle said, "God will smite thee, thou whited wall;" for in the end the historical fact justified both the revelation and the inspiration of the sentence.

The following particulars may now be emphasized by induction:

1. Lysias, as a soldier, summoned the Sanhedrists together on his own responsibility and for his own advantage; but he possessed no power or right to organize a formal court to try the apostle.

2. The one and exclusive object had in summoning this informal assemblage was to learn from them what possible offense Paul had committed against the law, that they had been so furious toward him in their demonstrations and tumult.

3. No mere officer of the army had power to substitute a foreign judicature for the Roman court to try any man for his life; nor does it appear that Lysius contemplated such a purpose in what he did.

4. It certainly was not within the province of a Roman soldier to try a Roman citizen before the Jewish Sanhedrin as an organized court, with the high priest presiding.

5. Only the procurator, with the prisoner's consent thereunto, could try anyone before the Sanhedrin, and then the procurator himself must preside, and not the high priest.

6. In the case of the apostle before the Sanhedrists the only judgment sought was that following a preliminary inquiry

whether in fact the apostle had been guilty of violating the law, and in what particulars.

7. Accordingly, Lysias, having ascertained in this preliminary what the accusations against Paul were, passed the case over to the procurator for his proper trial, citing in his letter to the procurator the nature of the charges which he had elicited.

8. As the high priests were frequently changed by Agrippa II at this period, during which the apostle was abroad upon his mission work, Paul could not know that Ananias was high priest, if he was, as he could not have presided, nor worn the white vestments, nor occupied the conspicuous seat of the president, in this preliminary inquiry.

9. The reproof administered by the apostle to Ananias respecting his high-handed procedure may justly be regarded as the inspired utterance predictive of God's judicial judgment verified afterward in the closing history of Ananias's life.

S. L. Bowman.

Art. VII.—ABRAHAM COLES, THE PHYSICIAN-POET.

Dr. Abraham Coles is called the physician-poet, not because he is the only one of his profession who has put great thoughts into immortal verse, but because of a single work in which he has sung with genuine poetic genius of the organs and functions of the human body.

"Man the Microcosm" is a perilous theme for a poet. It awakens the scientific rather than the poetic faculty. Nothing of the kind had appeared before in our speech. Armstrong's "Art of Preserving Health," published over one hundred and fifty years ago, can hardly be called an exception. Only one with the daring of Lucretius and the genius of Pope, both of whom in many respects Dr. Coles resembled, could so set scientific and philosophic facts as to make them sensitive to the breath of the muse. Usually, scientific accuracy is the death of poetry. Darwin laments that he, who in the beginning of his studies took the greatest pleasure in Shakespeare, in later years lost all relish for the great dramatist. On the other hand, a glowing imagination is apt to wing its flight beyond the sphere of proven facts which accurate science demands. But this poem, which is an address delivered before the Medical Society of the State of New Jersey, illumines the theme of a learned profession with the sacred speech of Polyhymnia. It at once commanded the attention and commendation of both physicians and artists; and from the time of its delivery its author has been known as the physician-poet.

This characterization, however, does not do Dr. Coles justice. We might with equal inaccuracy speak of David as the warrior-psalmist, because the divine bard was a soldier and sometimes sang of war. "The Microcosm" is but one of the many products of Dr. Coles's lyre; and the spirit that breathes here, as in them all, is not anatomy but divinity. Correct as is his science, this is the spirit that pervades his song:

> For such as this did actually enshrine
> Thy gracious Godhead once, when thou didst make
> Thyself incarnate, for my sinful sake.
> Thou who hast done so very much for me,
> O let me do some humble thing for thee!

> I would to every organ give a tongue,
> That thy high praises may be fitly sung;
> Appropriate ministries assign to each,
> The least make vocal, eloquent to teach.

Though the learning is that of a physician, the language and the spirit are those of a seraph. We must place our author among the sacred poets. We cannot, however, pause to consider at length the perplexing question as to what sacred poetry is. We are among those who believe in the sanctity of the art, altogether aside from the theme in which it is employed. It is the voice of the soul's innermost life, expressing itself in form of creative speech which kindles the feeling while it carries the thought. To turn such a gift to unholy uses is like turning the language of prayer into profanity.

But, in order to fix our author's place in the sacred choir, we accept the common thought that sacred poetry is that which treats of sacred themes. It may be epic, as in Job and Milton; or dramatic, as in the Song of Solomon and Bach's "Passion;" or lyric, as in all the Psalms and hymns. The most copious of our sacred poetry is the lyric. It is distinguished from others, not by its metrical forms, nor altogether by the material it fashions, but by its personal thought or passion, and its easy adaptation to song. There are four distinct grades of lyric poetry by which the rank of the poet is determined. The first is what we call the natural, and is characterized by the outburst of impassioned personal experience. The second is artistic, and is distinguished by the exquisite finish of its structure. The third is didactic, and is differentiated by its aim, which is to teach certain truths or facts. There are doubtless poets of high merit in this class; but its dominant motive is sure to give it the air of the schoolroom; and these lyrics are often only doctrine in rhyme. The fourth and lowest class is the liturgical. It is arranged for a service already prepared, and is set to music already composed. It is usually characterized by poverty of ideas, wearisome repetitions, and a fatal lack of passion. The foremost poet of the natural order is David, the creator of the Hebrew lyric, who at the very beginning gave to the world the very finest specimens of the art. There is in all his songs a spontaneous outpouring of the passion of the moment. Every creation only images the soul of the poet;

and his utterance is an elegy or an idyl, according as he himself is grave or gay. To this class belong also many of the old Latin hymns, as those of Thomas of Celano, Bernard of Clairvaux, and Francis Xavier. They utter the soul's innermost consciousness. Measured by this standard Isaac Watts and Charles Wesley are highest in the first rank of English hymnists. The doctrines of saving truth had become verities in their experience; and they poured them out in rushing torrents of song. Their hymns are their own souls' biography.

Dr. Coles is the author of more than fifty original poems, many of which rank high in the first class of lyrics. Some of them have the intuition, the passion, the imagery which remind us of Cowper. In a poem entitled "Prayer in Affliction" he describes himself as bowed in sorrow in his home made desolate by the death of his wife. But in his grief his faith discovers the promise of good out of ill. Then he cries:

O, that my smitten heart may gush
Melodious praise—like as when o'er
Æolian harp strings wild winds rush,
And all abroad sad music pour;
So sweet, heaven's minstrelsy might hush
Brief time to listen—for I know
The hand that doth my comforts crush
Builds bliss upon the base of woe.

The whole poem is wondrously suggestive of the genius of him who wrote the immortal "My Mother."

Some of his hymns throb with a spirit so akin to that of the matchless Wesley that we could readily believe that they came from the Methodist's pen. Such is the following:

Upon His bosom thus to rest,
I cannot ask to be more blest;
To know my sins are all forgiven
For Jesus' sake, O, this is heaven!

While I love him and he loves me,
I care no other heaven to see;
And if there be some higher bliss,
I am content while I have this.

But the doctor did not devote his strength to the product of original hymns. He deliberately chose to turn the masterpieces of ancient tongues into English verse. Accordingly, we are compelled to rank him in the second order of lyrists. He is a

"poet of culture," whose aim is perfect artistic expression. What determined his choice was partly his scholarship, partly his intensely spiritual nature, and partly the elegant refinement in which he was born and lived. His learning was varied and accurate. He was a recognized authority in his profession, an accomplished linguist, a master of the classic and Sanskrit tongues, and a critical writer on the profoundest theological themes. The vastness of his learning gave him such ample material for his verse that his poetic passion made no imperious call for the invention of the intuitive faculty.

We cannot think of him, as we do of Burns, walking out under the stars, writhing in pain for some adequate form in which to embody the tumultous passion he must express. He had but to lift his eyes and select from his calm, wide vision the form he needed. Had he been an unlettered peasant the poetic gift would probably have travailed in birth of song, which would have come forth in varied and original imagery. His poems would have shouted and danced like the psalms of the Maccabees. But wealth of advantage is oftentimes poverty of invention. As it was, his imagination was constructive rather than creative. Its images are more remarkable for their exquisite finish than for the original boldness of their conception. He belonged to the school of Korah rather than that of David.

It was a fortunate thing for the world, and probably also for the fame of our author, that he devoted his superb gift to rendering the best of the Hebrew and classic lyrics into English verse. He is not alone among the seraphs who have made the attempt, but is conspicuous in this goodly company as the recognized chief. Others have copied the ancient masterpieces with wonderful accuracy, but in most instances have failed to reproduce the indescribable charm which gives to a poem its chief value. The spirit that breathes cannot be made to order. It must be born again; otherwise the poem is a corpse. Dr. Coles has not used his art to exhume mummies. In his verses we have the living voices of the old-time singers. As Corot caught the varying movement of the trembling foliage in the deepening twilight, and so placed it on his canvas as that one can almost see the shadows lengthening and hear the rustling of the leaves, so our poet has reproduced the very soul of the

Hebrew and Latin verses. They are not versified translations. They are regenerations. They are not wrought from without, but from within; hence they retain that inestimable something which gives to a poem its immortality.

As a single illustration we name his "Dies Iræ," eighteen versions of which come from the strings of his restless lyre. This sublimest masterpiece of sacred Latin poetry and noblest judgment hymn of all languages has, through many ages, been inviting gifted tongues to voice its majestic solemnities in English speech. More than thirty have had the temerity to respond. Among them are Earl Roscommon, Sir Walter Scott, Lord Macaulay, Archbishop Trench, and General Dix, some of whom have given renditions of considerable merit. But among them all Dr. Coles wears the greenest laurels. Competent critics, like Dr. Philip Schaff and J. G. Whittier, unite in affirming that no man, dead or living, has succeeded so well in rendering the text and spirit of the wonderful hymn. The doctor's baton has made our speech throb with the ancient rhythm, and has reproduced in astonishing degree the characteristic features of the original. Here are its artless simplicity; its impassioned solemnity; its trumpetlike cadences, which appall the soul with woeful terrors; its triple rhyme, which "beats the breast like a hammer" and gives it an awful music of its own, making the heart shudder with dread apprehension. And in all this quivering of judgment-terror there breathes the intense Christian spirit of the original, which finds its strongest utterance in the appeal:

> Jesus kind, do not refuse me!
> O remember thou didst choose me,
> Lest thou on that day shalt lose me!
>
> Seeking me thy tired feet bore thee,
> Cruel nails for my sake tore thee;
> Let all fail not, I implore thee.

With equal skill Dr. Coles has put into English verse hymns from Thomas of Celano, Fortunatus, and St. Bernard, and many selections from the Greek and Latin classics. It was natural for one with our poet's deeply spiritual life to turn with special fondness to those fountains of sacred song that spring from the Hebrew Psalter. There, rather than at Helicon, the voice of his muse was heard. He was himself a careful student of the Orient and familiar with the Hebrew tongue. He

believed that the life of the past was better expressed and preserved in its song than in its history; that the inspiration of the Psalms was not merely poetic, but really and truly divine. He also believed that the much-praised antiphonal parallelism, described by Herder as "that language of the heart which has never said all, but ever has something more to say," is not adapted to the Saxon genius or knowledge. If, then, while he translates the Hebrew into English, he also translates the ancient antiphonal into modern meter, he brings the divine soul of the psalm in living presence before us. The correctness of his view has been often demonstrated. Clement Marot's "Metrical Version of the Psalms" proved to be a potent factor in the French Reformation. There are few things that have told so mightily on the Scotch character as Rouse's version. It is asserted that in the time of the Reformation psalm singers and heretics became almost identical terms.

It is an interesting fact, if it be true as stated, that such was the value our Puritan forefathers placed on psalms in meter that the third product of their first printing press, and the first of any pretentions, bore the title of *Psalms Newly Turned into Meter*. The Church has, however, in a large measure ceased the use of metrical psalms in public worship. This is due partly to the evolution of the English hymn, under the inspiration of Watts and his successors; partly to a vitiated taste occasioned by the use of jingling ditties; and partly to the poor quality of many of the meterized psalms, which are in reality only mechanical paraphrases. We believe that if Dr. Coles's thought can only be adequately realized—if accurate translation can be wedded to genuine poetry and set to fitting music—it will be a boon to the Church, which is now so sadly agitated with the question of the choral features of its service.

We will not affirm that in Dr. Coles's version of the Psalms he has in every instance satisfied either the critic's eye or the Christian's heart. Even the wings of Jove's bird sometimes grew weary. The peerless Milton often stumbled in his meter. Are David's own psalms equal? But the doctor has given us a noble volume, which, aside from the other products of his pen, will place his name on the walls of "the immortals." And if psalm singing never again becomes general in the home and

Church this rich collection will abide as a most helpful interpreter of the heavenly meanings of the Hebrew songs.

We can barely speak of one other work which this poet lived to complete—the rendering of the Gospel in verse. To some souls the whole Christian life is a poem, the Gospel is music itself. But he is a brave man who attempts to sing it all. Samuel Wesley, the father of John and Charles, made the daring effort to versify the gospels. It was both a literary and financial failure. With what success Dr. Coles has made a similar effort it remains for the coming generations to declare. In the meanwhile we listen to the judgment of the Right Honorable John Bright, of England, who says: "When I began your volume I thought you had attempted to gild refined gold and would fail; as I proceeded in my reading that idea gradually disappeared, and I discovered that you had brought the refined gold together in a manner convenient and useful and deeply interesting."

One who consecrates his genius to echoing the thoughts and spirit of the peerless intellects of the past is not apt to command popular affection. There are few Platos and Boswells whose names appear on the scroll of immortality. But if ever that ambition enticed the heart of our author he can sleep tranquilly on the pillow of his deathless work. Only five years ago, at the age of seventy-eight, he descended to the tomb. Already his hymns have been placed in many hymnals. His Greek and Latin translations are ranked by critics the very foremost. His "Psalms" and "Gospels" occupy an honored place in every great library of Europe and America. As the years separate us wider and ever wider from those great productive periods of sacred song which made glad the ages past, more and more will the coming generations feel the need of Dr. Abraham Coles's rich echoes.

A. H. Tuttle.

Art. VIII.—BISHOP HAYGOOD AS A PHILOSOPHER AND REFORMER.

When the writer first heard Bishop Haygood in debate it seemed that his proper place was on his feet in extempore speech; but when he sat with the debater in the privacy of his home, and felt the subdued and milder charms of his presence in conversation, the bishop showed himself to be peerless in the graces of fellowship. A certain afternoon, several years ago, spent with him in his library, was particularly fruitful of characteristic deliverances on those themes of intellectual science and social progress which so constantly engaged his thought. We date from that time a new view of the man whom we had learned to love so deeply and admire so heartily—and, we may even say, a new view of ourself as seen in the light of his constant friendship. As an official editor of the Church we had gone to consult with him about important policies touching large and isolated interests of the connection. It was a sweet, mild day in February—a typical California day in its plenitude of sunshine, ethereal stillness, intoxicating fragrance of orange blossoms, and breath of innumerable perennials in gardens and roofless verandas. The surroundings were such as to inspire a great soul to speak and a reverent one to listen. We sat in the alcove of the bishop's treasure house of books, and amid the workyday surroundings of a studious and busy man. And we must tarry a moment here to ask how is it that he who was so vigorous of frame, and who came of so long-lived an ancestry is dead at the age of fifty-six, though by every token he should have realized the promise of his threescore and ten. We who knew him best knew the secret of his self-devotion, and now know but too well what must be the answer to this question, "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends." The years by which this fruitful life has been abridged are multiplied in the lives of a hundred young men whose destiny was plucked from lowliness and ignorance through this great human sacrifice. Many a night, while the youth who was the bishop's pensioner at college or in the Conference course slept a restful and restoring sleep, this great-hearted, self-sacrificing man

toiled until the stars burned out, that he might have ready for the market on the next day the monograph, the review article, or the pamphlet or book manuscript, the price of which was to replenish his always depleting balance to benevolence. In that choice Scotch classic, *Beside the Bonnie Brier Bush*, old Domsie, the Scotch school-keeper, stands out challenging the love of every heart that hears his story. He was the champion and patron, in his small way, of all the poor, aspiring lads who came under his care, and not a few did he, out of his slender income, send to the university and thence on to honor and greatness in life. Atticus Greene Haygood was the American Domsie. In the contemplation of great thoughts and ends, and in labors most unselfish, he finished his course with joy, not always unmixed with a strong ingredient of suffering, but still such heroic joy as the martyrs felt at the stake, in the arena, or at the flanks of the wild horses of the desert.

When the business which had brought the writer to the home of the bishop, on the occasion mentioned, had been disposed of, our conversation drifted into the open seas of current interests. As a great ship moves slowly through the Golden Gate, doubles "the Heads," and then takes with a quiver and a bound the limitless freedom of the Pacific, so we have seen the bishop in debate and declamation move steadily through the conventionalities of an introduction, and then with sudden impulse take a wide and untraveled reach of thought over which no man might assert dominion. But, in conversation, he always moved with half sail, easily, steadily, and with foreknowledge of what he asserted or assented to. The data from which we compile this brief sketch of the bishop's philosophical and social scheme, as traversed in our interview, are not written notes or a diary, but our grateful and affectionate treasurings of the impressions produced by the movements of a great mind and the presence of a genuine and affectionate spirit. If we shall fall into the fault charged against the great Plato—that of extenuating the speech of his greater master, or of setting down as his very words his own affectionate fancies—we can only hope that our fault may prove as successful in the letter, and as useful in the spirit, as has that golden forgery of the son of Aristo.

"Bishop," we said, "it is an event in a man's life, making an epoch in the growth of his enduring self, when he reads a great book."

"Quite so," he replied; "here is the true genesis of character. The reading of books is the bifurcation of ways where men part company. The soul is built up of emotions laid one on the other, as stones are laid in the walls of a temple. Books are the greatest producers of these emotions or substances of which the soul is built. The series in the understratum of my own emotional and mental experiences are as plainly defined in my consciousness as are the layers in the laminated rocks; not always regular, to be sure, often, in fact, twisted and convoluted, but still easily followed and unmistakable. I note, for instance, the influences of Carlyle, whom I have closely read and studied, and Landor and Machiavelli. These reappear at several intervals in the order of my mental development. We become such stuff as books are made of, either primarily through our own reading, or secondarily through the craft of others who do read. Before there were any books there were men, truly, but it must be admitted that there existed at that period a very severe unity and commonplaceness of ideas. In the absence of a record I undertake to say that the first step of progress out of that cold-blooded unity of Church and State, of social affiliation and intellectual standards, was the making of a book—however rude, crude, or purposeless—a book; a scrawl, it may be, on the flat surface of a stone; a few lines bruised through the fiber of a faded leaf or the bark of a tree; or the tattooing of a skin, but eloquent and terrible with power to change, and therefore a book! With the first book came the shivering into fragments of society and the manifolding of ideas; it was the angel that troubled the stagnant waters of unity and left healing in the tumult of billows. Books bring discontent, and discontent finally contradicts itself and restores disordered life to a static condition. The original and independent workers are not those who foreswear books and prate of holding in themselves the substance of which books are made, but they are the *bibliophagi*, the devourers of books; they are not gourmands for the sake of filling an empty stomach or feeding a vain desire; but they are men who read, as all sensible people eat, to live, and who live to think and act—

to think boldly and act bravely. Books break the chains of custom, and send men forth in the spirit of the old Greek term defined as 'one who stands erect and looks up.' You know the other definition; its term is anthropoidal, and suggests longitudinal relations of hands and feet, and a longitudinal vision likewise. Darwinism has an inverted demonstration after all."

"But, bishop," we interrupted, "you have always been regarded as a new-departure man, and the Church and the world have credited or charged you, as you like, with ignoring precedents in many of your views and utterances. Have your progressive ideas always resulted from interpretations of well-understood laws of social and intellectual science?"

"Always," was his reply. "The wheat fields of Russia, India, Egypt, and America are all traceable to an original kernel; so everything that a self-conscious servant of the truth does is in his own understanding, at least, traceable to continuous relationships through the whole order of the world's good. The first thing that a true man gets in the world is an ideal; the last thing which he yields is that same ideal; but this possession is to be strengthened and enlarged from the same source from which it is borrowed, the world's storehouse of knowledge in its books. This ideal will grow to novel and unlikened favor, as children often do in the same household, nursing from the same breast and feeding from the same board—one a musician, another a builder, and yet another a statesman—but the feeding is essential. A load of clay goes into a pottery. Some of it comes out delft platters and covers, the rest base and rudely shapen crocks. The same care would probably have made delft of all; but one thing is certain, clay cannot make itself into queen's ware."

We were about to inject another interrogatory into the conversation, when we saw the light of further inquisition rising in the eyes of our host.

"But what," he inquired, "was the volume whose reading caused your remark?" "One," we replied, "which we should have read long ago, and indeed which we have many times approached; but there is the reading of a book which effects little, and there is the reading which brings the soul of the author out on you like a revelation. We were spurred to this

reading by those lines in Algernon Charles Swinburne's lyric on its author, Victor Hugo:

> "To whom the high gods gave of right
> Their thunders and their laurels and their light."

"That masterpiece!" he cried. "There is in *Les Miserables* enough of social revelation and political wisdom to correct a century of social mistakes and political sins. It is a great book, but for the same use the Epistle to the Romans is far better. It possesses, furthermore, the advantage of being more easily read and understood, and is inspired. It is a safe rule to put things on their proper basis, even when their differences are admitted and understood. It is a safe rule to put the inspiration of the Scriptures on that high and solitary plane where it is impossible for any collateral theme to enter into competition with it. The theories set forth in *Les Miserables* must always slowly assert themselves in the advancing social order; but the New Testament is a two-edged sword which, in the hands of Christian missions and the Church at home, is to slay evil and make room and empire for the purity of individual and social life."

"Bishop," we answered, "your close association of the masterpieces of Victor Hugo and St Paul raises in our mind two or three questions which we have long desired to hear you discuss; so, if you please, we will state them and then become only a listener until you have finished. We see at once your reluctance to being thus put on the stand to testify in your own behalf, and also that your modesty is about to protest; but we will assert on our own part the rights of a guest, and for you the duties of a host; besides, your guest is one of the younger clergy, and if we mistake not you voluntarily undertook the instruction of all those thus placed under you, who in their turn were admonished to receive your instructions gladly. To be brief, then, kindly push the theories set forth in *Les Miserables*—particularly those which relate to the criminal, the menial, the poor, the ignorant, and the socially disfranchised—to their application to our own country and institutions, and then develop the anthropology and soteriology of the Epistle to the Romans in the light of present-day experience and evangelization."

"I prefer," he said, after some hesitation, "to take your

propositions in an order exactly opposite the one in which you have stated them, discussing the last first and the first last; and this will be all the more fitting as it puts the inspired word in the order of precedence. To begin, then, what is very much needed just now, among the thoughtful but not overlearned classes of the people, is a little science outside of technical demonstrations, and a little philosophy outside of the schools. In no department of knowledge is this so much needed as in that division of anthropology which should teach the unity of our physical and spiritual natures; and this is the great theme discussed in the Epistle to the Romans. St. Paul seems to set the arguments of this philosophical pastoral in three general propositions, to wit: First, 'when they knew God they glorified him not;' second, they 'dishonored their own bodies;' third, they 'worshiped and served the creature more than the Creator.' Here is a general view of the disordered state of humanity, growing out of a separation and estrangement of the essentially related and complementing natures of man. Neglect and disregard of the spiritual or intellectual nature begets grossness and carnality; neglect of, and contempt for, the physical begets superstition and fanaticism. Christ, the perfect man, balanced the two.

"Sir William Hamilton's remark that psychology is the most difficult of all the sciences, because it at once engages man as study and student, is abundantly illustrated in the history of metaphysics and philosophy. Since Mr. Herbert Spencer and his materialistic collaborators, on the one hand, undertook to unify the phenomena of life on an absolute physical basis; and the theological mystics, on the other hand, set about to degrade and crucify the physical senses—mistaking them for the carnal motions and 'body of sin' in St. Paul's anthropological scheme—in the interests of the higher life, the confusion of the common people has been complete. The service which true theological anthropology should now undertake is that of setting the unities of affection, intellect, and spirit in their proper order in the developing life and character of man. It is no mean task this, and has its difficulties, as has that complex teaching which it should be its business to simplify.

"In the outset, it is necessary to understand that this study must proceed on the hypothesis of the eternal identity of the

two natures of man—modified, as we see them, by the changes through which they are passing in their earthly condition, and modified much more, we may assume, by those changes through which they must pass in order to attain their celestial relations. This observation would, if pursued, raise speculative questions of the nature and manner of the final resurrection; but our inquiry does not look in that direction, neither are such speculations at any time necessary or greatly profitable. "Character of whatever quality is the product of the cooperation of the spiritual and material functions of life, so that whatever in character is regarded as immortal illustrates the unity and the identity which we are setting about to establish. The continued existence of the soul, or of character, between death and the material resurrection, is not only a pledge of such resurrection, but is in fact largely a realization of all that it must finally mean. An effect often continues to exist after its cause has been interrupted or removed, as, for instance, the attractive habit of a magnetized metal after the contributing magnet has been withdrawn. If an effect be understood as the joint product of two suitable and necessary agencies, it must identify these agencies in all proper thinking, and indeed in its own reproduction and perpetuation. It is not necessary that the same positive should be applied to a negative to reestablish or perpetuate its magnetism, but it must be a positive; electricity is always the same. It is not necessary that the resurrection should produce the same material body; but as it is put in the affirmation of St. Paul, 'a body;' life is always the same. Character or tone, as the product of united physical and spiritual agencies, may actually long exist and carry on its offices without the conjunction of its producing agencies; but we can never think of it apart from them, or as perpetuating or fulfilling itself without the reestablishment of their former revelations. This much for a general thesis, and it agrees with the Pauline scheme entirely.

"Now, as to the soteriology of St. Paul; it is a very simple conclusion that, character being the thing which we properly recognize as man, and being a joint product of the affectional and spiritual natures, the work of grace which renews man destroys nothing in his physical nature which it does not destroy in his spiritual, and in fact destroys nothing in either, but

brings them into harmonious relations. Richard Baxter makes this plain in his matchless treatise on regeneration, *A Call to the Unconverted*, wherein he shows that the Gospel lifts the spiritual from a place of servitude and replaces it in the room of authority and fellowship. But the matter is still better stated in the Epistle to the Romans. The renewal of man's nature by grace leaves him complete for that moment only. Man is a growing being, growing in his physical, in his intellectual, and in his spiritual powers. He daily touches the world at new places, developing new instincts, new emotions, new aptitudes; these continually require the application of the grace of cleansing and renewal, and so the phenomena of natural life are fully paralleled by those of the spiritual life. This is St.Paul's formula of sanctification; and it agrees with the open book of consciousness and experience. Whatever the spiritual nature may be, it is never by us seen or known to act independently of the natural; but what we have seen to be clear is this, the natural is modified by the spiritual, and the spiritual is modified by the natural. St. Paul as a teacher sets these things forth, and also the mystery of the resurrection, as the completing and convincing argument of the unity of our natures here and hereafter. This is the way God chose to bring many sons to glory."

"Well, bishop," we said, "you echo the results of our own humbler studies in these difficult fields, and your closing observations on the unity of life suggest an addendum to our social interrogatories; so, as you seem ready to take up that branch of our inquiry, we will, if you please, anticipate your line of answer."

"Very well," he said, "a Methodist preacher always likes a text, if it is only when he 'talks;' you will give me a text, I am sure."

"That may be," we replied; "you shall judge. The rationale of *Les Miserables* is to be the basis of our procedure. That book in an agonizing speech tells of the evils which illy framed and imperfectly obligated society permits to engulf and destroy millions who might easily be rescued, if only a faithful and patient effort were put forth, or, in other words—to use one of your own expressions which we have recently seen in print—'if only the gospel of soap and bread were car-

ried to the people at the bottom of society.' Jean Valjean in *Les Miserables* types that multitude which perhaps no man can number. Victor Hugo expresses the conditions of these multitudes by describing the agonies of a drowning man. Let us quote as nearly as we can a few of the periods of that description:

"A man overboard! What matters? The somber ship has its path; it does not stop. The man disappears, then reappears; he plunges; he rises again; he calls; he stretches out his arms; he is not heard. The vessel, trembling under the storm, is wholly absorbed in its own workings. . . . He is in the tremendous sea. Underfoot there is nothing but what flees and crumbles. The tossings of the abyss bear him away; a populace of waves spits upon him. It seems as though all the waters were hate. Nevertheless, he struggles. He tries to defend himself. He, his petty strength all exhausted instantly, combats the inexhaustible. Where is the ship? Yonder. Barely visible on the horizon. There are birds in the clouds, just as there are angels above human distress; but what can they do for him? They fly and float, and he, he rattles in the death agony. Night descends. He shouts. Where is God? Nothing on the horizon, nothing in heaven. He implores the expanse; he beseeches the tempest; the imperturbable tempest obeys only the infinite. He is weary; he chooses the alternative of death; he lets himself go; and then he tosses forevermore in the lugubrious, dreary depths of engulfment.

"O, implacable march of human societies! O, losses of men and of souls in the way! Disastrous absence of help! O, moral depth! The sea is the inexorable social night into which the penal laws fling their condemned. The sea is the immensity of wretchedness. The soul going down stream in this gulf may become a corpse. Who shall resuscitate it?

"Such is the great Frenchman's view of the abandonment of the criminal and ignorant of society. The question we want to put to you, bishop, is this—In your opinion, where should the work of saving the masses begin?"

"That," said he, "is the question of all others pertinent at this time. In my view of the redemption of the race the term salvation has but one meaning, and suggests but one work, from the washing and clothing of a frowzy street gamin and the teaching of a negro child the alphabet to the ultimate sanctification of our whole humanity through personal faith in Christ. That work begins at the bottom and goes to the top, and the Church must lead in doing it. Education lies at the bottom of everything stable in society. The mistake of the centuries has

been in trying to build an enduring spirituality into the people of the nations by means of a State religion, on an understratum of illiteracy, corrupted social habits, abuses, slavery, and oppression. The work of the Church is to lay its hand to the removal of ignorance and to the eradication of social diseases. Education and learning are not religion, but without them no people can ever be either exaltedly pure or profoundly religious. Many educated nations have been flagrantly irreligious and diabolically impure; but it will be found on investigation that their education rested on a false foundation or consisted of irreconcilable or corrupting elements. Enlightenment is the truer term, after all, and comprehends the idea of education in its manifold influences on the life and body of the people. The text-books and the Bible are the weapons offensive and defensive of the Church. They are mighty for the pulling down of strongholds and the setting up of enduring dominion.

"In our own country Church and State stand together in recognizing the need of education, the most primary as well as the most comprehensive. We have many millions of young negroes, as well as multitudes of traditionally ignorant Caucasians, whose religious lives and political citizenship must prove no better than their fathers' have been, unless heroic efforts are made to educate and enlighten them. The philanthropy of all sections in the Churches should meet in this endeavor; and let the man who would hinder or disparage be consigned to the limbo of contempt! The weight of the commission to 'teach' is in the Church; the State must do so in self-defense. A monarchy which stands on hereditary authority and traditional laws might afford to pass by the ignorance of its subjects; but a republic cannot. The people rule, and in that fact it is apparent that where ignorance exists it has a more than even chance to usurp the public rule. For a republic there is but one safe course, as there is but one plain duty for the Church, and that is to educate.

"As to the collateral issues that might be raised under our present theme, we will take up two—the treatment of the criminal classes, and the cure of industrial oppressions. I might add a third, to which I have given no little study, the question of suffrage; but it is one of political expediency, and does not well fit into a scheme of social and religious advancement such as we

are now reviewing. That the ordinary punishment of criminals is often productive of lawlessness cannot be doubted. Our judicial system partakes too much of the nature of an inquisition and too little of the nature of a remedy for crime. On the other hand, it is too easily rendered abortive when certain venal influences are exerted on it. The idea of administrative justice with us is too entirely penal, it is not enough corrective. The galley ships of eighteenth-century France and Jean Valjean have their successors in the convict trains and the convict slaves of our American penitentiary system. And our penitentiaries are themselves rather places for making unfortunate men incurably impenitent than for making them penitent. Justice and humanity demand that the penalties for all crimes should be graded according to the merit of the acts, and that the penal sentence should be imposed with a view to correcting the crime in the criminal and neutralizing its effects on the public conscience.

"There is a criminal condition with which the law does not deal except incidentally, and with that the Church must grapple. It is represented in the armies of lost men, women, and children which a pitiless fate and a more pitiless social sentiment have left to drift on that wild sea which our Galilean Master has so vividly described. The Church must become more a seeker and saver of these. It is a vast problem, and the proposition might be expanded so as to suggest details, but until the fact itself is more seriously taken up, details of a plan would count for little.

"With respect to the last matter which we are to look at, the cure of industrial oppression, I have recently printed a series of short papers which you may have read containing outlines of all that I have thought out as desirable to be said. The cure for poverty is not in socialistic legislation, but in industrial and technological education, and that in a better and much wider sense than teaching trades in colleges or industrial schools. Industrial economics have never had serious application in the industrial schools. They must take a wider range to become effective. Legislation may protect the wage-earner against arbitrary oppression; but other agencies, the Church and a general philanthropy, must provide methods for teaching that philosophy of life and industry which will silently but surely compel respect

for the rights of labor. This is the giant who is to strike down monopoly and oppression, lead captivity captive, and dispense the largess of liberty, comfort, and life.

"But, after all, does not the solution of each of these great problems come back to the simple principles of education, social honor, sobriety, and religion? I think so. And is not the Gospel—our Gospel—sufficient for all? Undoubtedly. Let us so take it, then, and so preach it; for though an angel from heaven brought another Gospel to men, he could earn in the end but anathemas and judgment."

W. H. Du Bois

Art. IX.—NEW ENGLAND LIBERAL THEOLOGY.

That great doctrinal and political revolution known as New England Liberalism is a most fascinating and profitable study. To the theologian, the philosopher, and the philanthropist, it furnishes a wide field of investigation. For the coloring and direction it has given to religious thought in our nation, and especially for its part in producing the present unrest and apprehension in evangelical denominations, it deserves the closest examination.

We mean by New England liberal theology those systems of religion known as Unitarianism, Universalism, and Spiritualism. The last, though having numerous followers, is sporadic and unorganized. Exerting as it does little general influence, it will not be discussed in this paper. Unitarianism and Universalism are in substantial agreement. According to Dr. E. L. Rexford, a Universalist of Boston, the two denominations work toward each other—the Universalists on the divine side to rationalize the idea of God, and the Unitarians on the human side to dignify the meaning of human nature. In principle they are both one and the same. We shall so consider them in this discussion, but shall give the larger share of attention to Unitarianism, as it stands at the head of the controversy with New England orthodoxy.

Let us examine our subject under the following heads: 1. Genesis of New England Liberal Theology; 2. The Transcendental Period; 3. Present Status and Influence of the Movement.

1. It is a matter of history that in the beginnings of New England religious matters took precedence. No town could be organized without religious instruction. At first the support of religious ordinances was to some extent voluntary on the part of the people. But within fifty years from the settlement of Massachusetts all inhabitants were taxed, *nolens volens*. County courts were to "present" all neglects and exact penalties. Every man was a legal member of the first parish, even against his will, and so late as 1836 individual property was liable to seizure for parish debts. In 1757 twenty-four parishioners in Cape Elizabeth, Me., were sent to jail for refusing

to pay taxes, on account of the unpopularity of the pastor—for even in those good old times there seem to have been church quarrels. But while the parish was taxed to support the Church, till 1692 none took part in calling a minister except members of the Church. For years after the right of election was granted to the parish it waived its right in behalf of the members.

The opening of the present century is distinguished by the doctrinal controversy between orthodoxy and Unitarianism. This controversy reached the laity, and as all were subject to taxation the layman felt he had a right to vote in the matter. This brought on a crisis. In Dedham, Mass., Rev. Mr. Lamson, Unitarian, was a candidate for settlement. Two thirds of the church stood against him. But the parish with a minority of the church carried a majority. The church remonstrated. The parish appealed to the supreme court, and was sustained. Now the convulsion had come, and all the Congregational Churches were at the mercy of the parish. Mr. Lamson was settled. The church in a large majority withdrew, but by so doing surrendered all church property, building funds, communion service, records, to the adherents of the parish. A new church was built by the orthodox Congregationalists of Dedham, and this process was repeated by a very large part of the orthodox Churches in Massachusetts. This convulsion was necessary to destroy forever that union of Church and State which the Pilgrims and Puritans brought from the Old World; and ever since it has been the law and practice for the Church and ministry to be supported by voluntary offerings of the people.*

The reaction of 1815 was chiefly a doctrinal protest against the Calvinism taught by Congregational Churches. Those horrible decrees which John Wesley's logical and astute mind had repudiated in England—unconditional election of a fixed part of mankind to eternal life, and the certain banishment of the rest to endless and awful punishment, including multitudes of infants—were abhorrent to many who were breathing the free air of the New World. Gradually, but surely, numbers of ministers and laymen revolted against such teaching.

Other causes which made it possible for Unitarianism to arise

* See *Massachusetts Ecclesiastical Law*, by Edward Buck, Esq.

and spread were the "Half-way Covenant"—in which persons subscribed to the Calvinistic creed without being converted, thus inducing hypocrisy—and the installation of men into the ministerial office who had no experimental knowledge of salvation, making religion a form without spirit and power.

At first liberal Christianity was not so differentiated from evangelical faith as it has since become. But from the beginning the peril of a wide and powerful drift was imminent. Wilbur Fisk, that Methodist of broad culture and deep piety, remarked: "There is danger in the rebound, that they will go into infidel notions." Events show that his words were prophetic. The pendulum has swung to the opposite extreme.

2. This brings us to consider the Transcendental Period. Channing, Emerson, and Parker are the great triumvirate, giving renown and direction to Unitarianism in its middle period. In their order these names mark the progress of the denomination—a progress which, in truth it must be added, is a downward one. All Christendom must admire the minds of these men—Channing's, noted for its spiritual and pellucid depths; Emerson's, sometimes reveling in German mysticism and transcendentalism, at other times packing practical thoughts in words that burn; Parker's, omnivorous and all-inclusive, but shallow.

William Ellery Channing, in his sermon preached at Baltimore, in 1819, from the text, "Prove all things; hold fast that which is good," first gave a system to Unitarian views. His theology shows a great departure from orthodox belief. He himself says that he "had long ceased to attach any importance to the rank or dignity of Christ, or to believe in the Trinity; that the idea of Christ's death being a satisfaction is nowhere taught in Scripture; and that evil spirits have no existence, Satan being merely a figurative personation of moral evil." Still, it is said that he did not reject the divine authority and inspiration of the Bible. He was not disposed to deny Christ's preexistence. He held him up as the great ideal set before men, as a perfect manifestation of God, and as one who taught with divine authority.

In a delightful chapter of reminiscences by Miss Peabody, who was Channing's devoted admirer and near friend, we see many noble traits of his character. Certainly, he was a Chris-

tian, having a deep reverence for spiritual things and for the sacred ordinances of the Church. Miss Peabody remarks that he was never especially popular with the Unitarian ministers; he was too spiritually minded for them. She gives a beautiful account of a visit by Channing to Father Taylor's Bethel, where the scholar heard the orator preach, and at the communion following took from his hands the symbols of Christ's death.

Emerson stands as the apostle of transcendentalism. He was rather a philosopher than a theologian. Following such men as Hegel and Kant, he wrote fragmentary papers on the "Philosophy of the Infinite." But he never constructed a system of philosophy. "His largest generalization is 'existence.' On this inscrutable theme his conceptions vary with his moods and experience. Sometimes it seems to be man who parts with his personality in being united to God; sometimes it seems to be God who is impersonal, and who comes to personality only in man." * The effect of his philosophy upon religion is to emphasize the ethical rather than the supernatural.

Theodore Parker, like Emerson, was a transcendentalist, but he was also a bold and aggressive theologian. His memorable sermon, preached in Boston, May 19, 1841, on "The Transient and the Permanent in Christianity," so shocked conservative Unitarians that for a long time he was socially ostracized by them. No preacher among them would exchange pulpits with him, and his name was stricken from the list of ministers in the Yearbook. In this sermon he said that the Church makes an idol of the Bible; that it loves Jesus Christ as God, though he is not God; that the Church, ministry, and Sabbath are regarded as divine institutions, though they are merely human. He also flatly repudiated the theory of the infallible and miraculous inspiration of the Bible. We see the downward drift of the Unitarian Church when we reflect that this man, whose opinions were skeptical, is to-day classed with Channing as an apostle of Unitarianism.

3. But what is the present status and influence of Liberal Theology? Unitarians, at this time, in its progressive sections is more an intellectual and social club than a Church. In many respects it is worthy of our admiration. It stands for the lar-

* *American Cyclopædia.*

gest freedom of thought along all lines of human research and activity. It demands an unfettered conscience. Every son of Wesley can join with it in this inalienable right. As a humanitarian institution its works praise it in the gates. However much Unitarians may be mistaken concerning life beyond the grave, they certainly try to make men happy in this world. They are noted, especially in Boston, for many works of philanthopy and charity. This has been their history throughout. Channing in his later years was more busy planning for the uplifting of criminal and unfortunate men and women than in writing doctrinal discourses. To help the destitute and fallen was a chief aim of Emerson and Parker, as it is of many noble souls in this persuasion to-day. New Englanders will not forget that Father Taylor's Mariner's Bethel, where the inimitable preacher had such wonderful success, could not have lived had it not been for the support given by generous Unitarians. We are not surprised that the "sailor preacher" always held a warm side to these friends, while he dissented from their doctrinal views. However, in their attempts at reforms and the amelioration of society, the liberal Christians have labored too much from the human side and too little from the divine. Well does a critic observe, "The enthusiasm of humanity cannot be a religion, cannot even preserve its vital force, if it be not constantly shot through with the living light of God."

Coming now to its theological status, we remark that Unitarianism has no creed securing uniformity of belief, and no central authority by which it could enforce this belief if it existed. As a result we find all shades of doctrines among its people, from those views nearly approaching evangelical standards to the opposite extreme of positive infidelity. Two currents of thought to-day obtain in the denomination; the one is known as progressive, the other as conservative, Unitarianism. The late Dr. Peabody, of Harvard University, well represented the more evangelical wing. His sermons and addresses for many years were not only couched in beautiful language but they spoke to the hearts of mankind, stimulating, uplifting, and blessing them. In a sermon preached in 1840, at Portsmouth, N. H., on "The Revival of Religion," and published by request, he expressed sentiments on many biblical doctrines that might

well have fallen from the lips of a Congregationalist or a Methodist. We quote a sentence or two :

> I pity the mind that can regard without sympathy such a heaving of religious element in our midst, such deep anxiety and trembling joy—the profligate, the profane and degraded asking the prayer of God's people, and lifting their first vows and praises in the house of worship. . . . Better far the wildest whirlwind of fanaticism than the hushed stillness of spiritual slumber.

Does he not anticipate the present stage of ultraliberalism when he accuses many of his hearers as "living all through the week as if God and heaven and hell were the mere bugbears of a disordered fancy?" And, so far as we know, this pure and noble minister never altered his views on the great subjects contained in that discourse of a half century ago. What a pity it is that men of his faith are not more numerous in the Church of their choice!

The progressive party largely predominates in Unitarianism. For years this section has been drifting farther and farther from the canons of orthodoxy. One who is schooled in the evangelical faith must be repeatedly shocked when he reads how these modern Arians coolly and boldly strike at the basal principles of his theology.

Probably the chief exponent of progressive Christianity, which is another name for rationalism, is Dr. M. J. Savage. Preaching in Boston, in 1890, he said, "The distinguishing characteristic of Unitarianism is its conviction of the supremacy of reason over all Church organizations and over all books." At another time he declared that, for his own part, he "would not believe certain texts even if they were contained in the Bible." The doctrine of eternal punishment he would reject, "though it appeared in the Bible in letters of living light." Dr. Savage has somewhat recently published a Unitarian Catechism, which has been indorsed by many liberal Christians in New England. The book is important in that it puts in succinct and regular form what many modern Unitarians believe and teach their children. We give some extracts from which it will show how utterly at variance with evangelical faith are many of its statements:

> *Question.* Where are God's laws to be found?
> *Answer.* They are the laws of nature and life.

Quest. Are they in any one book or Church?

Ans. No; and many so-called laws of God are only imaginations of man.

Quest. How long ago did man appear?

Ans. We cannot tell exactly. The best authorities think it was as much as one hundred and fifty thousand years ago, and perhaps three hundred thousand.

Quest. Was he specially created at that time?

Ans. No; he grew, or was developed from lower forms.

Quest. Was he perfect when he first appeared?

Ans. No; he was but little above the animals.

Quest. Do we believe, then, in the "fall of man?"

Ans. No; for he was never so high as to-day. It is the *ascent* of man we believe in.

Quest. Does the Bible contain God's word?

Ans. Yes; but only in part, and mixed with many errors.

Quest. What is God's perfect word?

Ans. All truth.

Quest. Is revelation finished?

Ans. No; every new truth is a new revelation.

Quest. What is its real nature?

Ans. It is a human book. In some part its teaching is barbarous and cruel, being the work of a barbarous age. It is full of magic and miracle.

Quest. Where was Jesus born?

Ans. In Nazareth, a small hill town of Galilee.

Quest. Who were his parents?

Ans. Joseph and Mary.

Quest. Did he rise again from the dead?

Ans. There is no reason to suppose his body lived again.

Quest. Did Jesus work miracles?

Ans. Not in the sense of disregarding natural laws.

Quest. Is there any reason for believing in the existence of the devil?

Ans. No; none whatever.

Quest. Is evil a thing which came into the world?

Ans. No.

Quest. Was death caused by sin?

Ans. No; it is as natural to die as to be born.

Quest. Are suffering and death any sign that God is angry with us?

Ans. No; God is never angry with anybody.

Quest. What do we believe as to the fall of man?

Ans. We do not believe only, we know that there never was any fall of man.

Quest. Does man need to be saved?

Ans. No; not in the sense that he is under God's wrath and doomed to hell.

Quest. Did the world need a supernatural revelation to teach it what was right?

Ans. No; it learned by experience.
Quest. Are there special places called heaven and hell?
Ans. No; each soul is happy or unhappy, according to character.

These quotations show that there ever must be an irrepressible conflict between liberal and evangelical Christianity as they are now constituted. They are diametrically opposed to each other, and both cannot be right. In this catechism it is affirmed that men possess no supernatural revelation, and that the Bible is a human book, partly barbarous and untrue. The fall of man is denied, as is also the existence of the devil and of evil as a thing coming into the world. Jesus is a mere man, who never wrought miracles, and who did not arise from the dead. His atonement for sin was not necessary, as God is never angry with the sinner. There is little in this catechism to which infidels cannot subscribe. We are not surprised, therefore, to learn that they are welcomed to Unitarian fellowship. "Thomas Paine," says the *Christian Register*, "though stigmatized and set aside as an infidel, finds reincarnation in the modern scientific biblical critic." This same paper would welcome Robert Ingersoll to the Unitarian fold.

In conclusion, let us examine the present influence of the liberal religions. According to its own writers Unitarianism is rather a leavening force in society than a Church gathering a great multitude of communicants. This may also be said of Universalism. These denominations make a pitiful showing so far as numbers go.

Leaving statistics for a minute, let us remark regarding the Unitarians that no Church ever had a more auspicious beginning. It owned the Church property. It had not only a large number of members, but also possessed the sympathy and best wishes of the general community. The wealthy and influential families of Boston affiliated with it. Her men of letters and leaders in intellectual life were largely of this order. After the division only one church remained to the Congregationalists in Boston. Harvard College, with its great wealth and prestige, passed into the hands of the liberals, where it has since remained. The Puritan faith in the metropolis was unpopular, and stood its ground with difficulty. Yet with all this advantage of wealth, education, and popular support, what has been the progress of Unitarianism during the past three quarters of a century?

Our liberal brethren, at their May meeting in 1893, congratulated themselves that the denomination had grown more in the past seven years than in the preceding forty; but, after all, the growth was meager as compared with that of the leading orthodox bodies of Christians.

According to the statistics of 1895 the denomination has today only four hundred and fifty-five churches, with five hundred and nineteen ministers and sixty-eight thousand five hundred communicants. In the West the churches are few, and are struggling for support. There are, perhaps, less than twenty parishes in the whole South, and all save some five on the northern border are weak. Surely the Southern States are an uncongenial soil for heterodoxy.

Universalism is also confessedly weak in churches and adherents, although it spreads over a broader region than Unitarianism. The statistics for 1895 show eight hundred preachers, some of whom are "lay preachers," and about forty-eight thousand communicants. These are scattered over most of the States of the Union, but in many the churches are so few as to exert little appreciative power upon the people.

From this showing we reach this result, that the masses of American citizens refuse to accept the liberal theology. They plant their faith upon the strong and naked doctrines of the old interpretation—sin, Satan, heaven, hell, forgiveness through Christ's death, reconciliation with God, an indwelling Saviour, a consciousness of an inwrought holiness. Well does Dr. Cairns, of London, say:

> Why is American Unitarianism so feeble that it has some three hundred congregations against seventy thousand Trinitarians? . . . A human Christ has been weighed in the balance and found wanting. He brings no light from the higher world. The Unitarians have, no doubt, a simpler Christ, but an infinitely poorer one, who has no sympathy because he has no greatness. He was dead, but not alive, and he claimed a victory which was only delusion, blasphemy.

This poverty of members in the liberal Churches is deplored by some of their best men. Many remedies for correcting the palpable weakness have been suggested, among which may be named more organization, piety, and religion in the denomination; a positive and contagious faith; ritualism; and a hearty spirit of sectarianism. The board of directors of the American

Unitarian Association, in 1887, called for "men like those wonderful Methodist itinerants, with Unitarian convictions."

Yet to make the liberal Churches compact, organized, and aggressive denominations, it will be necessary to change their very nature. At present they are mostly systems of negation, destructive, not constructive. They are vague in statement and belief, and allow absolute license of opinion. Their supposed strength is their greatest weakness. They sacrifice depth of conviction to broad and indefinite notions. They possess neither the cement of faith nor unity of methods needful to produce cohesive organizations. And this is likely to be true in pagan, as well as in Christian, lands. American Christianity watched with great interest the efforts Unitarianism made a few years ago to establish a foreign mission. Japan was selected as a field especially favorable for planting the valuable seed. But from reports which reach us it is difficult to tell whether Buddhism will yield to liberal Christianity, or *vice versâ*. At a Christmas gathering in the mission a memorial service to the four sages, Confucius, Buddha, Socrates, and Christ, was held! Is not this carrying out the purpose for which the mission was started, "not to convert the Japanese to Christianity, but to confer with them on the subject of religion?" The Unitarian representatives have recently prepared a form of service in which Buddhism and Christianity are recognized as of equal value. With this fact before us we are not surprised to learn that the liberal theology is not making much progress in the "Sunrise Kingdom."

While liberal Christianity is not numerically strong in the United States, it has exerted, and is exerting, a real and, as we believe, a precious influence upon large masses of people. Its power must not be measured by its numerical size. By its publications, many of which are distributed free; by the daily press, which is especially accommodating in spreading abroad its principles; as well as by ordinary methods, liberal views are being disseminated broadcast. We believe they have been powerfully instrumental, in some quarters, in shaking the foundations of the evangelical faith. This is the claim of those promoting the new theology. It is their boast, iterated and reiterated, that the thinking and progressive portions of the evangelical Churches are coming over to their side. We cannot

disguise the fact that ferment and unrest exist in Christian Churches to-day to a formidable extent. Our conviction is that not only German rationalism but also American liberalism has had much to do in precipitating the Andover controversy, the higher criticism, and kindred evils upon the Churches. Happy that church which, dwelling in an atmosphere of theological malaria, escapes contagion! Its escape will demonstrate the fact of a sound constitution.

And is there no connection between the present agitation of doctrine in the land and the carnival of crime which reddens our daily press? Does not loose theology produce loose standards of living? That theology which degrades Jesus to a mere man, rejects the Holy Spirit, denies the inspiration of the Bible and charges it with mistakes; which exalts reason above revelation; which repudiates the great cardinal doctrines of the Bible, man's original perfection, his fall, his recovery by means of Christ's death; which eliminates hell and Satan, and invents a heaven—is a theology which all who love revealed religion will forever shun.

E. T. Curnick.

Art. X.—A POLITICAL REFORM.

Along with much which is bad in American politics, and fraught therefore with evil to the public, it is an encouraging "sign of the times" that among the people at large there appears to be a growing demand for better methods in certain particulars of party management. To the masses of voters in some States what are known as the political "machine" and "boss" are becoming increasingly obnoxious. Their potency may not as yet be greatly diminished. Still, a healthful disposition to circumscribe and finally destroy their baneful power is evident, and in a few instances it has been made effective. Our purpose is briefly to look at the actual conditions which must be taken into account in any movement for reform, at this point, and then to suggest a remedy for the abuses in question.

With regard to the matter in hand one truly can postulate:

1. That we have now in operation, and must expect to maintain three separate, and, in some degree, independent governments over the same territory and people—the municipal, State, and national.

2. That government by the people, republican in form, as in each of these classes, is, and of necessity will continue to be, party government.

3. That party government will evolve the political leader and the "professional politician" in the future as surely as it has in the past.

With the truth of these propositions assumed we obviously are compelled to take into consideration, as quite constant factors of our political life, party government in nation, State, and city, and the organizations of voters which this implies, together with the leaders and a large class of "workers" in politics which they always produce. Thus it is not a theory, but essentially unchanging conditions, that confront the political reformer, which it will be fatal also to his hopes of improving affairs to ignore. But when these clearly are seen and firmly grasped the real problem emerges into view. It is this: Can party leadership be prevented from degenerating into "bossism," and party organizations from being turned into political "machines?"

We do not question that, beyond what is thus suggested, there is a vast amount of work to be done in order thoroughly to purge and purify American politics. But that relates more especially to the social and moral life of the voters, and not to political reform in the aspects now under consideration. Nor are efforts to preserve the purity of the ballot to be classed with it. We have not yet attained to the level toward which, let it be trusted, the country is moving—that on which the "ballot-box stuffer" will be guilty of treason to the State, and upon conviction thereof will be "electricuted" or hung. All men in every party, except criminals of this infamous type, or the guilty and therefore equally traitorous beneficiaries of their unpardonable crimes, are agreed in trying to exterminate the political thugs who in this murderous mode stab at the vitals of free institutions.

Coming back now to the problem to be discussed, at the outset we meet facts of most serious import. The great political parties are national organizations, in the sense at least that their primary object is to obtain control of the general government. But, to this end, party domination is essential up to a certain point in the governments of the States. Practically, however, it is found that power within these commonwealths can often be gained only by the political conquest of their leading municipalities. The party complexion of Congress, and even the presidency itself, may, as they have done, pivot on this one point. As a necessary consequence the whole force of partisan feeling and interests, regarded from a national point of view, becomes centered in the results of elections in the hundreds of towns and cities which have grown up in the various States. Their political action therefore assumes national significance and importance. Hence the impossibility of its avoiding a deeply marked party character. An occasional exception to this under special circumstances may occur, as in the rescue of New York city from the felon Tweed, and the more recent deliverance of it from the villains who, in violation of official oaths, enriched themselves by blackmail levied on vice and crime which for pay they protected instead of exposed. But, as a rule, party politics will enter into, and most powerfully influence, the question of municipal control. The inevitable general result must therefore be party govern-

ment in the town and city, as in the State and nation. This means a continuance of the struggle for ascendency in all three of these fields, with the sharp incentive to both sides that municipal victories may be the ground of State, and so of national, success. Consequent upon that condition of affairs there have been, and will continue to be, organizations and work to strengthen each contending party in municipal elections, to muster its forces at the polls, and to impress upon all adherents the political value to the party of local triumph. That this is often unfortunate in many respects may be granted. But the situation out of which it all comes is an evolution of American civil and political life, and therefore destined to last until that is radically changed.

Great political parties derive their vitality most largely from differing convictions as to what is desirable or wise in public policy, and from the measureless power of political association. Other things combine with these to give them strength and permanence—such as inherited prejudices, pride in party name or history, and hopes of personal advantage by uniting with an organization locally powerful upon the one hand, or in control of national affairs on the other. Thus far in this country no great party has been destroyed, although in a few instances names have changed and doctrinal positions have been shifted. The origin of political parties with us was in the contest for the adoption of our national constitution. For a time, under the administrations of Washington, party division seemed to disappear. But this was more apparent than real. As is now familiar, Jefferson, while still in his cabinet, was secretly organizing opposition to, and also striving to undermine, the prevailing political influence of Washington. This was the beginning of post-constitutional partisanship. The "era of good feeling" during the presidency of Monroe was but an ebb in the tide of party feeling, soon succeeded by a flood of the bitterest party strife; and since the administration of his successor the country has been the theater of an irrepressible conflict for party ascendency—now no less strong and deep than in the generations past, though, we are happy to believe, upon a generally more elevated plane. One result of this has been the growth and perfection of political organization, until the great parties who are in perennial contest for

power and place seem about as much under control of their recognized chiefs as equally great armies. With national organizations they also have State divisions of their forces, which again are divided into various smaller groups that run down to the size of common school districts, in country, city, and village. During a general political canvass all of these have local representatives who exercise a sort of supervision over them in party interest, at the same time keeping in constant communication with those of higher rank. Out of conditions such as these, it is easy to see, comes a wide training in political tactics, worked, of course, for party success. In every locality men give more or less time to this, become thereby acquainted with the modes of effectively organizing the party voters for successful political battle, and, as ability for the work is shown, and proficiency in it developed, graduate naturally into the professional politicians who become not only party leaders, but now and then arrogate to themselves the insufferable prerogatives of a "political boss." Some of these labor thus merely to advance party interests; others serve for pay, as so many hired men; while a more ambitious class work in hope of reward by official position. Every public officer, from the chief magistrate of a State, or even the nation, down, is expected to, and commonly does, aid by money or otherwise in securing party success. As showing this by a striking example, Mr. Cleveland's contribution of $10,000 to his party's campaign fund, when he ran the second time for the presidency, will readily be recalled. The door to public office is open to all electors, but only at the word of the party to which one belongs; hence the value of this organization to the man desirous of such honors and emoluments—the selfish motive to support, work for, and become influential in it. The circumstances and conditions thus rapidly sketched create the party leaders and give special training to a multitude in "practical politics." All this we regard not only as inevitable, but also entirely right and proper. The objectionable feature more or less connected with it is the action of some who attain to leadership, in assuming the *rôle* of "bosses" and in using the party organization for the personal benefit of themselves and a band of equally unscrupulous followers.

With these forces and tendencies continuing, we repeat the

question, Can the abuses of "bossism" and "machine politics," as distinguished from legitimate leadership and party action for public good, be generally corrected? On the assumption of integrity and patriotism in the great body of electors this appears to us possible and practicable; but the remedy, as will be seen, is almost entirely with them. A step toward it, perhaps, is general, honestly administered civil service legislation in all our governments, municipal, State, and national. That, however, does not get at the root of the trouble, while so large a body of officials remain, as they of necessity will, elective by popular vote; it merely trims off some ugly branches from the tree of party corruption. The voters in all parties are shut up to a choice between two methods of deciding who shall be their candidates for public office. One is by means of the familiar convention plan; the other, by a general vote of the party electors. So far, the latter has been used only in comparatively small districts, as in nominating candidates for county and town offices, or a candidate for Congress. Probably it will ever be regarded as impracticable in selecting candidates for State offices, as obviously it is in nominations for the presidency. Hence for elective positions of the higher grades, in practice party nominations must continue to be by political conventions. And here it should be observed that, in the making up and "manipulation" of these bodies, the "machine" is worked with greatest effect, and the tyranny of the political "boss" most signally displayed.

A party convention is constituted by delegates from the territory to which its action relates. Thus, a State convention usually will have representatives from each county or district entitled to a member in the lower house of the State Legislature, based on a specified ratio of the party vote therein at the previous election. Congressional and other districts, as well as county conventions, are made up from their respective territories upon the same principle as that for the State. These, then, we must accept as the common agencies of political parties to select their candidates for the various offices in the gift of the electors by their action at the polls. The rank and file of the organization presenting them are expected to, and as a general proposition do, support their candidates thus nominated.

Now, it is particularly to be noted that the delegates to all of the conventions named always can be elected by the party voters themselves, at what are called "primaries." These, according to a generally settled custom, are held in the voting precincts created for election purposes. Hence, if the electors of a party insist upon it, by the majority rule they may select the delegates to every convention of the organization held within a State. Consequently, outside of the "slum districts" in large towns or cities, if the voters will demand such a system, and will turn out in force at the election of delegates, as a rule they can beat the "bosses" in their party and put up as candidates the men who truly represent them in character as well as political principles. This is true even of the presidency. Except the small number termed senatorial delegates, usually appointed by the State conventions, representatives of a party in its national convention are selected by congressional districts in which, if the congressmen be nominated by popular vote of the party, the delegates can be selected in the same way. The grounds of remedy for the evils under consideration now begin to appear. Stated in its gist, simply, what we propose is that whether party candidates be nominated by direct vote of the electors of the organization or by conventions, the entire proceedings therefore shall be as strictly regulated by law, and as open to the public, as the election itself. For example, let the enactments against the use of money to influence elections apply also to party primaries and conventions. Then, in addition, as most vital to any real reform, let there be provision for a registration of all voters at a primary, whether for selecting delegates or the nomination of candidates, and that no elector of a party who fails to vote there, unless prevented by sickness or equally good cause, shall vote at the election. Follow this with a provision disfranchising for ten years any elector who twice within five years, without legal excuse, does not vote at the primaries; and that if the offense be once repeated he shall forever be disqualified for voting or holding office. Extend these regulations also to electors who are not members of any party, but failed twice in the period named, without legal cause, to vote. In our judgment no American citizen is worthy of the elective franchise who will thus refuse to exercise it.

With the voters of political organizations alone, as is clear

to us, is the power to break up the "machines" and overthrow the party bosses; and the plan outlined, or some other which will compel electors of all classes to do their whole political duty, is apparently the only way in which that work can be accomplished. From the nature, power, and extent of party organization, the "independent vote" will not be adequate for the task. At times it may help to put a "boss" down, but more often than otherwise this will be by supporting another, or his representative, who is not materially better. The party machine, save in the most indirect way, this voter is powerless to touch, and so his action ordinarily will leave it in perfect working order.

The plain, obvious duty of the party elector is to be present at the "initiative" of political action, which, from the structure of political organizations, is the party primary. The absence of the masses of voters from that place is at once the delight of the "boss" and the opportunity of the "machine." But with the entire proceedings for selecting candidates so regulated by law as always to bring out the party strength at the primary, the demoralizing power of the one could be broken, the bad uses of the other prevented, and party organisms left to their proper work as the great governing agencies of a free people. All political abuses would not by this means be exorcised from our public life, for neither in religion, morals, nor law have we as a nation yet approximated perfection. Nevertheless, the standard of political decency and honor might be expected to rise near to that of the average voter, which is all we reasonably can hope for at any time.

Miriam L. Sibley

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

Individualism and socialism are war cries of extremists. The truth lies between them. "Bear ye one another's burdens;" "Every man shall bear his own burden," are two inspired declarations in which each limits and interprets the other, and they reach into the very heart of all controversies between individualists and socialists. Each must do for himself and for all others. There is no society without an individual, and no individual without society. The two words present different aspects of one whole, actual and ideal. To reform the individual out of existence, or, what is the same thing, to deprive him of freedom, would deprive society of the service of the occult forces which lie in the human spirit and awake only at the call of freedom. To make the individual free of moral and social restraints and duties would leave society to perish in the jaws of human wolves. Debate over either system, a society without individual liberty or individual life unrestrained by society, is a waste of words, an ineffectual logomachy. The methods by which the individual shall come to highest effectiveness and largest usefulness, and society become most perfectly fitted to produce men and women of the noblest character, may well command investigation, discussion, and, in a sense, experiment also. We do well to set out in our thinking about the question of method with a clear recognition of the end in view. It is the welfare of individuals and of society, and not of either one alone at the expense of the other. "What is good for the hive is good for the bee," and *vice versâ*. To such thinking it will readily occur that socialism protests and seeks reform in the interest of the least fortunate classes of individuals. Its grievance is not that human society is this or that, but that the present order oppresses some persons, very numerous, indeed, but still individual persons; and on the other hand what defenders of the existing order wish to preserve is the entire and unmutilated individual in his largest efficiency as a servant of society. The controversy is based on a misunderstanding.

OUR SCHOOLS OF THEOLOGY.

The theological school has become an institution of Methodism, but its advantages are still imperfectly appreciated by our young ministers. The cost in money and in time deters many from embracing the opportunities opened to them by the schools; and yet those who do embrace these opportunities are, on the average, as poor and as advanced in years as are those who do not embrace them. The schools of theology afford two kinds of assistance to young ministers; one is knowledge, especially of the Scriptures; the other is training in the work of a minister and pastor. It is perhaps a misfortune that the instruments used by the schools are easily obtained by any young man, and he is easily led to hope that he can use these instruments effectively in private study. But this is no more true of theological tools than it is of instruments employed in academy and college.

We refer, of course, to the text-books. Any man can read and meditate upon Phelps's work on preaching; and any young preacher will profit by such study. But the book, good as it is, is only an outline of the science; and the filling in of these outlines by a trained teacher is like putting flesh on dry bones. No doubt there are gifted men who will master the art of making and delivering a sermon by the aid of a book, or even without any book; but this rare man is too rare to be considered in this field. He profits by all school privileges; but if he were not rare there would be no schools. Preaching is a special art, and to few men does it come by nature or even by grace. Many a man preaches well who might preach much better if he had a severe training for the work. It is a painful thing to feel that our medium man might have been in the front rank; that the tolerable and tolerated man might have been more than acceptable. There are too many preachers whose imperfections are precisely those which special training would have removed. The value of this special training carried forward through three years is too high to be estimated. It is a cruelty to leave any young preacher to believe that it is only an ornamental finish; it goes to the heart of his business as a minister of Jesus Christ.

If we turn our attention to the knowledge obtained in theological schools the case is still stronger in the existing conditions. Books on exegesis of Scripture are easily obtained; but it is hardly less than dangerous for a young preacher to handle such books without assistance. They are, when they have high value,

so special and technical that sound personal teaching is absolutely essential to the man who studies them. Their general relations and the consequences of their conclusions, as well as the limits of their meaning, need to be set out clearly and elaborately. The entire matter of scriptural criticism, historical, literary, and textual, has been misunderstood and misrelated in the popular newspaper and the popular book. The actual value, drift, relations of any piece of criticism must be by most men appreciated under personal guidance and thorough technical knowledge carefully and systematically gathered up into orderly arrangement.

This suggestion is the more important because there is a higher and a lower criticism, both too often confounded with each other and misunderstood. We have come to a time when every preacher ought to know much of a branch of learning which did not exist in the days of Wesley. This learning has not changed the symbols of doctrine, but it has thrown a penetrating light into the Bible, and made useless lumber of much old criticism and commentary. This is not the place to enter into the details; our purpose is only to insist that our preachers should know exactly, systematically, as thoroughly as possible, the nature, substance, drift, and value of the recent criticisms. There is nothing subversive and revolutionary in these critical studies as a whole. They illuminate the best of books. They strengthen the sense of its value. They prepare the preacher to present biblical fact and truth with greater accuracy and therefore with more force.

We repeat that there is only one good place for such studies, and that place is the school of theology. Private study of new exegesis and criticism will mislead or bewilder the untrained man who ventures upon it. The alternative is appalling. We must confront the probability that the greater number of the young men entering our ministry will remain ignorant of the true meaning of contemporary additions to the science which explains the word of God. It will reach them, no doubt, in some form, but the precious fruit of scriptural study under the lights of learning will be practically denied to them. What they get by reading and summer schools will have small value, because they lack the serious and careful training of the theological school. When these studies are more advanced they may be put into popular form. At present and for some years to come biblical criticism must be technical, more or less tentative, in need of the atmosphere which the skilled instructor breathes around whatever he teaches.

The logic of the situation is that a much larger proportion of young ministers ought to enter the schools of theology. Two things more necessary than they ever were before await them there—training for pulpit work and the modern training in exegesis. The first becomes more important because there is a tendency to drown the voice of the pulpit with a hundred new voices of pleasure or information or interest. Our early backwoods preachers had the woods to themselves except when occasionally the stump orator made his round. Now, the press, the lecturer, the club, the society, whose name is Legion, all attract the preacher's audience. The critical learning has its high value as a guide to the sermon-maker—not at all as something to preach—and as a protection against misconceptions about the nature and purpose of new criticism. It will help our young preacher to preach intelligently; if it did not help him it would at least save him from criticising critics whose names he barely knows, whose contributions to sacred things he cannot estimate. To illustrate: God's chemistry has not changed, but the teacher of chemistry who should use the text-books and apparatus of fifty years ago would make a sorry figure in a modern college.

FOUR YEARS AGO: A REMEMBRANCE.

The disposition which the Chinese manifest in ancestor worship to perpetuate the memory of their predecessors is not a sign of an ignoble spirit. In any place a man may occupy nothing is more suitable and seemly than a proper respect for those who were before him and a desire that their work be not forgotten or underrated. In every post of honor filled by honorable men one may be stimulated, chastened, warned, and encouraged by thinking of the varied line of marked individualities whom he is appointed to follow. What would be the effect if from the walls of every presidential, professorial, secretarial, or editorial office, and of every pastor's study, the pictures of all one's predecessors therein looked down upon him so that he did his work as in their presence? A certain man remembers that in eight years of pastorate at St. John's Church, Brooklyn, he was ever aware of Hunt and Foss and Payne and Andrews and Chapman and Warren and Peck: all over the wide parish as he traversed it by day and by night their bright footprints were visible to him; and on many a holy day in the pauses of his preaching their voices came back to him clearer than his own from the groined arches of the

ceiling. One's predecessors may well seem to him an unseen jury in perpetual session sitting in judgment on his work. To prove oneself, if possible, by God's help, not unworthy to stand in line with such noble workmen cannot be an unholy ambition; to consider with humble spirit what criticisms they would be likely to make upon him may be no unprofitable meditation; and a wholesome thing it will be for him to bear in mind that to maintain the work upon the level where they kept it will tax his manhood to its last fiber and minutest atom and keep him calling mightily on God for help.

As the present editor of the *Review* passed out from the closing session of the Cleveland General Conference at one o'clock on Thursday, the twenty-eighth of May, there moved into his mind a vivid recollection of his predecessor, Dr. J. W. Mendenhall. That remembrance still lingers and prompts this editorial tribute.

On the twenty-sixth of May, four years ago, a pallid and trembling sufferer passed out of the General Conference at Omaha at its final adjournment, to find his grave in less than a month. Disease, which had been making inroads for a year on a never robust vitality, was now burrowing toward the brain. Though practically a dying man, he nerved himself to be in his seat to answer the roll call which closed the Conference, and wrote in bed at Omaha what proved his last lines for the *Review*, three notes on the work of the General Conference and an editorial for the July number. The sick man spent a little time to no avail in the pure air of Colorado Springs, and then the rapid progress and acute intensification of disease laid him on a hospital bed in Chicago to die. On the eighteenth of June the fire which had blazed in his brain burned out, and "ashes to ashes" was written in the pallor of the wan, white, wasted face of the dead editor.

On the pale forehead of Dr. Mendenhall, at the Omaha Conference, rested one crown, and above it in the near heavens waited another; passing honor received from men presaged the coming of the final approval of God. At the opening of the session he had received the exceptional, if not unprecedented, distinction of special commendation, for meritorious editorial service, in the quadrennial address of the bishops to the General Conference, which made mention of the *Review* in these words: "We cannot refrain from putting on record our high appreciation of the service it has done in rebuking and refuting the arrogant

pretensions of rationalistic higher criticism." Naturally following this came his reelection to the editorship by a largely increased vote. These facts indicate what the Church thought of him; and we are not left in doubt as to his own state of mind in reference to his work. In his last editorial, on page 615 of the July *Review* of 1892, is a proclamation of victory which gives to his friends the assurance that he died with the satisfied feeling that his labor had not been in vain, and with the belief that he had, by his own personal leadership and onset, completely repelled from our Methodism a grave and imminent danger.

Dr. Mendenhall's editorship was so unique as to invite from us, sitting where he once sat, a brief review in this respectful and appreciative remembrance. We are told by his biographer, Dr. W. F. Whitlock, that in the beginnings of his ministerial life he had been embarrassed by the consciousness that his tastes and talents were those of a disputant rather than of a preacher; and undoubtedly one thing which made the possibility of an editorship seem attractive to him was that such a sphere would afford opportunity for the free play of militant proclivities. Immediately upon election he entered on his work with the spirit of a warrior, like Job's war-horse, snuffing the air with eager desire for battle. His opening words rang with the sound of challenge, and he stepped into the arena with a naked sword. In his salutatory he said: "The *Review* is not a relic of departed giants, but a scabbardless scimiter to be used in everyday encounter with agnosticism, Old Testament criticism, and all the cognate upheavals in the path of Christian culture and progress." "Its place is not the quiet hammock in the summer or the cell of the student in the winter, but always the arena of combat where intellectual charlatanry prevails, where the diplomacy of evil is in exercise, where the biblicist is threatened with a cannon ball, where truth is gashed by the archfiend of hell." The Christian scholar must "come forth clothed with a coat of mail, speaking the talismanic word, striking the Titanic blow, fearing nothing." "It is not a poetic fight before us; it is not the jeweled hand, but the imperious sword-thrust, with God directing, which will conquer. Negotiations with Dagon as to a compromising surrender are not in order; he must be decapitated, quartered, ground to powder." "New aggrandizements of error . . . menace the peace of Zion and threaten an invasion of the temples of God." "The hour is one of farseeing calculation, and bold, almost omniscient, questioning. Ours is an age of facts, an age of blushless liberties, an

age of prophetic interrogations; moss is at a tremendous discount." "The next step must be futureward if the ultimatum of inquiry is to be proclaimed. Obstacles must be removed; the intellectual explorer must be shouted onward, and a path must be cut out that will lead to the house of the Lord in the tops of the mountains. Severing the umbilical cord that binds the modern mind to the so-called halcyon past, it is free to roam in the new fields around and beyond it."

It is impossible to mistake the tone and meaning of such inaugural utterances. They are the words of a man bent on conflict and adventure; he meant to fight or die, or both; and whatever knight of God rides forth in such temper, with such views of the emergency and such conceptions of his mission, will not be long in finding some foe whom he may immediately utilize as a sheath for his scabbardless scimiter, in pursuance of his Round Table vow "to break the heathen and uphold the Christ." Looking right and left and scouring the horizon for enemies of the faith, he was sure he saw an "incoming tide of unfaith and antisupernaturalism that threatened to sweep away the bulwarks of our holy religion." The destructive higher critics of Germany had allies and coadjutors in England and America, and he suspected Methodism to be in peril from their insidious and injurious theories. He soon declared with tongue and pen that Yale University, through the teachings of two of its professors, was the headquarters, depot of supplies, and dispensing bureau of rationalism in the United States; and, somewhat later, that Christian thought in English Methodism was on the road to materialism. Listening to the utterances of the British delegation at the Ecumenical Conference in Washington, he was "painfully impressed" that the Wesleyan Church "manifests a tendency in marked contrast with the orthodox solidity of American Methodism;" that it is "headed toward materialism and rationalism;" and that "a division of that body on heretical grounds" is not impossible. That Yale, and British Methodism also, repelled these charges with some indignation seemed not to modify his opinions, since it did not moderate his accusations. And at the end of his editorial quadrennium, having kept up a steady fire of assault for three years, he announced to the readers of the *Review* that, looking back over the controversy, he could "see no reason to be dissatisfied with the result." He declared that, having raised the battle-flag and summoned the orthodox forces of the Church against rationalistic higher criticism, he had "resisted it with such rapidity and energy as to turn

it back from the boundary lines of Methodism;" and then, as one at leisure from a finished fight, he extended "Methodist prayers and reinforcements" to other Churches "struggling on the edges of a Waterloo conflict." Dr. Mendenhall died, flushed with victory, feeling that he had routed formidable foes.

In the smoke and noise of his battle his own position was not at first quite clear; for some time the fact did not stand out that he himself was, in the measure of his scholarship, a higher critic. But later on he said of biblical criticism, "Taking it as it is, we do not pronounce against it." He approved of "rigid and critical investigation of the literary history of the books of the Bible." He expressed desire "to promote a scientific criticism to which all controversial questions might be submitted." He declared in favor of a criticism which should "analyze the solidity of beliefs," "test the validity of the most ancient traditions," "interrogate the facts of history," and continue investigation "so long as there is anything to investigate;" a criticism which should ascertain "how many of the psalms David wrote, under what conditions the prophets predicted the Messiah, whether Deuteronomy was written in the time of Josiah, whether Daniel wrote his own book, what changes happened to the Hebrew language during the exile, how the Old Testament was organized into a canon; whether the priority belongs to Mark's gospel, whether John wrote the fourth gospel and the Apocalypse, whether Paul wrote the pastoral epistles, and how the New Testament canon was established." He always carefully abstained from any definition of inspiration. He said that he did not dread "seeing the old venerable bridges swept away by the currents of biblical criticism, whenever they can be replaced by more serviceable and permanent constructions." He recognized that "evangelical higher criticism must be as progressive as the rationalistic," "asking the same questions, employing the same methods, using the same facts, and justifying its conclusions by a logic that will make for reverence and righteousness." (Quotation marks in this article indicate his own words.)

As to our theology and polity Dr. Mendenhall was not unprogressive. He did not "regard our theology as unimprovable," but encouraged "a progressive investigation of the reasonableness of its conclusions and the ground of its authority." He said, "The hour is near at hand when theological thought must reform and advance;" but under this general assertion of the necessity for reconstruction he did not specify. Several utterances of like

tone, however, suggest a question whether, if he had lived to develop definitely what lay under such general statements, he might, in his second editorial quadrennium, have appeared as a disturber of some things now accepted. He did "not regard the Methodism of one hundred years ago as altogether adapted to the present age," and he did "regard certain portions of the Discipline as archaic" and advocated "expurgation from the next edition."

Four years' experience in this editorship made him acquainted with certain limitations, so that he wrote: "Owing to the environments of the office and the general policy of the Church respecting periodical literature, neither our ideal nor any other of the highest grade is possible of immediate attainment." He also wrote concerning the *Review*: "We frankly apprise the Church . . . that, as a periodical chiefly designed for the ministry, it has reached the normal limit of its circulation, and a larger subscription list should not be expected from publishers and editors." One conviction which is ours as well as his he expressed in these words: "The purpose to maintain 'theological rank' at the expense of variety and utility was the pillow on which this periodical almost peacefully slept out its existence; and by that history we are warned against conceding to theology a monopoly of our pages."

The last words of this memorial tribute to our predecessor are written on the anniversary of his death, four years thereafter.

THE TASKS OF METHODISM.

Like some banquet whose music is still and whose guests are departed, the General Conference of 1896 has quickly passed into history. The polity of the denomination is fixed for another quadrennium; and all unaccomplished legislation, with the adjournment of the sole law-making body of the Church, must for the present be postponed. Wise counsels have been given our burdened benevolent organizations, and lines of procedure mapped out which look to their financial relief and their wider efficiency. The general officers of the Church have been elected for another quadrennium, and have already entered with girded loins upon their appointed work. And with a stout heart Methodism turns its face toward the shadowy future.

But what is to follow the General Conference? It would be disloyalty to believe that Methodism is the semisecular, un-

Christly, wickedly ambitious organization which some of the telegraphic reports of the late Conference proceedings suggest. It has suffered at the hands of its friends, in the honest yet awkward attempts of secular journalism to talk our nomenclature and portray our spirit. Its leaders are not unrighteous spoilsmen. The Church is not a school for the training of parliamentarians whose God-appointed mission on set occasions is to dazzle the simple multitudes with their erudition. Nor is it an institute for the drilling of orators who shall quadrennially declaim their sounding periods to the applauding galleries. The General Conference is but a passing agency to a majestic end. Methodism means obligation. Because of its holy origin, its pentecostal fires, its illustrious leaders, its magnificent doctrine, the world will not be content with ecclesiastical dilettanteism or puny performances on the part of John Wesley's children. No denomination of the times is under greater responsibility to men.

I. Methodism must maintain her first rank among the educational forces of the day. The school has hitherto been one of its chief aids to evangelization. Through the enlightenment of men's minds it has sought, for a full century, and has sought successfully, the renewal of men's hearts. The recent Episcopal Address—than which no document illustrating higher qualities of Christian statesmanship has for years been issued in pastoral counsel to any denomination of the Church of God—recognizes this fact in our organic history. "Among the greatest victories in the Methodist Episcopal Church," it affirms, "have been those achieved in the field of education. Insisting on a Gospel that teaches a loftiness of ideal for man which has elsewhere found no higher expressions, and intimately relating the attainment of those ideals to human endeavor, the Church was logically compelled to give every one of its members the best possible means of development. Hence it has founded schools by the hundred; . . . [and] no one of these schools has ever lived in vain."

And still the Church believes in education. Among the hopeful signs of the times are the growing influence of our central Board of Education; the effort for a higher standard, with power given the Board to sanction new institutions and grade those already established; the strong coherence of our educational work as a part of our world-wide Methodist autonomy; and the great number of our institutions—rivaling in this respect those of any other denomination—which are spread over America and through dark heathen lands like links in a continuous chain of

light. The school and the university must remain enshrined in the deepest heart of Methodism. The fathers in their penury built Kingswood and Cokesbury; the children in their affluence must lift our present institutions to enumeration with Oxford and Cambridge and Harvard. One of the missions of Methodism in the new century is to be a schoolmaster to the world.

II. Methodism must have a voice in the adjustment of the social agitations of the day. Under the gathering storms which lower in the sky no leadership, we believe, is effective except that which originates in the Christian Church. It only is divinely judicial; it is too judicial to be moved from the lines of wise administration by the clamors of vociferous malcontents who shriek for a social readjustment; yet it is so kindly judicial that it will accord the poorest vagabond in the alleys his rights among men. And Methodism is a part of this judicial body. With its clarified vision, and its heart of love for the submerged masses who mutter their maledictions against existing institutions, the mission of its people is to assist in social reform. Recurring again to the Episcopal Address, one who reads at all cannot fail to mark its timely utterances on the great questions of the day. It is not a document discussing archaic doctrines, or a paper freighted with musty platitudes. The rights of ownership, the duties of Christian citizenship, the desirability of arbitration, and the relation of capital to labor, are some of the opportune subjects it skillfully presents. "Methodists in the mines, factories, shops, and on farms of the United States," it declares, "are a most effective agency for the nation's good." In this utterance, spoken from the standpoint of practical and keenly philosophical observers, the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church voice the exceeding privilege of its membership. Mixing as fellow-workers with the masses that delve and build, our people must contribute by the wholesome influence of their Christian living to the perpetuation of the social harmony.

III. And Methodism most of all must walk in the van of the revivalistic forces of the day. It has been the greatest evangelistic movement in Christian history. It is not continued in the world to copy the æstheticism of other denominations. It must have revivals or perish. In holy consecration its corner stone was laid at the Christmas Conference of 1784. The illustrious fathers who made up that gathering—Asbury, Black, Coke, Dickins, Garrettson, Phœbus, Vasey, Ware, Watters, Whatcoat, and more—prayed as well as legislated. "During the session of the

Conference," says one of our historians, "Dr. Coke preached at noon each day, except on the ordination days, and the Sundays, when the preaching hour was ten o'clock, and the service generally lasted four hours. There was a sermon by one of the preachers at six every morning. At six in the evening there was preaching at the 'Point,' at Otterbein's church, and in Lovely Lane."* It is a further fact of interest—to compare the General Conference of 1800 with those of more recent years—that a revival was in progress during the session of 1800. This revival had begun in Cecil Circuit, on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, under the ministrations of Dr. Chandler, the preacher in charge, and thence extended to Baltimore. Of the great awakening which attended the General Conference our historian further says: "The members entered heartily into the work. The divine influence fell upon the congregations with overwhelming effect. Some would fall to the floor, others to their knees. At times the excitement threatened to break up the business of the Conference. It swept over the whole city, and many were saved."† In confirmation of this record Bishop Whatcoat writes in his journal: "We had a most blessed time, and much preaching, fervent prayers, and strong exhortations through the city, while the high praises of God resounded from street to street, and from house to house, which greatly alarmed the citizens. It was thought that not less than two hundred were converted during the sitting of our Conference."‡ Marvelous would seem the repetition of these scenes. Changed conditions lead the attention of our present General Conferences in other channels. Yet the preservation of the revival spirit of 1800, in the Conference and in the Church, is essential to our prosperity. Pure Methodism is a perpetual revival. Its pulpit must evangelize no less than teach. The sweetest sound it knows is the song of converts; the most alluring sight is the waving harvests of human souls. As of old, Methodism must have the indwelling and directing presence of its Lord. "That, and that alone," says the Episcopal Address, "makes common men able to turn the world upside down. That, and that alone, can make our Church anything more than one ordinary organization among a thousand others, one argument among a thousand opinions. That, and that alone, can make it a great agency of God for conquering this world for Christ." For such a Methodism the new century has need.

* *Centennial History of American Methodism*, by John Atkinson, D.D., p. 28.
† *Ibid.*, p. 470. ‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 473, 474.

PURE RELIGIOUS EVOLUTION.

Of pure religion the thoroughly practical James adduces one example. It is "to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world." Parallel passages show that the visitation is one of timely beneficence (Isa. i, 17), of effective liberality (Isa. lviii, 6, 7), and of sympathetic love (Matt. xxv, 36)—the visitation of one who keeps himself unspotted by the contagious moral evil that is in the world. It is only one example of multitudes. It proves that in God's estimation true religion is a life—a life that is right, does right, and in doing right brings the Father into saving contact with his suffering, sorrowful children. Religion is not synonymous with ritualism, sectarian creed, emulous debate, or captious talk. As the characteristic of a pure life it worships, diligently seeks the truth, teaches, is a "doer of the work;" but these activities, as commendable as they must be considered, are the functions of religion, rather than religion itself.

Pure religion is the true worship of God. It is not ceremonial, liturgy, dogma, or theory. All or any of these, if offered in place of religion, is hypocrisy and self-deceit (James i, 26). Saul of Tarsus, after the most straitest sect of the Jews' religion living a Pharisee, was not purely religious (Acts xxvi, 5). Religion is the altruistic, judicious outpouring of personal gifts and resources for the relief of the needy by those whose inner life is spiritual, whose principles are of divine authority, whose will is subordinated to the divine direction, and whose ways are Christly. Such religion is a part of ideal worship which men offer, and is as acceptable to Deity as that paid by the several orders of angels.

Religion, generally, "is the pivot upon which the whole drama of human history and human development turns." Religion, scripturally, lies in the knowledge—traditional, reasoned, direct—of God; in trust unfaltering, love unfeigned, consecration entire, and in the sanctifying grace of the Holy Spirit as it operates on the human heart. It is oneness in thought, feeling, purpose, and deed with Jesus of Nazareth, who in a spirit of matchless self-sacrifice forgot himself for others, and who "went about doing good."

The elements of pure religion and capacity for its exemplification are more or less the possession of every human being. Responsibility is measured by endowment. Men are naturally re-

ligious. All worship, or tend to worship, the infinite and eternal Spirit, immanent in all things and transcending all things. The idea, formerly popular, that religion is a human invention, "sprung from the cunning deception of priests and kings," is exploded. The *dictum* of John Ruskin (delightful old railer), that "our national religion is the performance of Church ceremonies, and preaching of soporific truths (or untruths) to keep the mob quietly at work while we amuse ourselves," is one that will never be wholly accepted by his countrymen. Much more will men in protest reject the gratuitous notion that religion is "a madness, a pathological phenomenon closely allied with neurosis and hysteria."

All men, we repeat, are religious by nature. If any be not so in reality it is because external evils have wrought upon them with malignant, perverting force. That they are religious, normally, appears from the fact that in all ages and countries men build houses of worship, and offer praise, prayer, and sacrifice to God, or to some more or less distorted representation of the Omnipotent. It is also clear in the light of carefully thought-out definitions of religion by sages of many climes and schools. Benjamin Kidd summarizes some of them as follows: Religion according to Seneca is "to know God and imitate him;" according to Kant, "religion consists in our recognizing all our duties as divine commands." "Religion is morality touched by emotion" (Matthew Arnold); "the worship of humanity" (Comte); "the religious sentiment is constituted by the tender emotion, together with fear, and the sentiment of the sublime" (Alexander Bain). "A man's religion," says Edward Caird, "is the expression of his ultimate attitude to the universe, the summed-up meaning and purport of his whole consciousness of things." Better is the definition of Huxley, that it is "reverence and love for the ethical ideal, and the desire to realize that ideal in life;" of Mill, that "the essence of religion is the strong and earnest direction of the emotions and desires toward an ideal object, recognized as of the highest excellence, and as rightly paramount over all selfish objects of desire;" of Carlyle, that religion is "the thing a man does practically believe; the thing a man does practically lay to heart, and know for certain, concerning his vital relations to this mysterious universe, and his duty and destiny therein;" of Martineau, that "religion is a belief in an everlasting God; that is, a divine mind and will, ruling the universe, and holding moral relations with mankind." Such propositions as these, on the part of

some of the great thinkers of the world, serve to make clear the nature of religion itself.

All these definitions are the conclusions of disciplined reason. However imperfect they may be in comparison with one drawn from biblical data, they all recognize the absolute need of moral unity with God. So does that of Dr. Henry Maudsley, the eminent mental physiologist, who says: "It is most necessary to bear in mind that forms and ceremonies, stereotyped propositions, articles of faith, and dogmas of theology [although dignified by the name of religions] do not constitute the essence of religion, but its vesture; and that, apart from all such forms and modes of interpretation, it responds to an eternal need of human sentiment. For it is inspired by the moral sentiments of humanity, and rests on the deep foundations of sacrifice of self, devotion to the kind, the heroism of duty, pity for the poor and suffering, and faith in the triumph of good. It appeals to and is the outcome of the heart, not of the understanding. [It is the outcome of heart and mind.] It is the deep fusing feeling of human solidarity, in whatever doctrines and ceremonies it may be organized for the time, that is religion in its truest sense; for it is in the social organism what the heart is in the bodily organism, and, when it ceases to beat in conscience, death and corruption ensue." Has the erudite scientist studied Isaiah, the Christ, Paul, and James in order to reach these conclusions; or has he been led to them by a purely naturalistic route? In either case they are true. Professor Deussen goes further in affirming that "we may denote faith as that which has, as its inevitable result, morality." He is right. True faith is necessarily religious, and true religion is necessarily moral. Morality is to religion, when the comparison is instituted, what the conscious deeds of a man are to the man himself. Religion is the essence, morality the manifestation of the essence. "As [a man] thinketh in his heart, so is he."

Between religious profession and normal proof of its sincerity there is too frequent and glaring discrepancy. Many still say "Lord! Lord!" and do not the things he commands. Argus-eyed newspapers emphasize and invoke public attention to the contradiction. From comparatively few particulars many respectable men infer sweeping general laws. They infer that professors of the religion of Christ, or most of them, are hypocrites. Yet if they are invited to canvass the character of their religious acquaintances they will admit that the majority are

more or less trustworthy, and that many are justly entitled to the fullest confidence. In the absence of any such comparison they are very likely to say, and do often affirm—and that, too, in negligent disregard of facts—that the most truthful, honest, and just members of commercial and professional society are not religious men. Among others, military officers—truly honorable men as measured by their own standard—will distinguish individuals, and say of each, "He is not a religious man"—meaning that he is not a member of any Church. He is contrasted with some bank defalcator or dishonest merchant who is, or has been, a Church member; and the unvoiced inference is that Church members, as a rule, by the very fact of their public profession, are fit subjects of suspicion among their fellow-men, if not of positive dislike—an inference that collated facts will not justify but repudiate.

"He is not a religious man!" With the foregoing judgments of Christians and non-Christians in mind will it be averred that he has no sense of dependence upon, or obligation to, or conformity with, the Almighty; that he has no love for others, no pity on the wretched, no sympathetic beneficence to the needy? "No, not for a moment. That is not what is meant. He has all these characteristics." Then he is a religious man. "Yes, in that sense, but he is not a member of any Church." Then why not say what is really meant? He is something like the fig tree—green, lush, promising, enjoying every advantage—that the Saviour cursed because it did not bear fruit, because it was not a perfect fig tree. It was not obnoxious because of what it was, but because of what it was not. Like it, "he is not a religious man," but a case of arrested development, a death-in-life abnormality, a practical abortion. As such he merits praise for the good that is in him, dispraise for the good that is not in him. He needs evolution into the ideal man, an evolution within his own power. He needs to think out to logical issues. Then reason, intuition, and experience, under the ever-present grace of the Holy Spirit, would generate faith; and faith would enkindle love; and love would humbly delight in grave yet joyous profession before many witnesses; and profession would be justified by works; and works at last would bring upon the worker, at the end of his brief day of toil, the highest of all encomiums, "Well done, good and faithful servant!" In the loftiest and deepest sense men would say of him, "He is a purely religious man."

THE ARENA.

THE VALUE OF LAND.

My critic on page 467 of the May-June *Review* seems to suppose that in the *Industrial Utopia* I rest the case for private ownership of land upon the theory that land has no value except what has been put into it by labor. He seems to accept the theory, objecting only to the inference that the owner of land has a good moral title to the land as the proprietor—through wages, say, of the labor. I do not rest the case here. I lay much stress on the facts that land, like a baby, needs care; that each crop takes away something which some one must have a motive to restore; and that as a rule only private owners raise land to a high state of culture and keep it there. In short, I oppose practical considerations to theoretical dialectics. I may suggest, however, that the theory which assumes that society imparts all the value to land—a farmer's market making his farm valuable—proves too much if it be taken to destroy the rights of the farmer; for the same kind of an application may be made to wages or to any other earnings. Then there is the capital which is put upon land—labor expended to make it productive—and the serious doubt that the value of land exceeds this capital. And this matter-of-fact question cannot be disposed of by theoretical dialectics. D. H. Wheeler.

"IS DR. WHEELER RIGHT?"

In the May-June number of the *Review* J. L. Vallow takes exception to Dr. Wheeler's approval of the theory that land has no value except what has been put into it by labor. His objection is not so much to the theory—which he virtually accepts—as to its one-sidedness. His notion is that "land and labor depend each upon the other for its value." There appears to be considerable confusion in the writer's mind as to the relationship implied. It is not quite mutual. Labor is energy put forth by a personal agent. Land has no such energy or personal agency in it, nor behind it. The application of labor to land is optional with the laborer. The cooperation of land with labor is not optional with the former; it cannot help itself. It is true that the energy which we call labor will not be put forth except there be some material to which it may be applied. But this is not more true as to land than to leather, or cloth, or any other material on which men work. Why not then assume that governmental ownership should extend to all material to which labor is applicable, as the writer thinks it should be to land?

In addition to his confusion concerning materials, energies, and agents, the objector has fallen into another about wages, rent, and profits. No scientific economist treats the last as embracing the others. Wages are compensation for labor, and this in its widest sense includes all kinds of

effort, mental as well as manual. Rent is the compensation for the use of land, and, of course, cannot exist unless the land has some value, which value, as is virtually admitted, must be conferred on it by some kind of labor. Profits, though sometimes erroneously used in the sense of compensation for the use of capital (that is, interest) and of management, are in the strict and proper sense a compensation for risk incurred. A large part of the productive work of the world cannot be carried on unless some risk is assumed. Herein is a liability to loss as well as gain. Sometimes the gains are very great; so sometimes are the losses. It is not certain which on the whole are the greatest; but that industrial enterprises involving great uncertainties are of incalculable benefit to workingmen there can be no question.

Our critic is culpable of something worse than confusion—though this also is involved—in his further discussion. He says, "Labor (brain and brawn) is the gift of God (nature) to the individual," and "land is the gift of God (nature) to the race." "Wages, the profit of labor by virtue of its association with land, should accrue to the individual. See Luke x, 7. Rent, the profit of land by virtue of its association with labor, should accrue to the race. See Eccles. v, 9." There is no contention as to the statement that "the laborer is worthy of his hire." But the assumption that either God or nature has given the land to the race is a pure gratuity. It seems to be a theory that suits his purpose; therefore he adopts it. He offers no scrap of proof. It can hardly be said to be self-evident, since all but a small minority of men are unable to believe it. Nature gives no testimony on the subject. The critic cites as Scripture authority a single rhetorical expression in Ecclesiastes. There are several other rhetorical statements in the same book from which he might just as easily prove that there is no future life, or that all things come by chance. The Bible does not give any instruction on the question of land tenure, but, so far as it has any reference to the subject, it recognizes the ownership of land by individuals.*

Mr. George's theory is that the proper rent of all land should go to the community in the form of taxes. But this he teaches should be reckoned on the bare value of the land aside from its improvement. Now, if there were no value in the land prior to that which is effected by labor either on the land or in some relation to it, there would be no rent at all. This may be illustrated by a great number of concrete cases. Here are two parcels of land of the same quality and situation, occupied respectively by two men. At the end of twenty years one of these parcels has been transformed, by the labor, intelligence, enterprise, and energy of its occupant, into a bountifully productive farm. It is fenced, drained, tilled, fertilized, and subdued in every part, and has a value of fifty dollars an acre. That of the other man, through ignorance, indolence, and general shiftlessness, is little better than waste land, and the owner is fain to run away and leave it, and no man will give any price for it. Yet the value

* See Old Testament regulation of landed possession in the Israelitish commonwealth, and in the New Testament, Acts v, 4.

of the bare land, aside from improvements, is just as great in the latter case as in the former. How would Mr. George's theory work in such an instance?

GEORGE M. STEELE.

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AN ANSWER TO THE QUESTION.

IN the "Arena" department of the November-December *Review* there is a short article, entitled "Of What Use is It?" I need not ask excuse for saying that I am astonished such a question should be propounded, and that I am even more astonished at the answer given in the article.

As a prelude to the reply I propose to give I will say that, some fifty years ago, I read the work of an English scholar and divine who stated in effect that the Bible was even more the illiterate and poor man's book than it was that of the learned and the rich, for the latter had to come down from their conceited attitude to the place where the former stood, to be prepared duly to appreciate and understand it. He gave the following illustration: "See the poor man sitting in his cottage door with the Bible open before him, with his wife and their boys and girls around him, telling them how great is the Almighty, and how precious is Jesus." From years of observation I am convinced that, as important as scholarship is, the chief difficulties in Scripture interpretation have arisen among our men of learning, many of whom, it may not be harsh to say, have assumed to be "wise above what is written," often repudiating or perverting the word of God and "teaching for doctrines the commandments of men."

Now, if the question under consideration be proper, may not similar ones for the same reason be asked with reference to other books or portions both of the Old Testament Scriptures and the New? My astonishment arises from the fact that ever since my childhood—over sixty years ago—the Song of Solomon has been in our family and Church Bibles. And I am not mistaken, am I, when I suppose it was in the Septuagint version of the Old Testament, which the Jews held sacred, and from which the Saviour quoted? Furthermore, I heard from the pulpit in my boyhood certain quotations made by the preachers of those days that I have ever cherished in my memory. For instance, "I am the rose of Sharon, and the lily of the valleys;" "My beloved is . . . the chiefest among ten thousand;" and the question asked the watchmen, "Saw ye him whom my soul loveth?" In the sixth chapter of the Song there is also the following verse: "Who is she that looketh forth as the morning, fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners?" Where will one find a more exquisite and perfect overflow of figurative thought, or a combination more radiant and sublime? A proper analysis and exegesis of this passage would, I think, reflect light upon the whole Song, sufficient to vindicate its excellence and keep it in the oracles of God.

Again, the subject has called up a reminiscence of my early ministry, over forty years ago. A Hebrew Christian and missionary visited a Presbyterian clergyman in the town where I lived. He was an educated man. I invited him to preach at one of my country appointments, which

he did. In our conversation reference was made to the Song of Solomon. He said it was held in high esteem by the Jews, as referring to the Messiah; and that it was valued highly by Christian Jews as a metaphorical treatise of Christ and his Church. He also thought it less appreciated by many Christians than it should be, because of its oriental style.

I am aware of some of the beliefs of various critical readers and writers about Solomon's Song, as well as about Genesis and Job and other portions of the Bible. Even our great Dr. Adam Clarke, whose Commentary I read in my youth, discounted the Song of Solomon by speaking of it as a kind of romance or love story. Now I think I am right in saying —and charity softens the expression—that some good and knowing men have their mental and moral aberrations as well as the novices in error and sages in skeptical lore.

I am quite sure that the September-October writer on "the Song of Songs" is as free from "nonsense" as are his critics. Job's head was more level—with a blistered body—than were those of his three generous and boastful friends. I have always seen the use of some things I did not understand, and have often found out the worth of some things that I was tempted to think useless. I am of the opinion that a higher value will be given to the Song of Solomon when Bible readers reach a higher grade of "spiritual understanding." For it would seem that in all ages some things have been hidden "from the wise and prudent" that have been "revealed unto babes." In concluding my answer—through reverence for the "precious Bible," and in brotherly kindness and candor —I would advise the author of the question to reconstruct his article, with a recantation of its hostile bearing to the Song of Solomon.

Stockton, Md. B. F. Price.

THE CARBON COMPOUND.

In the March-April number of the *Review* H. H. Moore is good enough to refer to a brief note of mine on the relation of chemistry to the doctrine that what we call life is the natural resultant of organic molecular complexity. He is not sure as to the ground occupied by myself with regard to the distinction between organic and inorganic matter. I am sure there is no reason for regret, if any indistinctness in the article mentioned has led Dr. Moore so clearly to point out the essential sameness of these modes of matter. But he writes as one more in touch with philosophy than with science; for, while matter may be one in the thought of the philosopher, it is wonderfully diverse to the observations of the scientist; and it is to the scientist, more specifically to the chemist, that the question of the material origin of life must be referred.

It clearly resolves itself into a question of fact, whether the elements known to the chemist are capable under any conditions of evolving life. To speak of "living matter" is of course to beg the question, unless we use the phrase as a convenience to denote the lowest forms of apparently unorganized living bodies which lie as the basis of organized life. So also to speak of organic matter as though within it are latent probabili-

ties of life is an assumption with little to commend it. Nevertheless, organic differs from inorganic matter in several ways: (1) Organic compounds exist in great number and reach out to extreme complexity of structure; inorganic bodies are comparatively few and simple in structure. (2) Organic chemistry is often called the "chemistry of the carbon compounds," because carbon is an essential element in an organic body. (3) And, further, organic bodies are very largely the product of living organisms, vegetal and animal. The building up of urea, however, by Wöhler was the first of an increasing series of masterly synthetic experiments which gave color to the belief that in the laboratory some day living matter would be produced from nonliving compounds. This hope has not been realized, the fact being that all chemical processes of which we know begin and end in the domain of physico-chemistry.

I wrote without reference to any underlying philosophy; but not so Dr. Moore. The second paragraph of his note contains at least three assumptions: First, that in the beginning God gave existence to a vital as well as to a material world; second, that life is a substance; third, that there are myriad kinds or forms of life-substance. This is, in my opinion, a most unwieldy, unnecessary theory. It is not more probable than alchemy or astrology.

I hope I have mistaken Dr. Moore. But does not the theory demand the preexistence and continued immortality, after a brief physical embodiment, of all the myriad forms of human, *animal*, and *vegetable* life?

The preexistence and unconditional immortality of the "harmless and necessary cat" is, notwithstanding the wisest of men, something new under the sun.

WM. HEAP BUTLER.

Hull, Mass.

DR. McCREARY ON SOCIOLOGY.

To Dr. McCreary's "Study in Sociology," published in the November-December number of the *Review*, I would give my sincere approval. Permit me to add, however, the following comments:

1. It seems to me that the writer quite mistakes the genius of the "historical sociology." It is quite true that Spencer, Huxley, and many of their school forecast a dismal future for society, but not, it would seem, for the reason Dr. McCreary supposes. While they see in the history of society an alternation of advances and retrocessions, this is not why they expect the present period of advancement to come to a gloomy ending; past experience has been that each social declension has not usually sunken so low as preceding declines, while each successive advancement has usually gone higher than the one before. Therefore these pessimistic conclusions have been barred on very different grounds, namely, that this alternation must soon cease, owing to the formation of a fixed and uniform type of character due to the anticipated predominance of socialism. Their pessimism comes not by inference from historical precedent, but rather as a foreboding that historical precedent is shortly to be abandoned. Therefore pessimism is no essential feature of the historical

method. And all evolutionary sociologists are by no means prophets of woe—as witness John Fiske in his *Destiny of Man*, Benjamin Kidd in his *Social Evolution*, and Professor Le Conte in his address on "The Effect of the Theory of Evolution on Education."

2. I can hardly think Dr. McCreary means to proscribe "theoretical sociology" as either worthless or insignificant. Its indispensable value is apparent when we simply consider that (fortunate blunders excepted) every actual advancement realized by society has first existed as a theory in the mind or minds of somebody.

3. Nor is the following an entirely happy characterization of Christian sociology: "The cardinal doctrine of Christian sociology is that the reformation of society and the perfection of the social order can only be effected by the moral regeneration of the individual." This may or may not be true. If it means simply that there can be no real social reform that does not make individual men and women happier and better, the statement is obviously true and amounts to little more than saying that social reform must be social and reformatory. But, if the proposition means that the moral regeneration of society is to be promoted solely by direct efforts for the personal conversion of individuals, it misses the mark entirely. Dr. McCreary correctly states that the motto of Christian sociology is, "Make the tree good, and the fruit will be good also." That is to say, the social problem is ultimately a problem of character, not of environment. But this is far from warranting the conclusion at which he seems to hint, that character is not immediately and largely a problem of environment. How shall the tree be made good? By direct attention to the character of the tree itself? Yes, in part; but all this will be in vain if I do not give attention to certain matters of environment—as water supply, fertility of the soil, obstructions of sunlight, etc. I know a young man of weak will and unhappy surroundings who is a slave to the liquor habit. How shall this tree be made good? By giving him well-nigh constant attention his Christian faith and purpose can be kept strong, but while I am doing this my time and effort are withheld from many others; while I work to save this tree the rest of the orchard may be ruined. If I could remove the environment of saloons and other enticements to drink, the problem would be solved indirectly; the noxious stream that flows through my orchard once turned aside, my attention will be partly released from the one tree, giving all the orchard a better chance for character and fruitage.

Indeed, there scarcely seems to be a hard-and-fast line to be drawn between these several schools of sociology. The divergence in their methods is rather a difference of accents than a difference of essence. The criticism to be made of any one of them is not to be directed so much against their contents as their omissions. The true sociology should be sufficiently comprehensive to seek a right reading of historic experience, to justly appreciate the indispensable service of theory, and to seek sustaining vitality in the spiritual life of Christianity.

River Falls, Wis. W. M. Balch.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

THE MINISTER'S IDEALS.

EVERYONE has his ideals, whether consciously or unconsciously. He may not always be thinking of them, but they constitute, nevertheless, a power over his life, and mold both his thinking and his acting. This is one of the commonplaces of all teaching addressed to the young. The danger, however, arises out of a false selection of ideals. There is no sphere in which this danger is more likely to do injury than in that of the Christian ministry. The ideals here entertained are largely conspicuous and well-known individuals, and one can often explain a minister's methods and style by a knowledge of those for whom he is known to have a high admiration.

Who, then, are some of the ideals which the young minister should choose? He should not choose any man for his ideal merely because he has become popular. There is a distinction always to be observed between popularity and usefulness. Some preachers, who are followed by crowds of admiring hearers, leave only a passing impression, and die without achieving any valuable service to the cause of Christ. Popularity is often the result of a temporizing expediency, which notes the conditions of popular thought and caters to them. It is sometimes also the result of boldness of attack and recklessness of statement which attracts the attention and wins the admiration of the thoughtless. For the time being he carries them away by denunciation, and repeats it whenever possible, to the admiration of the unthinking crowd. It is sometimes the result of mere rhetorical power, and of popular eloquence, which are always winning, and which should not be despised by anyone who proposes to achieve the best results. True, it is not to be forgotten that there is a genuine popularity growing out of noble achievements which have been grandly performed. Yet it is not against this that we are contending; but it is against following in an over-reverential way those whose claims for distinction are secured by an effort to acquire popular applause through other than genuine methods.

A young minister will mistake if he only selects his ideals from persons who have attained high position in the service of the Church. He is apt to think that those who have secured office or posts of honor outside of the pastorate are the proper ideals whom he should imitate. There is a measure of reasonableness in this, but it is specially dangerous for a young minister to assume that position is necessarily a proof of high achievements in the service of Christ. In all great organizations, the Church included, men sometimes reach positions by other than Christian methods. High position in the Church should be a badge of honorable achievement and of high ability, but there are exceptions enough to this law to make it exceedingly dangerous to follow another as a model merely

because he has accomplished that which in worldly language is called success. The minister's work is so peculiar in its nature, and his achievements in spiritual labor are so different from what the world is accustomed to consider as success, that his ideals must be chosen from a different standpoint.

The minister's best ideal is, therefore, to be found in those who have achieved that kind of success to which his own life is consecrated; namely, success as preachers and pastors of the churches. The Church has no office which is higher in real dignity than the pastorate. To say of a man that he is a great pastor and a great preacher is the highest compliment which can be paid him as a minister of the Gospel. Nor must we forget that ideals for the ministry may also be found among laymen. There are those in our churches who have never received ministerial orders whose life and conduct, and whose devotion to Christ, constitute studies for those who preach the Gospel. The laymen are often models of piety and models of devotion to the Church, and in this regard are often fit ensamples for the ministry who stand in the pulpit and preach to them the word of life on Sunday.

We purpose to consider some of those who may be reckoned as ideals for ministers to follow. It is always to be assumed that the ideal preacher is the Master himself. Whether as preacher or as teacher, he stands supreme, and all other lives and all other teachers who would be perfect must conform to his standard. His standard, however, is so high that none have been found, as yet, who have attained to it; and we are compelled, therefore, to study those who are nearer to ourselves, and who are models toward which we may not only look, but whose standards we may absolutely reach. The first ideal preacher whom we would present for the consideration of our readers is the great apostle to the Gentiles, Paul himself. His characteristics, which constitute him a model for the preacher of to-day, we hope to consider in another number.

OBLIGATIONS OF THE CHURCH TO EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS.

When we distinguish, as it is necessary to do in accurate definition, between education and information the educational problems of our time show themselves to be exceedingly complex and difficult. Education, that is, the training of our intellectual powers, is the same as ever. It requires the same methods and the same amount of time spent in its accomplishment as it did centuries ago. The child of to-day who starts to secure an education is not brighter intellectually, and has no more mental capacity, than the Greek or Roman child before the Christian era. We imagine that the fathers and mothers in those ancient times were as proud of the abilities and proficiency of their sons or daughters as the fathers and mothers of 1896 will be when their children shall graduate at the approaching commencements. Few will question that for mental grip and logical power Aristotle was fully the equal of John Stuart Mill or Bishop Butler. And comparisons might be multiplied, showing that the natural

capacities of to-day are not superior to those of centuries ago. The educating forces also are the same, and do not change with the varying decisions of the popular majority.

But information is a very different thing. The advances in knowledge have been marvelous within recent times. The Baconic method of investigation is modern. All the great sciences have sprung into maturity within the century which is soon to close, and the accumulated historic researches of recent years fill the shelves of our great libraries. Of these great advances we are the recipients, and in consequence of this the student of to-day starts with a far greater task before him than the student of the palmiest days of Greece and Rome. The Greek student had comparatively little information to acquire, for progress was in its infancy; but the modern scholar within a few years of school life is expected to intermeddle with all knowledge, and to begin his career by mastering the results of twenty centuries of investigation.

The problem of education is further embarrassed by the multifarious views which are held on that subject by various conflicting schools of thought. One argues for a course of study which shall be chiefly ancient, another for a training which shall be entirely modern. One would lay great stress upon the classics as an educating force; another affirms that the modern languages will just as surely accomplish the desired results. Science and philosophy, mathematics and history often stand at the door of the student; and each says to him, "Follow me if you would enter the portals of high scholarship and of worldly success." Thus he is drawn in different ways, and is liable to be bewildered.

But the question which affects us at this time more particularly is the relation of the Church to education. Can she pass it by at pleasure, or must she look upon it as a necessary element in her progress, and fundamentally related to the salvation of the world? We observe, first, that the Church is obligated to supply to her own people and to all who desire the benefit the highest educational facilities possible. There is a sense in which all her work is educating. The preacher is a great educator; the meetings of the Church are places of training, often directly, but chiefly indirectly. All religious thinkers who make known their thought to others are educators. The writer of a great Christian book is a great contributor to the world's education, for the study of one book has often changed and molded a human life. But when we mention education we mean a systematic course of study in the schools, begun at a proper period of life and carried forward under competent instructors until its completion. No one questions the possibility, and in individual cases the success, of self-education, or private education, or training by general courses of lectures; but this is not the education of which we are speaking. We refer to education in classes in the midst of educational influences, libraries, and all those appliances gathered in schools at vast expense which cannot be found elsewhere. We mean first the academy, with its elementary drill. This is the starting point, and in some respects the most important of all our institutions. Scholarship can no more be secured without careful

preparatory drill than a house can be built without a suitable foundation. The next step is the college. If the preparatory school has done its work well, the college course opens before the student the various lines of thought with which it has to do. Here are found classics and mathematics, the sciences and the modern languages, philosophy and metaphysics, indeed everything that can develop and strengthen the intellectual and moral faculties. Its doors open into every realm of knowledge. The next step is the professional school, where the student devotes himself to such studies as bear more particularly on his lifework. There he is taught the history and progress of the profession he has chosen, the difficulties he has to meet, the methods to be pursued, and the special information that he needs for his daily work. All are set before him by those who are supposed to be competent to give instruction at this point in his life. He has become a specialist, bringing all the accumulations of the past, and the resources and opportunities of the present, to bear upon his lifework.

And now the question is whether the Church has any obligations to these institutions. It is now conceded that she has obligations to education in general, but not to a specific form. Objectors will say that her relation to the college and the academy are proper, but will probably deny that she should have anything to do with the professional school. They will demand to know what relation a law school or a medical school has to the Church. Now, of course, no one supposes that Methodists or other organized denominations have any particular civil laws under which they live, or by which they are to defend the property of others. It is not conceivable that Christian physicians have any peculiar medicines which they give or take. It is agreed, however, that a Church has theological views which it desires to have perpetuated, and schools of theology are therefore important in order to the most successful teaching and transmission of these doctrines. But we go further than this. What we claim is that the Church should open up, under her own auspices, opportunities for all professions and for all studies. This may appear to some unnecessary, but we urge it as important, because we believe her impress should be upon the professional world and the commercial world; and this cannot be, if during their educational period candidates for the legal or medical profession are beyond her control.

THE REVISED TEXT IN 1 TIM. iii, 16.

The changes in the text of the New Testament adopted in the revised translation have caused serious embarrassment to many readers of the word of God. They have failed to remember that these text changes were merely the approach to the original autographs of the sacred writers, and, so far as this is the case, they represent the truth and not the mere speculations of critics. For a long period New Testament scholars were dependent on more recent manuscripts, but the discoveries in this department have led to a better knowledge of the original manuscripts of the Scriptures, and consequently to their more accurate presentation in the

revised translation. Some of the changes caused by the study of the original text have appeared arbitrary and, at first view, seem to obscure rather than illuminate the meaning of the passage. Hence, many have rejected the new as absurd, and have regarded the change as a serious defect in the translation.

Such is the passage in 1 Tim. iii, 16: "Great is the mystery of godliness: God was manifest in the flesh," etc. The Revised Version reads, "Great is the mystery of godliness; He who was manifested in the flesh," etc. This change seems very remarkable, and grows out of the presence or absence of a small line or mark in the Greek letter. With a slight variation the word "who" and the abbreviated form of the word "God" in Greek are alike, and it has been a question in which generations of scholars have been interested whether the clause should read "who was manifested" or "God was manifest." The revisers followed the most ancient manuscripts and rendered the passage "He who."

A careful study of the passage will show us that the revised translation is a better rendering of the passage than the St. James Version. First, the revised translation does not do away with the divinity of Christ, for He who was manifest in the flesh could be none other than God. One who was manifest must have been before he was manifest, and this we affirm of God; consequently the divinity of our Lord is more authoritatively affirmed in the new rendering than it was in the old. It seems fair to assume that the word "God" was not inserted here, as some have claimed, for dogmatic reasons. Second, to say that God was manifest in the flesh would not suit the following clauses in the passage. We could not well say, "God was manifest in the flesh, God was justified in the spirit, God was seen of angels, God was preached unto the Gentiles, God was believed on in the world, God was received up into glory." Whereas, speaking of Christ as the incarnate Son of God, we can say, "He who was manifested in the flesh," etc. Again, the revised rendering brings out with great clearness a truth elsewhere taught in the New Testament, namely, that the essence of godliness, according to the New Testament teaching, is the person of Jesus Christ. It is a person who is manifest. Our religion, then, contains the element of personality. It is not a mere doctrine, not a mere creed; but if we were asked what our religion is we would say our religion is centered in the person of Jesus Christ. He is its Alpha and Omega, its beginning and its end, its first and last.

We have, therefore, in this passage a specimen of many other passages which have been severely criticised because of changes in the text; but, as they have been studied more and more, it has been found that the nearer we approach to the original autographs of the sacred writers the clearer will be the meaning and the more precious the thought. The advances in this department of criticism are not to be discarded because at first view the results seem to be obscure, but are to be studied with constant reference to the fact that "all Scripture is given by inspiration of God."

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

HAUPT'S POLYCHROME OLD TESTAMENT.

In our last issue we called attention to the many errors which have crept into the Hebrew text of the Old Testament—errors which puzzle and perplex all those who read the Bible critically. We also referred to Professor Haupt's new edition of the Hebrew Scriptures, which "aims at presenting as clearly as possible, by an entirely new process designed by the learned Baltimore professor, the results of the higher and lower criticism."

Professor Haupt's work is printed in colors, so as to show at a glance the exact portions of any book belonging to the various editions. Of the parts already published we might mention that Leviticus is printed in three colors. The main part, or "priestly code," is in black letter on white background—a fact which is true of the main part of every book; then the "law of holiness" (chapters xvii–xxvii) is given in yellow, while the later additions are printed in brown. The Books of Samuel are printed in eight colors, to show that there were as many elements used in their composition, or seven original documents cleverly put together by a later editor. Inasmuch as many great biblical critics are almost color-blind, this polychromatic edition of the Books of Samuel may yet prove a fertile source of discussion, especially if some of these great men have to read through colored glasses. The Book of Job, though the first part published, will be marked number seventeen when the entire work of twenty parts is completed. It is from the pen of Professor Siegfried, of Jena. Like every other book in the Old Testament, Job also, we are assured, is composite in its nature. The colors, here again, help the reader without any effort whatever to analyze the grand old poem, and to see at one glance the exact portions belonging to the several writers, as well as the number and age of the interpolations. About two thirds of Job is given in black letter on a white background; this represents the original poem, pure and unadulterated, just as it came from the lips of its great author. According to Professor Siegfried—though, so far as we know, no other critic on earth agrees with him in every particular—the following is the exact order: Chapters 1–12; 13, 1–27; 14, 4. 3. 6. 13. 15–17. 1–2; 13, 28; 14, 5. 7–12. 14. 18–22; 15–19; 20, 1–15a. 23a. 15b–29; 21, 1–8. 11. 10. 9. 12–34; 22–24, 8. 10–25; 26, 5–14. 1–4; 27–28; 29, 1–6. 19–20. 7–11. 21–23. 12–13. 15–17. 24–25. 14. 18. 30, 1–24. 26–31; 31, 1–20; 30, 25; 31, 21–23. 38–40. 24–37. 40c; 33–42; 32–37. The speeches of Elihu and the twenty-eighth chapter—being polemical interpolations directed against the tendency of the poem, are printed on green background, and the former are included in a special appendix at the close. What are termed corrective interpolations, inserted to harmonize Job's speeches with the doctrine of retribution, are shown in red color. Then follow a number of passages in blue, which are called parallel compo-

sitions, that is, repetitions or amplifications of ideas already expressed. What the author regards as hopelessly corrupt passages are dropped out entirely from the text, and their place is indicated by dotted lines, while the proposed corrected text is reproduced in the critical notes at the end. Then we have a large number of still later interpolations, which likewise are relegated from the body of the text and appear as notes at the bottom of the page. Besides the different colors and footnotes we have diacritical signs, especially invented for this work, to indicate about six hundred proposed emendations. These corrections are often based upon the ancient versions, and are therefore entitled to a careful consideration. Sometimes the *k'ri*, the suggested corrections of the Masorites, have been adopted in preference to the *k'thib*, or received text. But a very large number of the so-called emendations are purely conjectural, and are therefore, practically, of no value. The well-known passage, chapter xix, 25, 26, has been relegated from the text, with the remark: "We look upon the whole passage as a later gloss in which the resurrection of the just is regarded as a possibility (comp. Dan. xii, 13; Macc. vii, 9–11) contrary to the opinion put forth in the Book of Job, with regard to Sheol." As much as we respect the great erudition of Professor Siegfried, many of his notes involuntarily remind us of a teacher of composition in some grammar school, who flippantly dismisses what does not suit his ear with some such offhand remarks as, "evidently wrong," "interpolated in order to correct," "seems to be a fragment of a new verse," "must either be canceled or altered," etc., etc.

This will fairly indicate the style and scope of the great work, which is certain to bring light upon many a dark passage, and which cannot fail to stimulate thought and promote the study of external criticism. In spite of the many excellencies of this new edition of the sacred books of the Old Testament, there is one fatal objection—it is entirely too subjective; and many of the proposed emendations are purely conjectural, neither supported by any recently discovered manuscript, nor even by a consensus of opinion, but simply evolved from the author's fancy. Were it not for the seriousness of the matter, it would be really amusing to see how a professor of Hebrew, without a very large amount of poetic genius, sitting in his study on the picturesque banks of the Saale at the close of the nineteenth century, reviews and emends an ancient poem—written at least twenty-five hundred years before, by some great literary genius whose work still towers up among the highest peaks in any literature—just as if it were a new poem or essay published in the last issue of some German literary magazine in Leipsic or Berlin. What is true of Professor Siegfried's work on Job is equally true of Wellhausen's edition of the Book of the Psalms, with this addition, that Wellhausen has disappointed his friends all around in this last effort, which is less scholarly in every way than his work of more than twenty years ago on the Books of Samuel.

We repeat that the entire work is entirely too subjective to be of permanent value. The fact that Professor Siegfried, Wellhausen, or Budde characterizes passages as "impossible, absurd, or nonsensical," does not

make them so. Bold assertions are often made without assigning any reason whatever. This perhaps must be overlooked, inasmuch as we are promised full explanations and comments in connection with the proposed English and German translations of the Old Testament for which this critical edition of the Hebrew text is to serve as a basis. It would possibly be unjust to anticipate any of the "full explanations" to be found with the English translation, and yet we cannot refrain from prophesying that when the English and German translations appear we shall read in more than one place, as some difficult or dark passage is considered, such a note as the following, "As was clearly shown by Professor Siegfried, Wellhausen, or Stade in his notes on the Hebrew text."

From a paragraph in the March number of the *Biblical World* we learn that Professor Haupt has just arrived from Europe, where he has visited many of his distinguished collaborators in the interest of his work, and that already six parts of the English translation are in the press—three of them to be out "in the early spring," namely, Isaiah, in three colors, translated by Professor Cheyne; Judges, in six colors, by Professor G. F. Moore, of the Andover Theological Seminary; and the Psalms, by Professor Furness, of Philadelphia. The latter for some reason translates the Psalms not from the original text, but from the German version of Wellhausen. This critical German prose translation of the Göttingen professor is, however, to be turned into a poetical form by Professor Furness.

We are not informed as to the number of colors in this new Psalter, but presumably the English and German editions will agree in this regard with the Hebrew as given by Wellhausen, who has not followed the general plan, but instead has used red letters here and there as follows: "The titles of the Psalms, including historical and musical notes, as well as 'selah' and other liturgical formulæ (for example, 25. 22) have been printed in red; also the acrostic letters in the alphabetical Psalms (9, 10, 25, 34, 37, 111, 119, 145), the doxological subscriptions at the close of the first four books (41. 13; 72. 18; 89. 52; 106. 48), and the headings, *sepher rishon* (first book), etc., indicating the traditional division into five books. None of these elements (the acrostic letters, of course, excepted) formed a part of the original text of the Psalms to which they are attached."

Though we are assured that it is the aim of the great scholars, who have this new English translation in hand, "to make it at once more accurate and rhythmical than either the Authorized or Revised Version," it is safe to predict that it will never displace either one or the other, but will slowly find its way into our large libraries and into the studies of advanced students of the Bible.

ECCLESIASTICUS AND PHILO.

One of the most interesting discoveries of the year is that recently made by Mr. Schechter, a Talmudic reader, or lecturer, at Cambridge, England. It is that of a small portion of the apocryphal book called "Ecclesiasticus, or the Wisdom of Jesus, the Son of Sirach." Though but a small fragment of only one leaf, and that "dirty and ragged at the

foot," it will prove of great value to biblical critics in helping to determine the age of several of the Old Testament books. It was before known that Jesus ben Sirach's work had appeared in Hebrew; indeed, Jerome expressly states that he had seen a copy of his work in that language. There is also reference to it in the Talmud. This is, however, the first time that modern critics have had an opportunity to examine any part of Ecclesiasticus in the original, for the reason that the oldest manuscripts yet discovered were either in Greek, Syriac, or Latin. As already stated, this fragment will prove very useful in fixing the dates of some of the later canonical books, since all know that Hebrew, like all other written languages, has had its history and development. Of late years it has been quite fashionable with a certain school of Old Testament scholars to depress the date of composition of a very large portion of the Hebrew Scriptures. Now, with this fragment written between three and two centuries before our era as a base of comparison, we have good reason for expecting some very positive results; for all will admit that an ounce of solid testimony is worth more than a ton of the most learned conjectures.

Though the discovery was made in the study of Professor Schechter, at Cambridge, the leaf, with a number of others, was purchased by Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Gibson during a recent tour to Egypt and the Holy Land. These ladies, so well known in connection with the last Syrian manuscript of the gospels, had no idea what treasure they had in that little bundle of greasy-looking leaves, secured for a trifle from an oriental dealer in antiquities and curiosities; and what treasures may yet be concealed in some out-of-the-way place in many a Palestinian city!

We notice also with pleasure the revived interest in the study of Josephus and Philo, especially of the latter. Professor Ryle has devoted much time to the examination and collection of the quotations of Philo from the Old Testament. Philo speaks in no uncertain tone regarding the authority and inspiration of the Hebrew sacred books. His writings abound with such expressions as "the inspired oracle," "the divine word," and "the most truthful witnesses." The scope and value of the book can be best stated in Professor Ryle's words: "Philo's testimony to the Greek Bible is indisputably pre-Christian. In that fact lies the special value of his scriptural citations. The earliest manuscripts of the Septuagint have all come down to us from Christian sources. The earliest copies are ecclesiastical books, written for use in Christian churches. The oldest, *Codex Vaticanus*, belongs to the late third, or early fourth, century. Philo's testimony has, therefore, the twofold value of being earlier, by more than two centuries, than our earliest extant manuscripts, and of being derived from a non-Christian, a Græco-Judaic, source, separate in time and character from the great mass of other evidence."

Biblical criticism has too long neglected a thorough study of Jewish literature which originated in the times between the Maccabees and the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. It is really as important to know what Philo and other pious and learned Jews of his age thought of the Holy Scriptures as it is to have the theories of modern speculators.

MISSIONARY REVIEW.

THE PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS AS SEEN ON FOREIGN MISSION FIELDS.

We have been confident that in due time the Parliament of Religions would come under the review of able men on the foreign mission field, and have patiently waited their utterance, in the light of at least a short experience, to confirm any theory they might have held in the first instance. That they are not really unanimous is no matter of surprise; but the consensus of view seems clearly to be that at least till now the result has been prejudicial to the interests of missions.

Thus, Mr. Banerjai, a capable, scholarly native of India, said at the Calcutta Missionary Conference that the Parliament was likely to strengthen the popular belief among the people of India that all religions are true, being different revelations for different conditions of men; and hence it would tend to revive the dying religions in India, and would encourage the simulation of Christianity in the interest of certain non-Christian faiths which have already divided the Hindus into various new and schismatic bodies that to an extent have adopted Christianity in parts —these schismatics being more difficult to bring to real Christianity than are the original, out-and-out Hindus. He instances Keshub Chunder Sen's rehabilitation of Hinduism in Christian attire as having deceived many. He further sets forth that it is likely to produce the impression that morals are distinct from, and must take precedence of, doctrine; and that it will tend to divorce morality and theological thought. Again, he deprecates an almost necessary impression that there is a better and broader attitude toward non-Christian religions than that assumed by the missionaries, and deplores the erroneous conception had in Christian lands of what the missionary attitude often is—a conception which only aggravates the result. For there is a popular notion of the methods used by missionaries which is far from a correct representation of the facts, and this misapprehension is likely to be much more widespread by utterances made on the platform at the Parliament of Religions.

The advantage taken of the return of the Buddhist representatives to Japan—who were not, however, delegated by anyone, but were acting solely on their own responsibility—to attempt a revival of Buddhism is well known. Large crowds assembled to hear their report of the Parliament, under the auspices of the Buddhist Young Men's Association in Yokohama. Seven hundred people assembled in a large theater, and for nine hours continuously were addressed by these men, who recounted the reception they had received and their impressions of the meeting. The audience was informed that the object of the Parliament was to learn more of oriental religion, since the people had come to realize the weakness and folly of Christianity; and that these representatives had reached

the conclusion there was no better country in which to attempt the propagation of Buddhism than the United States. They reported that the great majority of Christians drink intoxicating beverages and commit the grossest sins. Whatever may be thought of such untruthful representations, they incited a prejudice against Christianity which will lurk for many a day in the minds of large numbers of people before they can be made to realize the inaccuracy and unfairness of the statements. This was, whatever else there might be to ultimately offset it, one of the results of the Parliament of Religions.

Replies to, or criticisms on, the papers and addresses made at the Parliament by representatives of non-Christian religions have appeared in short articles, published at widely separated centers of influence, which if collected would make a volume of Christian apologetics of no small value. The *Christian Patriot*, of Madras, India, remarks as something amusing the celebrity suddenly acquired at Chicago by men wholly obscure in their own lands, who appeared as champions and authorized exponents of their several faiths. Thus, the editor declares Swami Vivekananda to have been unheard of in all India till he appeared as a great light at the World's Fair. The *Madras Mail*, a secular paper of repute, but not especially a defender of Christianity, characterizes the attacks on Christian missions as the stuff which in India is permitted to the university undergraduate, or as the coarse tirade of the crowd huddled at a street-preaching to interrupt the service. There was absolutely nothing novel in it all; nor was it in any way a contribution to the argument as to the respective merits of the several faiths, being the thousand-times threshed straw of the commonest of the common people in India. Replying to a Brahman who charged that the representations of the condition of women which reached Christian countries was an insult to the women of India, the *Madras Mail* pertinently asks for a comparison between what Christianity and Buddhism or Hinduism has done for India's women. It says: "We will content ourselves with inquiring, Who have done most for the emancipation of Indian women from the disabilities under which they have labored for centuries—these Western religionists whom it pleases Vivekananda and his friends to taunt, or Brahmans and ascetics of different schools? Who has ended sutteeism and infanticide? Through whose influence are widow remarriages made possible in India? Where did the agitation against monstrous alliances between old debauchees of sixty and little Hindu girls of six originate? Who is it that lovingly give of their substance in order to send the sweet amelioration of woman's woe into Indian homes, offering the best results of Western science and learning in the name of Him whom even Vivekananda reveres? And all without fee or reward. And all in spite of bitter taunts and cheap jibes from men who live in glass houses, and therefore should not throw stones."

Turning to China we meet with much vigorous rejoinder to the statements made at Chicago derogatory to Christianity and Christian missionaries. For instance, the Rev. Timothy Richard, reviewing the paper of Pung Kwang-Yu, Chinese Secretary of Legation at Washington, notices

his statement that the translation of our Scripture into Chinese is poor. Mr. Richard's retort is that the poverty of our translation cannot at least arise from want of literary ability, for the most literary viceroy in the empire to-day employs the same scholar, Wang T'au, who translated our standard Scriptures, to do literary work for him now. To the criticism of Mr. Pung, that missionaries do not attempt the study of the political institutions of China, Mr. Richard says that, unfortunately for Mr. Pung, he has not brought out a single fact of importance in regard to the political institutions of his native land not already perfectly well known to missionaries. Mr. Pung made an exception in favor of Dr. Martin, of the Imperial University at Peking; but Mr. Richard asks if Mr. Pung does not know of the works of Legge, Williamson, Edkins, Eitel, Faber, and others, adding that if he does not he is certainly incompetent to discuss missionary matters.

We have thus merely intimated the valuable chapters of Christian apologetics which are filtering through the press in various parts of the world, as one of the results of the discussions at the Parliament of Religions, a large part of which would have had little attention at the hands of secular Christendom but for these attacks made at Chicago. This line of apologetics, it is, however, rather humiliating to think, is more needed in Christian than in heathen lands. They are threadbare charges regarding the methods and success of Christianity in missionary fields, answered in all particulars by the facts surrounding the people in everyday life. They fall harmless at the feet of the missionary on the field, because the common people know their fallacy.

AFFAIRS IN FORMOSA.

The Christian public cannot fail to be interested in the prospects of Christianity in Formosa under the new conditions imposed on it by the outcome of the China-Japan war. Several things have already been shown, and others give hope for the future. The war brought something like a crisis to the little church in Formosa. Missionary work came practically to a standstill, the missionary ladies being obliged to flee for safety to the mainland, and all schools being closed. The native Christians were exposed to unusually severe trials, being in the North charged with collusion with the Japanese and threatened with general massacre. In the city of Kagi Sabbath services were suspended; at another place an attack was made on the chapel, the preacher narrowly escaping a violent death, while at another place the pastor's house was wrecked. The arrival of the Japanese, while it quieted this commotion, resulted in a new strain, in the emigration of Chinese to the mainland and a steady movement of colonization from Japan.

The quarter of a century of mission work in Formosa, under the Presbyterians, has resulted in the creation of a Christian community represented at a recent Conference by eighty delegates. These were men who had been tried as by fire. One of these delegates had spent seven weeks in a

filthy dungeon in his early life because of his profession of Christianity, and had twenty years of Christian service behind him. Some of these representatives had traveled nine days to reach the Conference, and had crossed a mountain range six thousand feet in height.

The future prospect of Christianity in Formosa, under the new conditions, is summed up by the Rev. William Campbell in the following statement: "No one would claim for the Japanese that they are a Christian nation, but surely they will show among us the same tolerance toward the Church and intolerance toward opium which they do in Tokio, Kyoto, Nagasaki, and other cities throughout the empire. Substantial help will arise through completion of the Tamsui-Taiwanfu Railway and the construction of those well-made roads that will be carried through every part of the island. Besides, a little incident occurred in the Pescadores some months ago which has its own significance in the present connection. It was that of several high-class Japanese officers, with a company of their men, making written request to our preacher at Makeng that he would grant them the use of the chapel every Lord's Day afternoon for Christian worship; a request which was at once and most willingly complied with. Further, two or three Japanese statesmen, who have had a very large share in the recent making of the country, are also men of outstanding Christian character. One more hopeful item is that the Presbyterian native Church in Japan has just sent two commissioners to Formosa to see what opportunities for fresh extension there may be among its millions of newly-made fellow-subjects. 'Some trust in chariots, and some in horses: but we will remember the name of the Lord our God.'"

THE BEARING OF CONFUCIANISM ON CIVILIZATION.

This theme is discussed in the *Chinese Recorder* by that eminent authority, the Rev. J. Lambert Rees. He charges Confucianism with eliminating God as the basis of morals. The worship of God being relegated to the emperor alone, the element of the divine will fades from the minds of the common people as an ethical basis, and produces a tendency to agnosticism. The worship of ancestors grew to fill the gap. Filial piety is as the natural root of all virtuous conduct in man. Soldiers, scholars, or statesmen—in short, all classes of society—must perform their respective duties aright, lest they bring disgrace on their parents. God is not in all their thoughts. Retribution is confined to this life, and consists in the injury to the family name, which the spirits of ancestors will avenge here and now. The result is that morality is "family centered," and a universal brotherhood of man cannot be erected on it; for so comprehensive a feeling cannot be created by it, while toward anything supernatural a Confucianist is necessarily skeptical. While a Chinese may be a respectable, and even a generous, man, a high state of civilization is absolutely impossible to a nation erected on the absence of conditions which impress the ideas of the existence of God and the brotherhood of man.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

J. Meinhold. In 1894 this theologian made himself no end of trouble by a popular lecture on the beginnings of the Israelitish religion and history. He took the position of the higher critics, that the conception of Old Testament religious history which has hitherto prevailed can no longer stand in the presence of literary criticism; that the patriarchal history, while containing traces of fact, must fall, as a whole; and that, prior to the time of Moses, Israel must be regarded as a conglomerate of nomadic tribes, devoted, like all primitive peoples, to fetichism and totemism, and worshiping stones, trees, water, and animals. Moses was an historical personality through whom Jehovah led the Israelites out of Egypt. He was the prophet of Jehovah, and next to Christ the greatest figure known to religious history. Jehovah had been known to the Israelites before the time of Moses, but only as the God of thunder. Moses corrected their conception of Jehovah by declaring to them some of the spiritual and ethical attributes of God. His knowledge of those attributes was not gained by profound reflection, nor by keenness of insight, but by a real revelation to him, though the revelation was limited in its completeness. Yet there still remained an undeniable dualism, traces of barbaric and fleshly conceptions. To Moses and the prophets it is due that the worship of Jehovah grew more and more pure. The final victory of the spiritual prophets preceded the fixing of the legal code. Christ completely purified the idea of God from all that is erroneous. Against objections to these views Meinhold declares that the evangelical Church is being eaten to the heart by its little faith. The faith of the letter, the doctrine of verbal inspiration, is not only false but it is dangerous. Meinhold demands that the Church go back to Luther, prize what aids the faith of Christ, and disregard what does not lead to him. The sacred Scriptures are not the result of dictation by the Holy Spirit, but holy men of God spoke as they were moved by the Holy Spirit, yet in such a sense as that this human nature was not overridden or destroyed. An idea of the earnestness of Meinhold's belief may be gathered from some of his words: "O, thou poor, evangelical Church! My heart bleeds whenever I think of thee! Thy children forsake and despise thee. Thy enemies laugh thee to scorn. Thy friends mourn and are silent. Physicians offer their aid, but their remedies only harm. . . . God only can help."

E. Schäder. Some of the very best thinking of Germany is done by men who have occupied only subordinate positions in the universities. Often it is in view of this good work done in the lower ranks of the teaching force that the performers come to recognition. Schäder is but a

tutor, yet he has given his superiors some hard nuts to crack. In a recent work entitled *Die Bedeutung des Lebendigen Christus für die Rechtfertegung nach Paulus* (The Pauline Conception of the Relation of the Living Christ to Justification), Gütersloh, 1893, he undertakes to prove that Paul brings the risen Christ and the justification of the sinner into immediate relation. For Paul the saving value of the death of Christ is found only in connection with his resurrection. The Pauline doctrine is that when God graciously justifies the sinner it is not in view of any historical achievement of Christ whatever, much less in the entire course of his life, but on account of the living superhistorical Christ, and in him only in that he has behind him the events of his death and resurrection conceived in their saving influence. This seems to contain nothing new, and it is not as new in America as it is in Europe. But, whether new or old, it opens the question anew as to the relation of Christ's death to our justification. It puts the emphasis in a new place. We are not justified on account of the death of Christ nor on account of his life as a whole, nor because of any event or series of events in his history. We are justified on account of Christ himself, on account of the Christ who lived, died, and rose again, and who now lives in heaven. True, he thinks that the basis of the significance of the living Christ for justification is found in his vicarious death and its pardoning, justifying effect. Yet it is not on account of what Christ has done, but on account of Christ himself, that we are justified—on account of the risen Christ. This is different from the old idea that what Christ was gave to what he did a saving value. The idea here is rather that what he did, while not directly available to the sinner, gives to Christ a worth in God's sight on account of which God forgives the sinner for whom Christ died. God does not justify the sinner on account of the death of Christ for men, nor of all that Christ did, but on account of Christ himself, although he would not forgive man on account of Christ if Christ had not done what he did, and to this added resurrection and ascension. All this has the merit of putting the emphasis upon Christ just as the modern theology is wont to do—upon the risen Christ and not upon any deed of Christ. We confess to being greatly interested in this new-old putting of the case, although it is impossible to give our adherence to it at once. It is to be hoped that the view will be given further study by capable minds, and that it will be sifted of its chaff and the fine grain weighed in the balances.

Paul Ewald. Among those who have directly or indirectly spoken on the evidences of Christianity in modern times this thinker deserves a place, even though we cannot grant to his argument the weight which it has in his own mind. He regards it as the first duty of theology to enfold in a series of postulates the facts of Christianity in its essentials. The second task is to test those postulates by the history of the origin of Christianity, and to enlarge or correct them. The third is to develop these corrected postulates into a system of Christian truth corresponding in form to a philosophic view of the world. In the use of a proper exe-

gesis, and by a correct criticism of the text and canon of Scripture, we may employ the Scriptures as a trustworthy source for the history of the Christian revelation. Criticism, however, must always remember that the Scriptures profess to give a history of the unfolding plan of salvation; and the critic must judge of the Scriptures with this fact in view. We begin at this point to make our objections to the positions of Ewald. No two thinkers, coming to the Scripture without a previous scheme in their minds, will be likely to understand the plan of salvation there revealed exactly in the same way. Each, therefore, taking for his guide the fact that the Bible is a record of the plan of salvation, will have his own opinion as to the religious contents of the Bible. As he comes, therefore, to the correction of his postulates by the contents of Scripture religious history, he will differ from that of his neighbor. When he comes to develop these postulates into the system he will reach results differing from those of his neighbor. Thus, there will be as many Christian systems as there are individual thinkers, and those systems will, in some cases, be mutually exclusive. In this way, therefore, no general apologetic can be gained. Each will have his own opinion, and will be firm in the same; and, just in proportion as he feels the opinion of his neighbors to be inadequate or dangerous will he be zealous to overturn it, and thus while winning converts to himself he will be unsettling the opinions of others. The unbeliever, meanwhile, waiting for a demonstration of the truth of Christianity, sees nothing but a conflict as to what Christianity is. The fundamental error in the method of Ewald, however, is that it places the burden of proof upon the ratiocinative faculties, whereas it belongs in the realm of the powers of perception. There is where our Lord placed it, and had it not been that apologists felt it necessary to meet the philosophy of the world with a philosophy of Christianity, there it would have, as it ought to have, remained.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

Vie de S. Francois d'Assisi (Life of St. Francis of Assisi). By Paul Sabatier, 1894. This most excellent life of Francis has been translated into English, and is therefore more gladly noticed here. In France the work has excited the most astonishing interest, largely owing to the fact that it represents the summit of historical investigation and at the same time combines therewith the highest biographical skill. The author did not write from imagination. He knew the places sacred to the memory of his hero, and with true artistic genius places them in possession of the reader's imagination. In fact, the personality of the saint seems to have lived in the mind of the author, who has succeeded in making him live in the mind of the reader. Thus the book has all the strong assurance of scientific research and all the power of affection over the sympathies of the reader. Sabatier does not follow the newer method of biographical writings, which allows the subject to speak

for himself through his letters, journal, or other utterances; but on the other hand he does not construct a fancy sketch of his subject and present it as truth. It is almost with an oppressive interest that we turn to the first appendix, which is a critical study of the celebrated stigmata. Sabatier defends their historical reality on the ground that there was no motive for a pious fraud, but rather the contrary; that the story of the stigmata fits perfectly into the history, and that there is perfect unanimity among the witnesses, whose interests would have led them to differ. But their miraculous character he denies, if miracle be thought of as an interruption, or a perversion, of the laws of nature, or as an intervention of the First Cause in certain instances. Such a miracle he regards as not only contrary to scientific truths, but contrary to good morals. The conscience demands the equality of every man before God, while miracles in the above sense seem to deny that equality. Now, "herein is a marvelous thing." If Sabatier's reasoning on the point be correct we certainly must charge God with immorality. For nothing is more evident than that, if God has anything to do with men, he does favor some men more than others in temporal things. But, if the historicity of the stigmata is to be maintained, we think Sabatier is perfectly right in attributing them to purely natural causes, such as the effect upon his body of constant thought on the passion of our Lord, his mystical fervor, and the nearness, at the time the stigmata are said to have made their appearance, of the festival of the uplifting of the cross.

Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte (Text-Book of Church History). By Wilhelm Möller, 1894. There is an awakening interest among American theologians of the present day in the study of Church history. The days of the exclusive reign of dogmatic theology are numbered. Our theologians are beginning to acquire the sense of perspective in their studies. This result is partly due to the new interest in Church history, and partly causes that interest. The two will go on side by side, and hand in hand, for the destruction of narrow thinking and for the correction of much ignorant and useless speculation. The careful and diligent reading of Church history has a marvelous power to reveal the truth that there is no new thing under the sun. If our theological renovators only knew what has been thought in the past, they would generally discover the fact that their views have long ago been weighed in the balance and found wanting. Thus they might save themselves and their deluded followers much time and trouble. A knowledge of Church history would serve a similar useful purpose to the defenders of the faith. But the vast majority cannot be original investigators, and hence the desirability of works like the one named above, which give the best and latest results of historical research. This particular work is here mentioned because it is being translated into English; the first two volumes, already translated, bring the history of the Church down through the Middle Ages. After Möller's lamented death the work was taken up by Kawerau, and it is expected that the entire work will be completed by him. The third volume,

which is still untranslated, covers the period of the Reformation down to 1648. We know of no work which in the same space gives so good an idea of the Reformation and the counter-Reformation, and at the same time carries along the political history necessary to the understanding of the history of the Church. The arrangement of the material is better than that usually followed, and avoids repetition as much as possible. Yet there are certain sudden and confusing breaks in the history as here given, and certain reform movements which ought to have been made co-ordinate are put into the relation of whole and part. We confess that the arrangement is on the whole logical, judged from one standpoint. But history admits of a variety of logical arrangements, and the writer of history ought to seek that distribution of his matter which will, on the whole, most contribute to an easy grasp of the principles that produce the facts, considered in themselves and in their mutual relations. We sincerely wish that, though this work suffers from the defect mentioned, it might be widely read.

Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte (Text-book of the History of Religions). By P. D. Chantepie de la Saussage, Doctor and Professor of Theology in Amsterdam, 1889. It is a misfortune that this great work in two volumes is not translated into English. But to the reader of the German it is a storehouse of information to which we enthusiastically call attention. The work is divided into four parts, designated severally as General, Phenomenological, Ethnographical, and Historical. In the first part are treated such subjects as the "Science of Religion," the "Science of Religion and the Doctrine of Evolution," "Man and Animals," "The Primitive History," "Prehistorical Archæology," "The Origin of Religion," "The Classification of Religions," and "Principal Forms of Religion." The phenomenological part deals with the objects of worship, idolatry, worship of nature, men and gods, magic and divination, sacrifice, prayer, and other religious acts, sacred stones, trees, animals, places, times, and persons, religious fellowship and books, mythology, relation of religion to morals, etc. The ethnographical part takes up the various religions according to groups, such as the Africans, the American Indians, the Semitic, etc. The historical part, which occupies nearly the half of the first and all of the second volume, gives a history of the religion of all the more important nations, in the following order: Chinese, Egyptians, Babylonians, Assyrians, Indians (including the ages of the Vedes and Brahmans, Jainism, Buddhism and Hinduism), Persians, Greeks, Romans, Germans, and lastly of Islam. While the survey of the field is thus seen to be most comprehensive it will be of interest to know that the author rejects the purely evolutionary explanation of religious phenomena as not sufficient; and that he denies, not that animals are religious, but that we have any proof that they are religious; while on the other hand all probabilities point to the possession of some form of religion, however imperfectly developed, by all men, even the most savage. In fact, all the talk of evolutionists concerning the religiousness of animals

only shows how little they know about the real nature of religion and how poor are their powers of discrimination, or else how willing they are to magnify, minify, or warp the facts, to suit their theory. The fear and love, faithfulness and reverence, that animals are supposed to cherish toward one another or toward men, are social virtues or vices which in men endowed with the power to conceive of God take on a religious significance, but which have no religious significance to a being who knows not God. There is no evidence that the animals have the idea of God, and hence their religiousness is a figment of the evolutionist's imagination.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

Recent Disputes Relative to the Lord's Supper. Very much of the theological discussion of the day is adapted to strike a chill to the marrow. This is as true of the treatment of that sacred theme, the Lord's Supper, as of any other. It is not that there is not sufficient or even a superfluity of heat manifested between the disputants. The chill springs from the icy scientific coldness with which the subjects themselves are treated. The majority of the theologians pride themselves on the unbiased character of their investigations. They treat the doctrines, institutions, and history of Christianity as though they had absolutely no personal interest in them. For practical consequences they care not a fig; and they care as little for the practical utility of their investigations. All these contemptible things are left for the lesser lights in the pulpit and at preachers' conferences. This is exactly the state of affairs in Germany and France, and to some extent in England. There is a marked tendency in the same direction in America. We want exact scholarship; we must have it. Yet, what possible practical benefit is to be derived from the recent disputes concerning the Lord's Supper? For example, the question is raised whether Jesus in that memorable night meant, by the supper in which he gave bread and wine to his disciples, to institute a sacrament which it should be the duty of his disciples to repeat with more or less frequency; or, whether he had in mind only the one performance, and left it to his disciples to do as they pleased about its repetition. The consideration of that question has aroused the greatest interest and set many heads a task. Then, the question whether the first celebration of the supper by our Lord was intended by him to refer to his death, while more vital, is yet bandied about in such a way as to deprive it of all its sacred import, and to give it value merely as a question upon which men may display their acumen. The same may be said of the question as to whether Jesus celebrated this last supper as the Messiah, or not. This is so treated as to nourish only the interests of the theologically curious. Even the question as to what the significance of the supper was, whether a memorial or a sacrament through which blessing should come to the participant, is looked at purely from the standpoint of the scholar. It has no interest for these men as Christians.

Now it is without doubt true that the investigator should be unprejudiced. But it is also true that the Christian theologian should expend his energies on those subjects which have a practical bearing on life, and in such a manner that this practical bearing shall be apparent. Along the road to the answer to these questions lie many critical questions. The exact form of the original text must be settled. The priority of Paul's account must be determined. Questions of interpretation arise in connection with the proof-texts employed. The discussion widens until there seems to be no end to it. Each author thinks and strives to prove that all the others are wrong. What was an innocent, incidental expression of opinion, it may be, is like a bone cast out amidst a pack of hungry dogs. Each one fights for it, and the one that gets it gets—a bone, without any meat. That it is right and proper that each one should investigate these and all other subjects, when the more weighty things are all attended to, is undeniable. But the world is not dying to know what each one thinks, and it would kill the world should it try to keep up with everybody's thoughts. Let theologians keep some of their thinkings to themselves. The world will be none the poorer. In this respect Schaff was worthy of all imitation. He had the outfit mentally and educationally of all the most scholarly Germans. He kept up with everything that was said and done in the theological world. He produced an immense variety of works. But there is very little in his writings which ministers to mere curiosity. He had a practical aim in all his work. He does not appear, therefore, so scholarly as some of his European contemporaries. Yet he seemed never to forget that he was not merely a theologian but a Christian theologian. He had a mission which scholarship was to serve. Scholarship was his helper, not his goal. But, of all questions which should be looked at from the practical standpoint, the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper most deserves such examination. This our German and French brethren in the field of theology seem to have overlooked. It is not so much the conclusions they reach by mere intellectual appliances to which objection is made, although doubtless these are defective for want of broad sympathy. It is the tendency to make the most sacred things the toys of the mind, to take them out of the realm of the heart-life, and to fix strongly the attention of the intellect upon them while the heart is cold concerning them, to which we take exception. We protest that it is time for these scholars to cease their wrangling, to think of the Lord's Supper each as his own judgment and heart suggest, and to leave every other one to do the same, while all strive to make it minister to spiritual good and edification.

Methodism in Austria. The Wesleyan Methodist Church in Vienna is now permitted to go on its way unhindered. The law forbidding the Wesleyan services has not been abrogated, nor have the police authorities guaranteed protection, but the Church is simply let alone. Upon the reopening of the services a "protracted meeting" was held with good results, in which many youth were awakened and converted. A work

has also been opened among the Bohemians in Vienna. Certain Bohemians who were members of the Young People's Society sought to induce their acquaintances to attend the preaching service. Meetings are held every Sunday, attended by about thirty Bohemians, and are led by a member of the congregation. Methodist doctrine has also found friends in Hungary, where two Bohemian sisters have opened a Sunday school and are earnestly wishing to have a preacher sent to conduct services.

The Protestant Church in Madagascar. The possession of the island by the French does not probably mean interference with Protestantism. Dr. W. F. Cousins said recently at the anniversary of the London Missionary Society that in protecting his work there God had used a variety of means, and that the future of the Protestant Church looked promising. In the Zanzibar treaty it was stipulated that the Protestant Church should have perfect freedom of development, and nothing but a breach of faith on the part of the French government could prevent the carrying out of the treaty provisions. The French statesmen know that the Protestant Christians are the best part of the Madagascar population, and have unequivocally made known this belief, together with their desire to secure the good will of the Protestants. Professor Herman Kruger has been sent with M. Langa, by the Protestant missionary committee of Paris, to study the missionary condition of the island.

Sunday School Work in Russia. Growth is seen in every department. The number of scholars grew, in 1894, from 19,012 to 26,219, the number of teachers from 1,382 to 1,612, and the number of schools from 93 to 112. St. Petersburg and vicinity furnish 1,124 of the scholars, the East Sea Provinces 9,087, Poland 2,191, and the remainder of Russia 3,694. While these numbers are small compared with the entire population, yet the progress is a cause for gratitude.

The Church of the Waldenses in Italy. The Annual Report (for 1895) shows that the number of hearers per Sunday is about 7,590; occasional hearers, 68,500; communicants, 5,326; number received during the year, 778; children in Sunday schools, 3,208; contributions for various objects, 73,461 Italian lire; whole number of pastors, etc., 130; number of Waldenses in the Piedmont valleys and mountains, 25,000. Outside of these in all Italy there are 50 evangelization schools and 40 organized congregations, part of which are financially self-supporting, while the preaching places number 120.

The Berlin Society for the Diffusion of Christian Literature. The social democrats of Germany, in order to protect their doctrines, have prepared a calender in the interest of the socialistic movement, which they are circulating widely among the people of the country. That they may the better checkmate this dangerous propaganda the Berlin society has gotten out a Christian calender for use among the working classes. It is called "The Workers," and costs about two cents per copy.

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

MANY of the kingly spirits of the world have missed the scepter and the crown. This truth, which has its illustrations in Church no less than State, inspires the entertaining historical article of J. M. Rogers in the May number of the *North American Review*. Before the amendment of the Constitution in 1804, "providing that electors should vote separately for President and Vice President," the writer shows how Thomas Pinckney, Charles C. Pinckney, and Aaron Burr might have been elected President, "not one of whom was a candidate for the office." In 1812 De Witt Clinton contended for the presidency with Madison, and lost the prize by a closer margin than the mere figures show. "The war question was then rife, and there was great dissatisfaction over the Congressional caucus nomination of Madison, while all over the country there was a feeling that Virginia was getting an undeserved monopoly of the presidency. Embargo and the war question were the main issues. Had Pennsylvania supported Clinton and a peace policy he would have been elected." In 1840 Tyler was nominated as Vice President—and consequently succeeded Harrison in the presidency after a short month—as the result of a trifling circumstance. "Among Clay's ardent supporters was John Tyler, of Virginia, who was so chagrined over the defeat of his chief that he wept bitter tears. The convention was desirous of placating Clay's friends, and, seizing on these tears as evidence of warmest personal and political friendship, Tyler was nominated for Vice President. It seems likely, from all reports, that the choice would have fallen on John M. Clayton, of Delaware, but for those tears. If Clayton had been President, instead of Tyler, how different might have been the history of the Whig party!" In 1844 Polk's nomination, our author says, was "an accident." Van Buren was the leading candidate at the Democratic Convention in Baltimore. "By the seventh ballot his support began to go to Cass, who would probably have been nominated but for adjournment. A combination was made over night, and Polk was nominated next day. But for this totally unprecedented move in politics either Clay or Cass would have been elected President, with chances in favor of Clay. Neither ever won that goal." In 1848, when Zachary Taylor was elected, "Webster threw away the only chance he ever had for the presidency. He was offered the nomination for second place, but refused it. Had he accepted, he would have succeeded Taylor at the latter's death; and such were his conservative views that he might have been elected in 1852 if he had lived." In 1864 our writer tells us that "Johnson was an accident. The nomination for Vice President was offered to General Benjamin F. Butler, who declined it." This interesting outline—to which we need not add more recent illustrations—is supplemented by Joel Benton in the June *North American*. According to his belief Nathaniel P.

Tallmadge, of Poughkeepsie, "a rising and brilliant lawyer," might have had the vice presidency instead of Tyler, in 1840, had he not written beforehand a letter of declination. And again, in 1852, except for his loyalty to Cass, Daniel S. Dickinson might have had the nomination, "which went, almost by accident, to Franklin Pierce." On such small circumstances turns men's promotion to the throne.

In the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for July O. T. Lanphear, D.D., writes of "Some Misapprehensions concerning Calvin" which prevail, and points out seven particulars in which the great theologian has been misunderstood. Dr. Adam Clarke he cites—without specifying volume or page, though we would be pleased to know the connection in which the great theologian made the utterance—as saying, "It might not be wise in God to foreknow all future events." And Dr. Whedon he represents—while the former makes no reference to Calvin by name on page 247 of the *Bibliotheca* for April, 1862, from which Dr. Lanphear quotes—as concluding that foreordination implies God to be "the author of sin." This portrayal of our doctrinal position is, we think, unintentionally a misrepresentation. Methodism is not unwilling to match its theologians against the world. Let them, however, be fairly quoted. In his second paper of the series James Monroe, LL.D., still considers "The Divine Origin of the Religion of the Bible," in his aim to show "how a layman thought out his evidences." The religion of the Bible, he argues in conclusion, is "a natural result of tendencies directly opposed to all the tendencies of its own age;" and its rise in men's estimation during three thousand years "affords satisfactory evidence that it can never be outgrown." It is, therefore, "not of man; it is not of Satan; it is of God." Professor F. H. Foster, D.D., continues his "Studies in Christology," and the Rev. J. W. Falconer writes of "Origen and the Return to Greek Theology." In the fifth article Professor Jacob Cooper, D.D., makes "Gladstone's Edition of Bishop Butler's Works" the basis of his discussion. Of the fitness of Gladstone for this late editorial labor he says, "Common consent will pronounce him the most competent for the task of all who have lived since Butler's day." And of the value of the text which Mr. Gladstone has revised he says: "His mastery of the contents is perfect, and he gives a reproduction of the matter digested anew by a genius equal to the original. This division [of the text into paragraphs], with the appropriate head-lines, will make Butler accessible to many who would have been repelled from undertaking to read him, and render the task easy for such as determine to master the contents." C. B. Waring, Ph.D., writes "a second paper for scientists," entitled "The Hebrew Cosmogony Again." He says of Genesis, in conclusion: "Can any modern cosmogonic work show as much truth in the same space? Can anyone be found touching on these themes, and written fifty years ago, in which it is not easy to pick out gross errors?" The concluding papers are "Individualism and Societism," by Z. Swift Holbrook, and "The Restriction

of Immigration," by E. W. Bemis, Ph.D. The former declares that Christianity is "the science of statehood;" the latter for an educational test, like that of the McCall bill, excluding "all immigrants between sixteen and sixty years of age who cannot read and write in the English or some other language."

THE *Methodist Review* of the Church South for June opens with an appreciative biographical notice of "Bishop Atticus Greene Haygood, D.D., LL.D.," by Bishop O. P. FitzGerald. "The Church he served so well will guard his fame, which will brighten as the world hastens on to the good time coming for which he prayed and worked." Under the title, "Some Later Histories of the United States," W. A. Vaughn, LL. D., notices eight volumes on our national development of more or less recent publication. "The Letters of Matthew Arnold" are reviewed by R. E. Blackwell, Ph.D., and not only "help us to form a more correct view of one of the foremost writers of our time," but also "make us better acquainted with a cultured and gifted family, the head of which has influenced us for good ever since we went to Rugby with Tom Brown, and stood with him in tears by the new-made grave of the great head master." A noticeable paper in this number of the *Review* is "Dr. Mudge on Growth in Holiness," by Bishop J. C. Granbery, D.D. The article is commendatory of the book, though it does not entirely agree with Dr. Mudge on every point. It opens with these words: "This is a helpful book. The author is an able minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He has read wisely and thought much on his great theme, and it has had for him a peculiar fascination during thirty years. Why is there so much dispute, so little harmony of views, on this prominent doctrine? He finds a chief reason in the absence of a scientific treatment, of precision and consistency in the use of language, by the many writers who have discussed it. He seeks to remedy this evil by carefully defining his terms, by nice discriminations, by not employing the same word in a variety of senses without indicating which is intended. We thank him for the honest effort and for the actual service he has rendered to the Church. He did not expect 'to satisfy everybody, or present a perfect solution of the problem.' Of course not. That is a kind of perfection not attainable in the present life." Other articles are "Armenia and Its Place in Christendom," by H. M. Du Bose, D.D.; "China Since the Late War," by Bishop E. R. Hendrix, LL.D.—a paper of much discrimination and force; "The Monroe Doctrine in the Light of History," by T. J. Dodd, D.D.; "The American Bible Society," by R. J. Bingham, D.D.; "Christ in the World's Thought," by H. W. Featherstun, D.D.; and "The Making of Methodism," etc., by the editor.

WITH so diversified a table of contents as that of the *Nineteenth Century* for June the most fastidious tastes must be satisfied. It includes: 1. "The True Motive and Reason of Dr. Jameson's Raid," by G. S.

Fort; 2. "Some Flaws in the Education Bill," by J. G. Fitch, LL.D.; 3. "Cardinal Manning's Memory—Fresh Lights," by R. G. Wilberforce; 4. "America as a Power," by Alexander Maclure; 5. "Mutual Aid Amongst Ourselves," by Prince Kropotkin; 6. "Natural Requital," by Norman Pearson; 7. "The Regulation of Street Music," by J. C. Hadden; 8. "Murder by Measles," by F. J. Waldo, M.D., and David Walsh, M.B.; 9. "'Round Pegs in Square Holes,'" by B. M. Godsall; 10. "John Addington Symonds," by Frederic Harrison; 11. "Did Chaucer Meet Petrarch?" by J. J. Jusserand; 12. "Achthar—the Story of a Queen," by Cornelia Sorabji; 13. "Has Our Army Grown with Our Empire?" by Lieutenant-Colonel Adye; 14. "A Plea for the Resurrection of Heraldry," by Everard Green; 15. "Sheridan," by the Right Honorable W. E. Gladstone.

The opening article in the *Forum* for June, by Senator J. H. Mitchell, argues for the "Election of Senators by Popular Vote." A weighty judgment, on an important question, is expressed by Professor W. G. Sumner, in "The Fallacy of Territorial Representation." Thomas Wentworth Higginson, in "A Keats Manuscript," analyzes a photographic copy of the first two stanzas of the "Ode on Melancholy," and feels himself "coming into close touch with the mental processes" of Keats. "To be brought thus near to Keats suggests that short poem by Browning, where he compares a moment's interview with Shelley to picking up an eagle's feather on a lonely heath." In "Ego et Rex Meus—a Study of Royalty," "Ouida" pulls aside with a democratic hand the veil that hides the European kings from the common view, and shows them to be "as inane, as commonplace as the rest of the world at large." They are "the creatures of artificiality." The Crown Prince of Prussia, but eleven years of age, is "the most dreary and self-conscious little prig that ever was drilled in pipeclay and buckram," and royalty is "the very greatest" factor of war. Such articles as this would in time unsettle all the thrones of Europe.

The Methodist Episcopal Church has reason for pride in the investigations of Professor Atwater at Wesleyan University, and will read with interest the illustrated article in the June *Review of Reviews* on "The People's Food—A Great National Inquiry. Professor W. O. Atwater and His Work."——In the *Yale Review* for May the article on "The Economics of Improved Housing" particularly commends the Belgian insurance plan, and shows how under its operation the working-man may acquire a home.——The *Missionary Review of the World* for June has "Recent Progress in Central Africa," by C. J. Laffin, M.D.; "Nine Centuries of Buddhism—III," by F. B. Shawe; "The Recent War in Madagascar and Some of Its Consequences," by Rev. W. E. Cousins; and "The Martyrdom of Armenia," by Cyrus Hamlin, D.D.——The *Preacher's Magazine* for June has a discourse on "The Life Indeed" by Rev. W. L. Watkinson, and "A Flower Sermon" by Dean Farrar.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

The Religions of India. By EDWARD WASHBURN HOPKINS, Ph.D. 8vo, pp. 612. Boston: Ginn & Co. Price, cloth, $2.20.

The wider meaning of the word "religion," so familiar to scholars of the present day, does not necessarily imply any calling down of Christianity from the paramount place which it so easily holds above the various other systems of faith and worship that have in many lands and times expressed and assisted, however imperfectly, the spiritual needs of the human race. The historical study of religions has in late years been absorbing more and more interest among learned men, and the volume whose title is given above is doubly a token of this interest in that it has resulted from it and will be demanded by it as well as promotive of it. It is the first of a series of handbooks on the history of religions to be rapidly issued under the editorship of Dr. Morris Jastrow, of the University of Pennsylvania. All students in this fascinating field will rejoice at the prospect of having the ascertained results of latest scholarship in their department put thus conveniently within their reach. The effect must also be to advance investigation and still further improve the already improved methods of studying these subjects. And if the other writers, to whom have been assigned the various non-Christian systems, do as well with their themes as has Professor Hopkins (lately called to succeed his former teacher, Professor Whitney, at Yale), the public will have much reason to be happy. The work on the religion of Israel, by Professor J. P. Peters, of New York, which is promised for next year, will be looked for with special eagerness. The book we are noticing takes up in its ample pages, after a brief sketch of the people and land, the beliefs and customs of the Vedic period, then in turn Brahmanism, Jainism, Buddhism, and Hinduism. It describes quite fully the modern Hindu sects, the Shivaites and Vishnuites, including Ramaites and Krishnaites, touching also upon the Sikhs, and coming down to the recent Brahmos, rent already into many divisions. A most interesting chapter follows on the "Religious Traits of the Wild Tribes," and then comes one of still greater interest, the nineteenth, on "India and the West." A most valuable bibliography and a full index very fitly complete the volume. We have given a somewhat careful examination to this valuable treatise, but space will not permit us to enlarge as we would like on its many excellences nor to enter on particular criticisms; for the latter there is indeed very little call. The positions of the author seem to us for the most part judicious; his interpretations are marked by uniform sobriety and fairness; his conclusions will carry the assent, we think, of nearly all who are qualified to form an opinion in these recondite matters. He takes a conservative view of the date of the Rig-Veda Sanhita, or collection of oldest hymns, putting it about on a

par historically with Homer, that is, assigning the bulk of it to somewhere in the region of 1000 B. C., and the earliest beginnings to 1500 B. C., a more moderate claim by a thousand years than that put forth by many. His claim also as to the value of the Vedic hymns and the tone of the religion taught therein is much milder than one sometimes hears, and more in accordance with manifest facts. It is, indeed, facts that the author especially seeks, aiming "to reveal the religions of India by causing them to reveal themselves." This constitutes the prime merit of the volume. It is in the last chapter only that Dr. Hopkins touches briefly the influence upon India of Mohammedanism and Christianity, the two great monotheistic systems that have in the past few centuries been striving to overturn India's ancestral faiths. He thinks India has taken much from the Mohammedan, little as yet from the Christian. The author shows by a few expressions that he is not overfriendly to the Christian Church, not particularly conversant with missionary operations, but his natural fairness as well as the special scope of his discussion keeps him from anything that could very seriously be taken exception to, and his conclusion will satisfy those who believe with him that India's true progress is conditioned on her acceptance of the Christian religion. He says, "In her own religions there is no hope for India, and her best minds have renounced them. The body of Hinduism is corrupt, its soul is evil. As for Brahmanism the spirit is departed, and the form that remains is dead; but a new spirit, the spirit of progress and of education, will prevail at last. When it rules it will undo the bonds of caste and do away with low superstition. Then India will be free to accept, as the creed of her new religion, Christ's words, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God, and thy neighbor as thyself.' But to educate India up to this point will take many centuries, more, perhaps, than will be needed to educate in the same degree Europe and America." The comparatively small progress of the missionaries he explains by the striking and painful contrast between the invader's precept and example, as obtained both when India first made the acquaintance of Christians militant and to some degree since. "Against what odds had not the early missionaries to struggle! Not the heathen but the Christian barred the way against Christianity." He has two or three incisive sentences in relation to an imposture, somewhat popular a few years ago, but pretty thoroughly exposed since. "This Yogism and Mahatmaism, which is visible even in the Rig-Veda, is today nothing but unbridled fancy playing with mesmerism and lies." "Apart from philosophical influence there is at present more or less interest in Europe and America in Indic superstition and spiritualism, and half-educated people will doubtless be influenced for some time to come by Mahatmaism and Yogism, just as they are moved by native seance spirits and mesmerism. Blavatskyism, which represents no phase of Buddhism, will always find disciples among the ignorant classes, especially in an agnostic or atheistic environment, so that one should attribute the mental attitude of such minds to their lack of culture rather than to India, for if Mahatmaism had not been discovered they would still profess

it under another name." To this notice of *The Religions of India* we feel moved to append the words of Sir M. Monier Williams: "Go forth, ye missionaries, in your Master's name; go forth into all the world, and, after studying all its false religions and philosophies, proclaim fearlessly to suffering humanity the plain, unchangeable, eternal facts of the Gospel—nay, I might almost say the stubborn, unyielding, inexorable facts of the Gospel. Dare to be downright with all the uncompromising courage of your own Bible, while with it your watchwords are love, joy, peace, reconciliation. Be fair, be charitable, be Christlike, but let there be no mistake. Let it be made absolutely clear that Christianity cannot, must not, be watered down to suit the palate of either Hindu, Parsi, Confucianist, Buddhist, or Mohammedan, and that whosoever wishes to pass from a false religion to the true can never hope to do so by the rickety planks of compromise or by the help of faltering hands held out by half-hearted Christians. He must leap the gulf in faith, and the living Christ will spread his everlasting arms beneath and land him safely on the eternal rock." We give our hearty sanction to these ringing and decisive words of a great savant, a learned man, a scholar of the highest authority, who knows the religions of the East as well as he knows Christianity. For the Hindu, the Mohammedan, the Parsi, and the votaries at all other heathen shrines, there is no way of transition to the Christian faith but through the Man of Calvary.

The Origin of the Canon of the Old Testament. An Historico-Critical Enquiry. By Dr. G. WILDEBOER, Professor at Groningen. Translated by BENJAMIN WISNER BACON, M.A., D.D. Edited, with Preface, by Professor GEORGE F. MOORE. 8vo, pp. 182. London: Luzac & Co.

The last years have been prolific in books upon the canon of the Old Testament. The earliest of them was by Professor Buhl—then of Copenhagen, now of Leipzig—in the Danish language, published in 1885. This was followed, in 1891, by an enlarged edition of the same work in German. In 1892 Professor Ryle's brilliant book on the same subject was published by MacMillan & Co. Between the works of Buhl and Ryle stands the book of Professor Wildeboer, of Groningen, Holland, which was first published in Dutch in 1889, in a second edition in 1891, and was published in German at Gotha in 1891, and now appears in English. Buhl's book has also been translated into English, and published in 1892. We are, therefore, in possession of three important books on the canon of the Old Testament, each excellent in its way. He who desires an historical account of the formation of the canon, written in a vigorous and entertaining style, must have Ryle's book; but the man who desires to investigate the subject carefully for himself will not find in Ryle the material for the verification of each individual point. He will therefore naturally turn to Buhl, whose book cannot be read consecutively, as Ryle's book can, but is broken up into sections, each section accompanied by elaborate references to the literature of the subject; but even this book, admirable though it is, the work of a trained theologian and a brilliant scholar, is nevertheless incomplete, and needs supplementing

from other sources. The book of Wildeboer supplies the lack both of Ryle and Buhl. It is not a history, as Ryle's book; it is not a discussion of the development of the canon, with references, as Buhl's book; but is, on the other hand, exactly what its title-page indicates—an historico-critical inquiry. Of the one hundred and sixty-five pages of the book only about thirty pages are devoted (in large type) to the setting forth of the development of the canon from its earliest beginnings to its conclusion. The rest of the book is made up of selections of the passages in ancient literature which refer to the canon, and incisive criticism of these original sources. It is plain, therefore, that the man who would study the question in an analytical fashion must have recourse to Wildeboer's book. The English translation is superior to the German or the Dutch text, for in it are incorporated not merely corrections by the author himself, but also additions which have been made by the translator, Dr. Bacon, and by the editor, Professor Moore. Unfortunately, the book is somewhat marred by *errata*, and the table at the end does not include all the errors that are found in the book. It was, we believe, printed in Holland, and the mistakes are such as would naturally be expected from a printer not thoroughly a master of the English tongue. Yet, in spite of these errors, we are glad that Messrs. Luzac & Co. have made this unusual book accessible to those who do not use either Dutch or German. It has a proper and useful place to fill.

How Christ Came to Church. The Pastor's Dream. A Spiritual Autobiography. By A. J. GORDON, D.D. With The Life-Story, and The Dream as Interpreting the Man. By A. T. PIERSON, D.D. 12mo, pp. 123. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society. Price, cloth, 75 cents.

Only sixty-six of these pages are from the pen of Dr. Gordon, his last gift to the Church, his final message to men ere he went to God. It is a brief account of a dream, which is made a text for the preaching of a sermon. The pastor thought himself in the pulpit, one Sunday morning, when a stranger entered whose peculiarly serious look riveted the preacher's attention from the beginning to the end of the discourse. Unable to reach the visitor before he had slipped away in the crowd, the minister eagerly inquired of the gentleman who had been beside him, "Can you tell me who that stranger was who sat in your pew this morning?" In the most matter-of-course way he replied, "Why, do you not know that man? It was Jesus of Nazareth." With a sense of the keenest disappointment the inquirer said, "My dear sir, why did you let him go without introducing me to him? I was so desirous to speak with him." And with the same nonchalant air the gentleman replied, "O, do not be troubled. He has been here to-day, and no doubt he will come again." So the second chapter of the booklet is on "Here To-day," the third on "To Come Again," and another on "Cleansing the Temple." It is to some slight extent "a spiritual autobiography," in that Dr. Gordon shows how this dream and the thoughts to which it naturally gave rise shaped his ministry and gave tone to the policy of church management by which Clarendon Street, Boston, has become so marked a power in the land.

No life can fail to be uplifted that is lived under the immediate influence of the inspiring thought, "Jesus is really here; what does he think of me? What would he have me to do?" If more of our churches would arrange all their services after this pattern it would certainly be well, and there would unquestionably be some changes in the direction of simplicity and unworldliness. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that there would still be honest differences of opinion as to what would please the Saviour, and what would best promote his cause in our modern conditions. How true, as Paul says, that "there are diversities of workings, but the same God, who worketh all things in all!" He worked in Dr. Gordon the most profound convictions as to the necessity of immersion, the privilege and duty of faith healing, and the paramount importance of looking for the immediate second coming of Christ. He works in others equally dear to him, equally consecrated, and equally single-eyed in their pursuit of truth the very opposite persuasions. So "there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit," and "diversities of ministrations, and the same Lord." If the fact could only be remembered by all Christ's followers what an immense gain to Christian unity would accrue. Criticisms upon the beliefs of others, in matters which are really nonessential, would cease; and, in the realization of that true brotherhood which the Master taught to be possible for his Church, it would move forward and accomplish its allotted work of making ready the world for his coming again.

Essentials of New Testament Greek. By JOHN H. HUDDILSTON, A.B., Instructor in Greek in Northwestern University. 16mo, pp. 233. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. Price, cloth, 75 cents.

No minister of the Gospel or Sunday-school worker can excuse himself for inability to read, in their original, the New Testament credentials of the religion which he is to expound, when an expenditure of seventy-five cents and of a few moments of earnest study a day for two or three months will put him into possession of the necessary equipment and skill. These lessons are not an untried experiment, but have been tested and developed in the author's elementary classes in the Garrett Biblical Institute. He says in his Preface, "I have made the explanations in the lessons so full that much progress may be made by private study, without a teacher." The first part consists of a series of thirty-two lessons, into which some of the best features of the inductive method are incorporated, though the lessons themselves are based upon a systematic study of the grammar. Sufficient practice is afforded in both English and Greek translation, ond preference is given to those words in New Testament vocabulary that are of most frequent occurrence. These lessons are followed by the Greek text of John's first epistle, the Beatitudes and the Lord's Prayer from Matthew, the parable of the Prodigal Son from Luke, and the thirteenth chapter of First Corinthians. Vocabularies, paradigms, word exercises on the irregular verbs, a brief syntax, and indexes fill the remainder of the volume. The Bible student in search of a work on the elements of New Testament Greek will make no mistake in buying and diligently using this.

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCES, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

Eden Lost and Won. Studies of the Early History and Final Destiny of Man as Taught in Nature and Revelation. By Sir J. WILLIAM DAWSON, LL.D., F.R.S., etc. 12mo, pp. 226. New York: F. H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, $1.25.

In this important volume Dr. Dawson writes of certain questions whose solution concerns science no less than Christianity. Science cannot, in fact, avoid the consideration of these problems; nor has it in lukewarm zeal manifested any recent disposition to shun their full discussion. The interests of religion and science are in reality identical. Should the methods of critical dissection which are now applied to the Pentateuch "bring into discredit, even for a time, the testimony of the early books of our Bible, the consequences," says Dawson, "may be serious to the progress of science as well as to the higher interests of society in general. To science these books have been of inestimable value, as establishing in the popular mind a broad basis for scientific work. Their distinct testimony to the unity of nature as the product of one design, to the unity of man, to the progressive development of the creative work, and to the regulation of all things by invariable law, has emancipated the human mind from tendencies the most hostile to true progress." Of three matters only is there now opportunity to notice Dr. Dawson's treatment. In his chapter on "The Book of Genesis" he enumerates some of the objections which have been made to the biblical narrative of the creation—such as the introduction of light before the sun and of land plants before animals, or "the omission to mention the earliest marsupial animals." We must not quarrel with the scientist who in a reverent and teachable spirit raises such objections as these. Certainly they have not, in all cases, been captiously made, and they merit the best answer that theological scholarship can give. Of these doubts concerning the Genesis narrative Dawson says: "Over against these objections we may place certain grand dominant principles and facts in which this early record is in harmony with all the true science and philosophy that the world has ever known. We have here a grand conception of the unity of nature and of the interdependence of all its parts as a continuous work of an Almighty Power. In the physical world the light, the ocean, the atmosphere, the dry land, even the distant luminaries of heaven, are all parts of one system. In the world of life the plant and the animal are linked together, and all the forms of animal life, from the lowest to the highest, constitute one series. . . . Our old record also anticipates, in some of its aspects, the nebular theory. It recognizes the distinction of light from luminaries, even from the great sun himself. . . . It knows that the land arose out of the primeval ocean; that plant life on the land must precede that of the animal, even by a long time. . . . It thus informs us of successive reigns of invertebrates, of reptiles, of mammals, and of man; and in the whole appear design and development combined." Such words are illuminating, and show that the differences between science and religion, as to the creation, even if they are not yet all adjusted, are at least not

insuperable. To "Early Man and Eden" our author also devotes an able chapter. The identification of the four rivers, Euphrates, Hiddekel, Pison, and Gihon, he attempts; and the general locality of Eden he establishes "by both the physical and the historical geography of our narrative." In the early antediluvian time, or the second continental period of geologists, "it [Eden] must have been higher than now, the Persian Gulf must have been in part dry land, the four rivers must have been more nearly united, and the marshy Babylonian plain may have been comparatively dry and forest-clad. Our old narrator must have known this as an historical or traditional fact, and that the site of the Garden of Eden has become greatly deteriorated if not obliterated in his time. Therefore, though he is bold enough to place the aboriginal abode of man in this unlikely locality, he makes no attempt to identify the precise site of the garden, but only of the district in which it had been situated. This is the attitude, not of a writer of fiction, but of an annalist living near to the times which he describes, and rigidly adhering to the evidence before him, even when appearances were against it." Such an attitude is in the interests of accuracy and must enhance the credibility of the sacred narrative, even by the concession of the most bigoted scientist. And, once more, Dr. Dawson in a valuable chapter considers "The Fall and Its Consequences." The story of the transgression in Eden, and its ill results, must not be coolly thrust aside by science as chimerical. "The more we ponder on the few but graphic touches of the primitive painter of Eden and the Fall, the more we must recognize their truth to nature and the certainty that they must truly represent the experience of the earliest human beings, and the reason of that degraded condition in which we find the oldest tribes of men yet known to us." Certain legitimate conclusions of science reached thirty-five years ago, which current theories of evolution have not affected, our writer quotes, though there is no room for their present citation. "When, therefore," says he, "we find the earliest men known to us to have been barbarous hunters and manslayers, at war with nature and with one another, and out of harmonious relations with their environment, we may be sure from the deductions of geological and archæological science that there has been a 'fall of man.'" Much more that Dr. Dawson says, which is vigorous, attractive, and faith-inspiring, must here be passed by. We have quoted so frequently from him because the scope and spirit of his book are thus best shown. The point which particularly impresses the reader is that science should not antagonize religion, and cannot successfully do this. The interests of both are common. The same God who has written the inspired Bible of the Christian has fashioned the rocks in which the scientist reads the story of antediluvian life.

Browning and the Christian Faith. By EDWARD BERDOE, member of the Royal College of Surgeons of England. 12mo, pp. 233. New York: Macmillan & Co. Price, cloth, $1.75.

Gradually this age is finding out how much it owes to Robert Browning. The eccentricities of his poetic manner make no more against the value of his service to the intellectual and spiritual life than Abraham

Lincoln's gaunt and awkward form detracts from his usefulness to his time and his country. The author of this book, an English physician, tells in its pages the story of his march from agnosticism to Christian faith with Browning as his guide. One day the agnostic heard a lecture on "Sordello." He tells what followed: "The next day I purchased a set of Browning's works. The first poem I read was 'Saul.' I soon recognized that I was in the grasp of a strong hand, and as I continued to read 'Paracelsus,' 'Men and Women,' and 'A Death in the Desert,' the feeling came over me that in Browning I had found my religious teacher, one who could put me right on a hundred points which had troubled my mind for many years, and which had ultimately caused me to abandon the Christian religion. . . . By slow and painful steps I found my way back to the faith I had forsaken." Dr. Berdoe dedicates his book thus: "To the clergy, ministers, religious teachers of all denominations of Christians, and to those who are perplexed and in doubt concerning questions of the utmost importance to all, these pages are respectfully dedicated by one who has himself wandered in the maze and found its clew." His Introduction begins thus: "A student at one of our theological colleges once consulted the divinity lecturer as to the best books on modern theology which he could present to a clerical friend. The answer came promptly and decisively, 'Give him a set of Browning.' The advice was not followed; the student was only partially familiar with the great poet's works, and could not quite see how they would help a country parson in his pulpit duties. But some years after this suggestion he took up the study of Browning more systematically, and then he saw the wisdom of his tutor's advice." "At first sight it may seem strange that we should be invited to study Browning as a religious teacher. It is not usually to the poets that we turn for lessons in philosophy and theology, but it is perfectly certain that Browning wrote with this object in view. The religious motive is plainly to be seen in almost every poem. He was above all things a great philosopher. The unity of his work is manifest to the most superficial observer, from the first lines of 'Pauline,' his boyish effort, to his death-song in the Epilogue to 'Asolando.' In 'Pauline' the poet confesses his sin and degradation, consequent on his all-encompassing selfishness; he tells how his soul was called out of mental darkness to the light of Christianity; how his redemption and restoration were wrought by divine love by means of the mediation of human love; and from that time onward to the day of his death Robert Browning never once looked back; never faltered in his message; never once despaired of God, of life, of human love, or of the infinite worth of the soul's period of training and passage—

> "Never doubted clouds would break,
> Never dreamed, though right were worsted, wrong would triumph,
> Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better,
> Sleep to wake.

"From the first pages of his first volume down to the closing lines of the last, one clear trumpet note rings through his whole long life work, 'I believe in God!'" "Browning was much more than a theist, he was a

Christian. The Son of God made man for us solves for Browning all the hard problems of existence. By Christ he came to know God, and knowing God as he can only be known in the God-man, the infinite worth of the soul, the value of life, the certainty of a future state, the mystery of evil, pain, sin, and death, were made plain to him. In his teaching on these high matters we have a religious system definite enough to satisfy all Christians save those who demand scholastic definitions of every article of their faith, and rigid lines of demarcation which must not be transgressed under pain of deadly sin." Browning is the poet of the soul and its salvation. He believes the truth of God is meant for men; that God will find them when he can and save them if he may, in life through its experiences, or sometimes possibly in that dire ultimate emergency by a sudden flash of truth in the hour and article of death. Thus the pontiff clings to the hope that somehow Count Guido, the bloody arch-villain of "The Ring and the Book," may be saved by a knowledge of the truth before he dies:

> I stood at Naples once, a night so dark
> I could have scarce conjectured there was earth
> Anywhere, sky or sea or world at all;
> But the night's black was burst through by a blaze—
> Thunder struck blow on blow, earth groaned and bore,
> Through her whole length of mountain visible:
> There lay the city thick and plain with spires,
> And, like a ghost disshrouded, white the sea.
> So may the truth be flashed out by one blow,
> And Guido see, one instant, and be saved.

Such is Browning's faith in the Christ who saved the dying thief on the next cross from whose penitent lips came the last kind words which fell on the ears of the dying Saviour. We say to ministers, read Dr. Berdoe's book. If after that you can let Browning alone, well and good; it will be clear that Browning was not meant for you. And we then would recommend Tupper's "Proverbial Philosophy," Young's "Night Thoughts," and Pollock's "Course of Time."

HISTORY. BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

Life and Letters of Oliver Wendell Holmes. By JOHN T. MORSE, JR. 2 volumes, crown octavo, pp. 353, 334. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $4.

A physician, a professor of anatomy, a man of letters, a popular lecturer, a poet, a wit, Dr. Holmes was one of the really interesting men of his generation. Of the best New England stock, he was a New Englander through and through. His writings preserve to future generations the quality and culture of the New England which was and is not. To him Massachusetts State House was "the hub of the solar system," and he said, "You couldn't pry that out of a Boston man if you had the tire of all creation straightened out for a crowbar." Of Bostonians he writes, "We all carry the Common in our heads as the unit of space, the State House as the standard of architecture, and measure off men in Edward

Everetts as with a yardstick." His father was an orthodox minister, and the son says he too might have been one, "if a certain clergyman had not looked and talked so like an undertaker;" a man with "a sad face and wailing voice" who "did more to unchristianize" the youth who knew him "with his woe-begone ways, than all his sermons were like to accomplish in the other direction." Early in life Wendell came to regard the ministry as "a perilous profession, in which no man could embark without great danger of becoming exceedingly disagreeable to others, and even personally unwholesome and distasteful in himself." Holmes felt old in youth and young in old age. At twenty-four he calls himself "old and tough," "the skim-milk sentiment of younger days" having "hardened into the white-oak cheese of maturity;" and when past eighty he looks back upon "the comparatively immature age of three score and ten." The youth, writing from Paris for money, encourages his father to persevere in denying himself for the education of his boy by sagely suggesting that nothing better can be done with money than "putting the means of instruction—the certain power of superiority if not of success—into the hands of one's children;" and he thinks twelve hundred dollars a year is not money thrown away on him; because nine tenths of it goes straight into his head in the shape of knowledge; "a boy is worth his manure as much as a potato patch." In return for the money spent on him he claims to be pursuing the study of his profession "by habits formed in severe and sometimes painful self-denial." Trying to ascertain what stuff may be in himself and to bring it out, he writes, "How much I must learn—how hard I must work, before I have wrought this refractory ore into good, tough, malleable, ductile, elastic iron!" In London he goes to Edward Irving's church and describes him as "a black, savage, saturnine, long-haired Scotchman, with a most Tyburn-looking squint," who "said nothing remarkable," and "owes much of his reputation to a voice of great force and compass." Irving and his flock are "poor enthusiasts, drunk with their celestial influences and babbling paltry inanities," "rolling up their eyes so as to show the whites in a formidable manner." The King of England, William IV, "looks like a retired butcher;" he "blew his nose and wiped the royal perspiration repeatedly from a face which is probably the largest uncivilized spot in England." Milan Cathedral, "with its hundreds of spires and thousands of statues, is the most glorious piece of embroidery in stone that man might wish to see." Dr. Holmes said the thing that pleased him best about practicing medicine was that he had to keep a horse and chaise. Of his wife it is written, "she took care of him, and gave him every day the fullest and freest chance to be always at his best, always able to do his work amid cheerful surroundings." This professor of anatomy always manifested abhorrence for death and tenderness for animals. When it became necessary to have a freshly killed rabbit for his lectures he always ran out of the room while his assistant was chloroforming it, beseeching him not to let it squeak. Experience as an instructor convinces him that instruction is successful in proportion as it is

elementary. He tries "to teach a little and to teach it well." "Individuals may learn a thing with once hearing it, but the only way of teaching a whole class is by enormous repetition and illustration in all possible forms." He aimed at thoroughness, hated smatterings, saying, "Our American atmosphere is vocal with the flippant loquacity of half knowledge." He insisted on the elevating influence of his profession on its practitioners; "Goldsmith and even Smollett, both having studied and practiced medicine, could not by any possibility have outraged all the natural feelings of delicacy and decency as Swift and Zola have outraged them." The "Autocrat of the Breakfast Table" was one of the brilliant men who made the lecture platform famous forty years ago. His landlady gives us a glimpse of his experience when she says that he generally came home from a lecturing excursion "with a cold in his head as bad as a horse distemper," and expresses the opinion that man ought to prefer "natural death to puttin' himself out of the world by any such violent means as lecturin'." The one achievement which brought distinction to Dr. Holmes's professional career was his discovering and proving the contagiousness of puerperal fever, resulting in the saving of countless lives through all subsequent time. Two famous Philadelphia obstetricians, Hodge and Meigs, denied his assertions and opposed his conclusions, but were vanquished by overwhelming proof. Dr. Holmes called Agassiz "Liebig's Extract of the Wisdom of Ages." Perhaps heredity may account for the fact that this son of a clergyman cared more for theology than for medicine or literature. He was a natural reactionary product of early New England Calvinism. He said that the Puritan preachers took Christ out of the Bible and put Jonathan Edwards in, that they made heaven hardly as big as a modern hotel, that they damned the heathen who lived before the advent of Christ, and the later heathen who missed hearing his name and the poor babies who died before the minister could get to the bedside to baptize them; that they damned everyone who did not agree with them, and damned each other, too, pretty freely; and that any decent person ought to go mad who held such opinions as to the fate of the human race as they held. Nevertheless he wrote that in spite of their beliefs "We have a right to be proud of our Pilgrim and Puritan fathers among the clergy. They were ready to do and to suffer anything for their faith, and a faith which breeds heroes is better than an unbelief which leaves nothing worth being a hero for." A good deal of unprofessional and polemic preaching went into his writings, the text for most of it being, "If a created being has no rights which his Creator is bound to respect, there is an end to all moral relations between them." He insists that all men, women, and children are "under the tender care of a Being who understands their natures, who knows all their griefs, who in allowing them to be born into consciousness—into intelligence and affection—took on himself all the duties and obligations, and, more than all, of the best of earthly parents." The faith he thinks able to sustain men is a "trust in something better and wiser than we are, whether it comes to us in the inner light which we believe is the direct gift of the infinite Spirit, or

takes the human aspect in the person of Him who brings the Divine face to face with us; or whether . . . we stretch forth our arms 'like an infant crying in the night,' and implore the Being who gave us life to give us even the crumbs of faith which fall from the table of the triumphant and unquestioning believer. . . . If we have a Father he will care for us and do what is best for us; and if he is as good as even our earthly fathers and mothers have been, will judge us not by our poor stumbling acts and shortsighted views and pitiable shortcomings, but in the light of his own magnanimous, forgiving, loving nature." Holmes thinks that under the influence of Christian civilization and homes, "a good proportion of children will grow up spiritually minded, if they are treated as Christ would have treated them—'Of such is the kingdom of heaven;'" but he adds, "At the same time I wish you distinctly to observe that I recognize sudden changes of character as one of the means by which the Spirit of God reclaims those who have wandered from the path in which they have been or should have been trained." "Education in a Christian community and family ought to be a kind of congenital conversion." He lives in "the habitual trust that this life is a school, the seemingly harsh discipline of which will be explained when we get into one of the upper classes." "I am a man of large faith, and though the devil is a personage of remarkable talents I think the presiding Wisdom is sure to be too much for him in the end." There is no lack of variety or interest in Dr. Holmes's letters or Mr. Morse's biography of him. To glean miscellaneously: Moncure D. Conway interviewed Lincoln in war time and thought him "honest enough, but simply incompetent and without a plan." Holmes having met and talked with Grant not long after the war, wrote: "He is one of the simplest, stillest men I ever saw. He seems torpid at first, and requires a little management to get much talk out of him. Of all the considerable personages I have seen he appears to me to be the least capable of an emotion of vanity. His entire sincerity and homely truthfulness of manner and speech struck me greatly. He said he was a good sleeper; commonly slept eight hours; could set a battle going, go to sleep as if nothing were happening, and wake up by and by when the action had got along somewhat. Grant has the look of a plain business man, which he is. I doubt if we have any ideal so completely realized as that of the republican soldier in him." Stanton, speaking of the campaign of the Wilderness, said, "It was the bloodiest swath ever made on this globe." In 1870 Dr. Holmes writes to Motley in Europe about the new president of Harvard: "Eliot has turned the whole university over like a flapjack. He makes the corporation meet twice a month instead of once. He comes to the meeting of every faculty, ours among the rest, and keeps us up to eleven or twelve o'clock at night discussing new arrangements. He shows an extraordinary knowledge of all that relates to every department of the university, and presides with an *aplomb*, an imperturbable, serious good humor which it is impossible not to admire. . . . I cannot help being amused at some of the scenes we have in our medical faculty, this cool, grave young man proposing in the calmest

way to turn everything topsy-turvy,"—"with an organizing brain, a firm will, a dignified presence, taking the ribbons of our classical coach-and-six, feeling the horses' mouths, putting a check on that one's capers, and touching that one with the lash—turning up everywhere and taking it all as naturally as if he had been born president." Byron "diabolized the literature of his century." "Æsthetically speaking, America is a penal colony." One of Holmes's reasons for going to church regularly is given thus: "There is a little plant called *Reverence* in the corner of my soul's garden which I love to have watered about once a week." Remarking that "Rock of Ages" has been set down as the best hymn in the English language, he says, "I recognize its wonderful power and solemnity. If you ask me what is the secret of it, I should say that of all the Protestant hymns I remember it is richest in material imagery, . . . and that is what most of us must have to kindle our spiritual exaltation to its highest point."

Three Gringos in Venezuela and Central America. By RICHARD HARDING DAVIS. Illustrated. 12mo, pp. 282. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, ornamental, $1.25.

Most of the material included in this volume is familiar to many of our readers, having appeared in late issues of *Harper's Magazine.* As a record of personal adventure and experiences the book is bright and entertaining, and is written in a vivacious, journalistic style; but it is not to be taken too seriously. Those who search its pages for any adequate account of the countries visited and of the social and industrial life of the Central and South American people will be disappointed. The very title of the work savors of journalism, being an evident attempt to take advantage of the recent interest in Venezuelan boundary disputes. As a matter of fact the chapter on Venezuela is the last in order, and occupies but sixty-two of the whole two hundred and eighty-two pages; and twenty-eight of these are devoted to full-page illustrations, without counting other illustrations of smaller dimensions. The author seems to have seen nothing of Venezuela except Carácas and its seaport La Guayra, nor does his stay in the country appear to have been at all protracted; consequently it is not to be wondered at if his brief "exposition" of the Monroe doctrine is decidedly amateurish and superficial. Within its limits, however, the work has a certain value, and imparts information in an interesting way to those who are not likely to seek for it in any less sprightly form. It makes clear—what is apparent to even the hastiest observer—that the republics of Spanish America are republics only nominally. On page 19 the author remarks the very perceptible change to be noticed in passing from the colony of British Honduras to the soil of republican Guatemala. "Livingstone," he says, "was like a village on the coast of East Africa in comparison with Belize." "The Central American politician has to show the faith that is in him by going out on the mountain-side and hacking his way to office with a naked machete in his hand; and if his leader fails he loses his life, with his back to a church wall and looking into the eyes of a firing squad." The ruin which the ever-recurring revo-

lutions "bring to the country while they last, and which continues after they are over, while the 'outs' are getting up another revolution, is so serious that any sort of continued prosperity or progress is impossible. Native merchants will not order goods that may never reach them, and neither do the gringos [Englishmen or Americans] care to make contracts with men who in six months may not only be out of office, but out of the country as well. Sometimes a revolution takes place, and half of the people of the country will not know of it until it has been put down or has succeeded; and, again, the revolution may spread to every boundary, and all the men at work on the high roads and in the mines or on the plantations must stop work and turn to soldiering, and pack mules are seized, the mail carriers stopped, plantations are devastated, and forced loans are imposed upon those who live in cities, so that everyone suffers more or less through every change of executive." Mechanically the book seems nearly perfect, and the illustrations are both numerous and excellent. On page 74 is a portrait of Henry Somers Somerset, son of Lady Somerset, and one of the three "gringos" of the title; while on page 64 all three are represented seated, with rather less than more of dignity, on the bumper of a Central American locomotive.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Barabbas. A Dream of the World's Tragedy. By MARIE CORELLI. 12mo, pp. 317. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. Price, cloth, $1.

Somewhat in the style of Bulwer's *Last Days of Pompeii* is this romance, dealing with the supreme crisis of human history and weaving into a well-connected and not wholly fictitious narrative the figures and events which moved about the trial, crucifixion, resurrection, and post-resurrection life of Jesus Christ. Written by a woman, it is more passionate than a man could make it. It has the solemn and pathetic dignity of the "Passion Play" as seen at Ober-Ammergau. It will make more vivid and not less hallowed in the minds of many who read it the one transcendent tragedy of time. It imagines what may have been the character and fortunes of Barabbas, and sees the whole history as if hand-in-hand with him. Rightly enough, the murder of the Nazarene is laid at the door of Caiaphas: "Through Caiaphas the stain of treachery will rest on the dead Judas; through Caiaphas the resurrection will be denied; through Caiaphas the very name of Christ will be banished from the Jewish annals." The book, though a work of the imagination, contravenes no history. To some minds it may be a reinforcement by its filling in, its coordinating of events and personages, and showing how it all may have happened. Barabbas, in the judgment hall of Pilate, perceives the Christ to be a superior being; knows him to be spotless as surely as he knows himself to be worthy of death; follows with the crowd to the place of crucifixion, in a rage that innocence should be so treated; exclaims, "I would have died willingly to save yon kingly man,"

and watches for a chance to rescue him or die in the attempt. Barabbas, the rough barbarian, is fascinated with Christ. How Barabbas came to be a robber and how Judas came to be the betrayer are traced to one and the same source, the sister of Judas, who is made to cry, "I, Judith Iscariot, betrayed him! On me let the curse fall—not on Judas, merciful God! On me let the thunders crash vengeance; let the fires of earth consume me. Mine was the sin; Judas was innocent!" And it was for her, also, that Barabbas had stolen. Barabbas comes to know Christ as divine. He goes to Nazareth and questions Joseph, the carpenter, about the miraculous birth. To Barabbas, as to the disciples and to Mary, the risen Lord appears. At last, returning to Jerusalem, Barabbas—known as "the robber"—is arrested, being cunningly charged by Caiaphas with having stolen the body of Jesus from the tomb, and is cast into the same dungeon where he was when Pilate sent for him to release him to the people. There he has a vision of the Christ, and in the rapture of it dies. "Filled with excess of joy, he beheld that divine Figure bending tenderly toward him; gentle hands were laid upon his bruised and fettered wrists; hands that drew him close and yet closer, slowly and surely upward—upward into such light and air as never gladdened earth." When the jailer came to the dungeon the prison lantern showed a smile on the face of Barabbas, his dark and rugged features smoothed and tranquillized into an expression of exceeding beauty. He was forever free. Perhaps no book like this has hitherto been noticed in these pages. It may be said to illuminate the Gospel history, albeit with a lurid and theatric light.

A Lent in London. A Course of Sermons on Social Subjects, Organized by the London Branch of the Christian Social Union and Preached in the Churches of St. Edmund, Lombard Street, and St. Mary-le-Strand, during Lent, 1895. With a Preface by HENRY SCOTT HOLLAND, M.A., Canon and Precentor of St. Paul's. 12mo, pp. 239. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co. Price, cloth, $1.25.

The objects of the Christian Social Union, an organization of the Church of England under the presidency of the Bishop of Durham, are every way worthy of praise. They are the following: "To claim for the Christian law the ultimate authority to rule social practice. To study in common how to apply the moral truths and principles of Christianity to the social and economic difficulties of the present time. To present Christ in practical life as the living Master and King, the enemy of wrong and selfishness, the power of righteousness and love." The sermons of the present volume, twenty-four in number, are preached on themes such as the above scheme would suggest, and by men "who believe, in heart and soul, that below all the varieties of social work and social thought there is but one living Lord and Master, who can solve our riddles, and disentangle our confusions, and give union to our broken brotherhood." Such men deserve a hearing. And it is a very significant, as well as hopeful, token of the times that the Church of England is producing a goodly number of such men, men in closest touch with the common people, intensely interested in the problems that concern the downtrod-

den millions, and throwing themselves with all their might into the purlieus and slums of London to mitigate their misery and uplift the lives of the masses. What a change in the course of a hundred years! How heartily would John Wesley have rejoiced in the transformation of his beloved Church, the Church to which he clung so fondly to the last! The more these good churchmen devote their energies to the very work which the despised Methodists have been doing for a hundred and fifty years the more their admiration grows for those that once were so loftily flouted. Nothing brings people so close together as laboring for a common object. The Rev. R. R. Dolling, of the Winchester College Mission, who contributes a sermon on "The Church and the People," excellently illustrates this truth. He says: "For the last eighteen years of my life I have lived among workingmen, the vast majority of whom are altogether untouched by the Church of England." He also says: "I thank God there were five active centers of dissenting worship in my own district alone." And still further: "Don't let us be ashamed to confess what we owe to the splendid work of the Dissenters. It makes me oftentimes sick at heart to hear the way in which the newly ordained, strong in the orthodoxy of his High Church collar and of his grasp of doctrine, speaks of these class leaders at whose feet he is unworthy to sit." He refers very warmly and gratefully to "the self-denying and consistent witness that they have borne to Jesus, a present Saviour." Yes, when men come to realize that only Jesus, presented as a present Saviour, can be of much use to the masses, they will not try to forbid those who are preaching him and casting out devils in his name, even though their ecclesiastical affiliations may be deemed irregular. Among the other topics treated in this breezy volume are the following: "The Political Office of the Church," "Party Politics," "Christian Patriotism," "Peace and War," "The Colonies," "Clerk Life," "County Life," "Civic Duties," "Over Population," "The Social Aspect of Sin," "Christ the Social Reconciler," and "Democracy and Government." A few of the discourses are decidedly strong, and not one is without merit. Yet it will hardly be claimed that any of the social problems are solved in the book, or that any very striking contribution is made toward removing the economic difficulties that press, with almost paralyzing power, on the minds and hearts of those who love their fellow-men. There seems to be little to do but to keep working persistently at the great task. Personal effort, patient and persevering, will accomplish something after a while. Never was there so much thought put into the matter as now, never so much reason to believe that the near future will bring great ameliorations.

The Story of Bohemia. By FRANCES GREGOR. Illustrated. 12mo, pp. 485. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. New York: Eaton & Mains. Price, cloth, 1.50.

If there were but one Bohemian we should wish to know more of the land that gave the world John Huss. This compilation of that land's history is as instructive as it is unpretentious, and it will give its readers a new sympathy for a people who have been less fortunate than their mer-

its. History has been unkind to them. They were Czechs and Slavs; their name was called Awley, and that of a savage tribe who had preceded them imposed upon them, so that the word "Bohemian" is as untruthful as the word "Indian" applied to our American predecessors. For us the interest of the work centers in the long struggle for liberty, which is not yet ended, and in the fierce fight of the Reformation period. The treatment of both these topics is careful, and the tone of the work inspires confidence. Of course, the history of little Bohemia is, in some sort, history of Europe, in outline at least, and is a good point from which to survey, for example, the Thirty Years' War. This is the only history of Bohemia in the English language; and after reading it one must wonder why we have had to wait so long for so important a piece of the experience of mankind.

Lakewood. A Story of To-day. By MARY HARRIOTT NORRIS. 12mo, pp. 330. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company. Price, cloth, illustrated, $1.

This is the latest book from the pen of its accomplished author, who is known as one of the most cultivated women of our Methodism, a student and a teacher especially in history and in literature. Miss Norris is no stranger to our readers, having appeared as a contributor to the *Methodist Review.* In appearance and in contents this is an admirable volume for use in the gift season of the Christmas holidays.

Westminster. By SIR WALTER BESANT, M.A., F.S.A., etc. 8vo, pp. 399. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company. Price, cloth, oramental, gilt top, $3.

This is not a history of Westminster. The author does not attempt to tell the story of the Abbey buildings, nor of the great functions held in them, nor of the monuments in the Abbey. His endeavor is (1) to show, contrary to received opinion, that the Isle of Bramble was a busy place of trade long before London existed at all; (2) to restore the vanished palaces of Westminster and Whitehall; (3) to portray the life of the Abbey, with its services, its Rule, its Anchorites, and its Sanctuary; (4) to show the connection of Westminster with the first of English printers; (5) to present the place as a town and borough, with its streets and its people. The publishers have issued the book in sumptuous style, with one hundred and thirty fine illustrations. It is a valuable work.

Joel Chandler Harris. By WILLIAM M. BASKERVILL. 16mo, pp. 48. Nashville, Tenn.: Barbee & Smith. Price, paper, 10 cents.

This is the first of a series of studies, biographical and critical, of Southern writers, to be prepared by Professor Baskervill, who proposes in twelve papers "to give a tolerably complete survey of that literary movement which, beginning about 1870, has spread over the entire South." The subsequent papers are to be as follows: Maurice Thompson, Sidney Lanier, Irwin Russell, Margaret J. Preston, G. W. Cable, Charles Egbert Craddock, Richard Malcolm Johnston, Thomas Nelson Page, James Lane Allen, Miss Grace King, Samuel Minturn Peck.

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METHODIST REVIEW.

(BIMONTHLY.)

WILLIAM V. KELLEY, D.D., Editor.

CONTENTS.

PAGE

I. The Literary Development of Church History. *Bishop J. F. Hurst, D.D., LL.D., Washington, D. C.* 681

II. Emerson as a Philosopher. *Rev. F. C. Lockwood, Ph.D., Chicago, Ill.* 702

III. Paul's Psychology. *A. J. Nelson, D.D., San Francisco, Cal.* . . 722

IV. The Christian Conception of God. *W. P. Odell, Ph.D., D.D., Buffalo, N. Y.* 728

V. The New Municipal Movement. *President W. F. McDowell, Ph.D., S.T.D., University of Denver, University Park, Colo.* 735

VI. Dante Gabriel Rossetti and his Sister Christina. *Rev. J. B. Kenyon, Lit.D., Syracuse, N. Y.* 743

VII. The Mormon Problem in the West. *Rev. F. S. Beggs, Evanston, Wyo.* 754

VIII. Westminster Abbey. *Rev. John Telford, Tunbridge Wells, England.* 758

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS:

Notes and Discussions 776
Letter and Spirit, 777; The Public Duties of the Trained Intellect, 782.

The Arena 788
Entire Sanctification, 788; Posthumous Humanity of Christ, 789; Foreknowledge and Contingency, 790; An Exception Taken, 791; "Another"—A Word Study, 792.

The Itinerants' Club 794
New Measures and New Opinions, 794; The Loss of Aim in the Ministry, 795; Exegetical—Rom. v, 1, 797.

Archæology and Biblical Research 799
Cylinders in the British Museum, 799; Report of the Palestine Exploration Fund, 802.

Missionary Review 803
The American Bible Society as a Missionary Agency, 803; The Developments in Africa, 804; Our Methodist Work in India as Seen by a "Churchman," 806.

Foreign Outlook 807

Summary of the Reviews and Magazines 815

Book Notices 820

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CONTENTS.

PAGE

THE LITERARY DEVELOPMENT OF CHURCH HISTORY..... 681
Bishop J. F. HURST, D.D., LL.D., Washington, D. C.

EMERSON AS A PHILOSOPHER..... 702
Rev. F. C. LOCKWOOD, Ph.D., Chicago, Ill.

PAUL'S PSYCHOLOGY..... 722
A. J. NELSON, D.D., San Francisco, Cal.

THE CHRISTIAN CONCEPTION OF GOD..... 728
W. P. ODELL, Ph.D., D.D., Buffalo, N. Y.

THE NEW MUNICIPAL MOVEMENT..... 735
President W. F. MCDOWELL, Ph.D., S.T.D., University of Denver, University Park, Colo.

DANTE GABRIEL ROSSETTI AND HIS SISTER CHRISTINA..... 743
Rev. J. B. KENYON, Lit.D., Syracuse, N. Y.

THE MORMON PROBLEM IN THE WEST..... 754
Rev. F. S. BEGGS, Evanston, Wyo.

WESTMINSTER ABBEY..... 758
Rev. JOHN TELFORD, Tunbridge Wells, England.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS:

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS..... 776
Letter and Spirit, 777; The Public Duties of the Trained Intellect, 782.

THE ARENA..... 788
Entire Sanctification, 788; Posthumous Humanity of Christ, 789; Foreknowledge and Contingency, 790; An Exception Taken, 791; "Anothen"—A Word Study, 792.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB..... 794
New Measures and New Opinions, 794; The Loss of Aim in the Ministry, 795; Exegetical—Rom. v, 1, 797.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH..... 799
Cylinders in the English Museum, 799; Report of the Palestine Exploration Fund, 802.

MISSIONARY REVIEW..... 803
The American Bible Society as a Missionary Agency, 803; The Developments in Africa, 804; Our Methodist Work in India as Seen by a "Churchman," 806.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK..... 807

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES..... 815

BOOK NOTICES..... 820
Watson's The Mind of the Master, 820; Beet's The New Life in Christ, 824; Weidner's An Introduction to Dogmatic Theology, 826; Creighton's Persecution and Tolerance, 827; Newbolt's The Gospel of Experience, 828; Moulton's The Modern Reader's Bible, 829; Dorchester's Christianity Vindicated by its Enemies, 830; Regeneration, 830; Gosse's Critical Kit-Kats, 832; Taussig's Wages and Capital, 834; Ritter's Moral Law and Civil Law Parts of the Same Thing, 836; My Brother and I, 836; Smyth's Bayard Taylor, 838; Reid's Lord John Russell, 840; Gordon's Adoniram Judson Gordon, 842; Vansant's Sunset Memories, 844; Clemens's Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc, 845; Tuttle's History of Prussia under Frederic the Great, 846; MISCELLANEOUS, 847.

METHODIST REVIEW.

SEPTEMBER, 1896.

ART. I.—THE LITERARY DEVELOPMENT OF CHURCH HISTORY.

THE historiography of the Church has developed, from such humble beginnings as the disjointed and questionable accounts of the earliest Greek collectors, into an elaborated and well-organized department of scientific research. Its progress from Hegesippus, in the second century, to Neander, in the nineteenth, is as great as the fabled growth of the world, as described by Ovid, from the golden to the iron age. The oldest historical records of Christianity are contained in the gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and such parts of the pastoral and general epistles as throw incidental light on the condition and growth of the Church in that genetic period. The second and third centuries witnessed the struggle of Christianity for existence and expansion. There was neither the motive nor the adaptation to record the story of its brief life. Its literary energies were required for combating error, formulating faith, and making sure a life whose history might well be committed to a more judicial future.

The writers of ecclesiastical history may be grouped into five general classes:

I. *The Early Greek Historians.*—Hegesippus, a Christian convert from Judaism living in Asia Minor, wrote his *Memoirs of Ecclesiastical Affairs* in the middle of the second century. He was simply a collector of such historical traditions as he could glean from aged people and others most likely to give

him information concerning the events of the former half of the second century. Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea, in Palestine, was the first writer who can be called in any sense a reliable historian of the Church. He bears the same relation to ecclesiastical historiography that Herodotus does to secular, and has been fitly called the "father of Church history." His *History of the Church*, in ten books, extends from the birth of Christ to the year 324. The emperor Constantine, who was his personal friend, placed at his disposal all the political and ecclesiastical archives of the empire. In addition, Eusebius, besides making copious use of the gospels, did not hesitate to introduce material from the apocryphal writings, traditions, and all other available sources. He even incorporated without change much of the legendary matter of Hegesippus. He also wrote a *Life of Constantine*, which has a measure of historical value, but is too laudatory to be accepted without qualification. Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis, island of Cyprus, wrote a work against the prevailing heresies which possesses value as a record of the contemporary opposition to Christianity.

Philip Sidetes, in Pamphylia, wrote a superficial and ill-arranged history at the close of the fourth century. Then came Philostorgius, the Eunomian, who wrote a history of the period A. D. 300–423, with the purpose of proving that Arianism was none other than original Christianity. The works of both these authors have been lost, and without any appreciable detriment to historical literature.

In the fifth century we meet with the first real successors of Eusebius—Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, and Evagrius. Socrates wrote a continuation of the history of Eusebius, extending it to the year 439; Sozomen gave a narrative of the same period, but with the introduction of much irrelevant matter; Theodoret, of Mesopotamia, continued the history of Eusebius to the year 429; and Evagrius, of Antioch, continued the works of his immediate predecessors down to 594. The work of the Greek historians, as a body, was conducted amid great difficulties. As soon as Christianity became tolerated and was made the religion of the State, in the fourth century, the facilities for independent inquiry were multiplied. But there was a constant danger of exaggerating the traditional and marvelous elements. On the other hand, the histories of these writers were

written near the scene of the events and in the atmosphere of the first centers of Christian thought, and hence there is a strong general presumption in favor of the main body of their narratives. After making all just allowance for the apocryphal material which they may have subsidized, there must still remain a large measure of positive history.

II. *The Early Latin Historians.*—These men, far removed from the Eastern theater of religious activity, rendered but little service to the early historiography of the Church. The Roman was always a borrower from the Greek. His best philosophy was only an Italian reproduction of that of the Stoa. His drama was merely the thin disguise of the masterpieces of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. In the first Roman historians of the Church there was the same dependence upon the first group of Greek historians. There was no claim to original investigation. Rufinus, of Aquileia, writing about the year 400, translated and modified the history of Eusebius, bringing it down to A. D. 395. Had he confined his labors to a translation he would have rendered valuable service to the Christians of the West who spoke the Latin tongue; but he made so many alterations and additions, and yet without sufficient ground, that his work possesses but little value. Jerome prepared a *Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers*, which possessed value because of its preserving from oblivion the names and writings of many writers of the earliest period.

Sulpicius Severus, of Gaul, wrote in 403 his *Sacred History*, extending from the creation to A. D. 400. It is only a summary of the better parts of the works of the Greek writers. The style is, however, close and attractive, and has gained for him the name of the Christian Sallust. Of more importance is the *De Viris Illustribus*, by Gennadius, of Marseilles (died circ. 518), a continuation of the catalogue of Jerome. It is impartial, and based on extensive research. Paul Orosius wrote his *Seven Books of History* against the heathen in 417, a work of too much apologetical character to be of value as a reliable history. Cassiodorus, once a Roman statesman in Ostrogothic service, wrote a *Tripartite History*, which was a condensation of the continuations of Eusebius. It was the best work on Church history produced by the early Western Church, and served as its text-book during the whole mediæval period.

III. *Historians of the Mediæval Period.* — During the Middle Ages there was a general stagnation in historical studies. The Greek Church had been largely consumed by internal controversy, and its territory was reduced by the conquests of Mohammedanism. The best historical works of the Latin Church were chiefly monographs on the missionary fields. Nicephorus Callistus, a preacher of Constantinople, wrote, in the early part of the fourteenth century, a *History of the Church* from the time of Christ to the year 610. A portion of his work, five out of twenty-three books of which it consisted, has been lost. He made full use of his predecessors, and, being probably a monk connected with St. Sophia, enjoyed the full privilege of the great library of that church. The historical work of Eutychius, of Alexandria, written in Arabic about the year 950, and describing the time from the creation to the year 940, possesses value only because of some confused memoranda descriptive of the rise of Mohammedanism.

The Byzantine historians wrote at intervals during a period of one thousand years, from 500 to 1500. Their works are of chief value in civil history, but, incidentally, they throw important light on the relations of the Eastern Church to the government. The best of their productions is the *Paschal Chronicle.* It covers the period from the creation to the twentieth year of the reign of the emperor Heraclius, or A. D. 630. It seems to be the work of two authors (some say of three), neither of whom is now known, one writing of the period to the year 354, and the other completing the history.

The Latin Church, although much farther developed, and with less opposition than the Greek, was nearly as unproductive of ecclesiastical history as the Greek. Society was unsettled. There were constant migrations and consuming wars, while within the pale of the Church there was a great decline of spiritual life and theological development. There were annalists of secular affairs, but they usually wrote in the interest of the ruler or conqueror, and their chronicles are of little value toward understanding the actual history of the mediæval Church. The *Pontifical Book* contains an account of the popes down to the death of Stephen VI, A. D. 891. The librarian Anastasius was for a long time supposed to be the author, but it has been recently proved that the biographies of the last

popes are the only product of his pen. This work possesses value both as a papal and general Church history of the period treated by it. The best general Church history produced during the Middle Ages was the *Historical Summary*, by the Archbishop Antonine, of Florence, which extends from the creation to the year 1459. Of other works in Church history the following may be mentioned: The *Ecclesiastical History* of Bishop Haymo, of Halberstadt, about 853; the *Ecclesiastical History* of the abbot Odericus Vitalis, of Normandy, about 1150; and the *Ecclesiastical History* of Bartholomew, a Dominican monk of Lucca, about 1300.

The special or national ecclesiastical histories are of chief value during the mediæval period. The best of these were the *Church History of the Franks*, by Gregory of Tours, who died in 594, and the *Church History* of the Anglo-Saxon people, by the Venerable Bede, who died in 735. The *History of the Lombards*, by Paul Diaconus, was only a civil history, but it possesses value because it stands nearly alone as an authority on the ecclesiastical condition of that people. The author wrote his history to the year 773, but it was continued by Erchempertus to 889. Adam of Bremen, who lived in the eleventh century, wrote a Church history of the bishopries of Bremen and Hamburg, which, incidentally, embraced a description of ecclesiastical progress in all the Scandinavian countries. Its chief value lies in its preservation of original documents bearing on the evangelization of northern Europe. Albert Krantz, who died in 1517, wrote a Church history of northern Germany. It related chiefly to Hamburg, Bremen, Westphalia, and Lower Saxony. Among the secular annalists whose labors have aided toward an understanding of the Church of the Middle Ages the following may be mentioned: Regius, of the ninth century; Hermann and Lambert, of the eleventh; Otto and Siegbert, of the twelfth; and Matthew of Paris, of the thirteenth.

IV. *Historians of the Period of the Reformation.*—Until the German reformers appeared Church history had been entirely in the hands of the Roman Catholic Church. It was a strange combination of legend and fact, and no one had possessed independence enough to question the accuracy of the received histories and to begin the process of sifting. But

when the Reformation became established the attention of German Protestant thinkers was directed toward the regeneration of this department of theology. In the revival of classic learning in Italy, which had extended to France and Germany, historical studies had shared largely. But the history of the Church was too distinctively theological to receive a decided impulse from humanism. In fact, humanism was skeptical and out of sympathy with ecclesiastical thought and life. It was a purely literary movement, but, undesignedly, it had a direct bearing on sacred subjects.

It was seen by the reformers, and particularly by Melanchthon, that the history of the Church would need to be entirely rewritten, and that unless the existing theology were made to give up a large measure of its fanciful annals the theological reform would be but half achieved. The result was the adoption of a scheme, in large measure fulfilled, for a complete history of the Church. It bore the title of the *Magdeburg Centuries.* Matthias Flacius, a pastor of Magdeburg, organized the work. He gathered able colaborers about him, the chief of whom were Wigand, Judex, Faber, Corvinus, and Hulzhuter. The work was in thirteen folio volumes, each volume being devoted to a century, and each century divided into sixteen subdivisions. The *Magdeburg Centuries,* although based on the unphilosophical and unnatural principle of the centurial division of periods, produced a literary revolution in the Church second only to the one wrought by Luther and Melanchthon in the field of doctrinal theology. It proved a powerful agent in exposing the errors into which Roman Catholic historians had fallen, and gained a literary recognition for the new Protestantism in circles hitherto untouched.

The Roman Catholic Church was suddenly thrown on the defensive, and in a direction entirely unanticipated by it. The work produced consternation in every European country that had not become Protestant, and even in Rome itself. The effect was an upheaval of all the historical records of Romanism. It was the successful appeal of Protestantism to history as a justification of its right to existence. As an antidote to the *Magdeburg Centuries,* Cæsar Baronius, of Rome, published his *Ecclesiastical Annals.* All the literary treasures of the Roman Catholic Church were placed at his disposition. His work occu-

pied thirty years in composition, consisted of twelve volumes, and was nineteen years in process of publication in Rome (1588–1607). The time treated by Baronius was twelve centuries, or down to 1198. His work is a great achievement. But, while reproducing many of the traditions of the early histories, it passed over some of the more ridiculous in silence, and thus surrendered them. As a literary work, in all the essentials of historical accuracy, research, vigor, and symmetry of construction, it fell far below the *Magdeburg Centuries*. The work of Baronius was continued, at different times, by Raynaldi, Laderchi, and Theiner. Less important are the continuations of Bzovius, Spondanus, and Rinal. So far as a Protestant reply was needed, the task was performed by Casaubon, in 1614, and by Spanheim, in 1687.

V. *Protestant Church Historians.*—The example of the *Magdeburg Centuries* proved the ability of Protestantism for thorough historical research. The historical spirit has from that beginning distinguished every Protestant period and all Protestant countries. "Before the Reformation," says Schaff, "the historian was, so to speak, of one growth with his subject. Now he rose by reflection above it, and, instead of at once receiving on authority everything Catholic as true and condemning everything not Catholic as false, he began to subject the whole development of the Church itself to critical examination, judging it, without regard to papal decrees, according to the word of God and common reason."

In Protestant ecclesiastical historiography we observe the following departments:

1. The Confessional and Orthodox. Here, as in the three succeeding departments, Germany has made the most important contributions. First in order after Flacius, and first in the line of Church historians of the Reformed Church, stands Hottinger, the author of the *Ecclesiastical History of the New Testament.* It was completed in 1667, and treats the history of the Church down to the sixteenth century. Spanheim, of Holland, wrote a *Summary of Ecclesiastical History* which extends over about the same period and was published in 1689. The most of the historiography of this period had a strongly confessional tendency, for it was the time of sharp antagonism between the Lutherans and the Reformed. The works of Chemnitz, Ger-

hard, and Quenstedt are fair illustrations of a large class of doctrinal theologians who made ample, but not always legitimate, use of history in defense of their confessional position.

2. The Pietistic Historians. Pietism marks the German theological boundary between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and was one of the most important movements in the modern Church. Spener, its founder, protested against the exhausting controversies, and contended for a return to the letter and spirit of the Scriptures. With his death pietism passed out of its calmest and purest period. The first and only great pietistic historian was Gottfried Arnold, the author of the *Impartial History of the Church and Heretics* (1699). It treated the period from the beginning of the New Testament to the year 1688. His purpose was altogether new in ecclesiastical historiography. He aimed to show that not only was Roman Catholicism corrupt, but that rigid sectarians in all periods had violated the essential spirit of Christianity, and that pure piety, in whatever form, was the necessary savor which had preserved the Church from utter ruin. He gave all possible credit to schismatics in all periods, and commended them for having saved the Church from destruction. Not doctrinal correctness, but moral purpose and spiritual enthusiasm were with him the great criterion of excellence and service. Spener heartily disapproved of it, though the pietists, as a class, indorsed it. Its thorough independence of confessional restraints, its recognition of the overlooked and despised characters in history, and its charity toward those who had been branded as heretics and died by violence or in exile constituted it a transitional work, from the old and narrow and rigid modes of historical interpretation to the new and more liberal judgment which has ever since prevailed in Germany. "No historical work," says Baur, "has ever borne more decidedly than Arnold's the subjective impress of the author's spirit.

3. The Rationalistic Historians. Ecclesiastical history follows in the order of theological changes. Pietism was succeeded in Germany by rationalism. The rationalistic mode of treating the history of the Church was a part of the general reaction which began in the middle of the eighteenth century. Semler was the first historian who represented the tendency. He was, indeed, the first to bring rationalism out of the narrow limits of

the Wolfian philosophy and to apply it to the entire domain of theology. His principal historical works were his *Select Chapters of Church History* (1767), and his *Historical Commentary on the Ancient State of Christianity* (1771). Semler had no adequate conception of the Church as an organic unity, but regarded it as the theater for the play of individual affinities. Christ gave to his disciples the right of private judgment, and the history of the Church shows how this has been freely and properly exercised, and that the true and the good can be perceived here in better form than in public religion. There is nothing permanent and steady in the life of the Church. The Church in its organic form has been of less service than in its disjointed and individual relations. The ocean is good, but its drops are better. The Church is an agglomeration of individuals, each having his complete vitality and independence. We here see the fundamental thought of Semler's entire theology—the right of the individual.

Henke, in his *General History of the Christian Church*, may be regarded as the leading historian of the rationalistic school. He wrote in a sarcastic spirit, and charged a large measure of the errors of the Church to the despotism of doctrinal and ecclesiastical restraints. His work was edited and continued by Vater. In the works of Schmidt and Danz we observe rather an indifference to the spiritual element in history than a positive rationalism.

Crossing the Channel, we find the last of the race of English deists busily engaged in writing history and, whenever they could, eliminating from general history the positive Christian element. Hume's *History of England* (1754–62) is tinged with a bitter Toryism throughout, a one-sided record of the rise and growth of the English people and their government. Gibbon's *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776–88), perhaps the greatest historical work ever written, though somewhat hostile in spirit to the Church, is invaluable for its marshaling of facts and for its free, broad, masterly treatment of the whole historical movement from the third century to the middle of the fifteenth. Later researches have corrected Gibbon in but few particulars, and this wonderful monument of patient industry remains to this day as much an authority as ever. Priestley wrote, in the full rationalistic spirit, a *History*

of the Corruptions of Christianity (1782), in which he endeavored to show that the history of the Church was fundamentally a departure from the spirit, practice, and commands of Christ and his apostles. Priestley, however, will be less known to posterity as an historian than as the discoverer of oxygen.

4. The Liberal Orthodox. Mosheim was the founder of the modern scientific method of ecclesiastical historiography. He still adhered to the fanciful centurial division of Flacius, but was painstaking and accurate and dealt justly with all characters and periods. He was a distinguished preacher, and, while he wrote in faultless Latin, he was not less thorough in his researches or less judicious in his management of materials. His *Dissertation on the History of the Church* was issued in 1743. and his *Commentary on Christian Affairs Anterior to Constantine* in 1753. His masterpiece was his *Institutes of Ancient and Modern Church History*, published in 1755. It was translated from the Latin into the German with additions and continuation by Von Einem, and issued in 1769. This work has passed through many editions and into the leading modern languages, and in a more or less disguised form has long been the basis for text-books in Church history in most Protestant countries. It has been completely superseded in Germany by works of more modern character, but still holds a place in Great Britain.* Schröckh's *Christian Church History* is the largest work in its department in the whole field of German theology. It appeared in forty-five volumes, beginning in 1768 and concluding in 1810. The last two volumes are by the masterly hand of Tzschirner. We find in it a vast mass of important matter, with but little attempt at scientific classification. Schröckh was the disciple of Mosheim, and his work is fair, sound in the main, and still indispensable. Planck was a rigid defender of

* I remember once, when listening to a lecture by Tholuck, in Halle, that that veteran teacher smiled with evident composure as he mentioned the fact that Mosheim's history was still used as a text-book at Oxford. John Wesley published an abridgment of Mosheim, and an Anglican clergyman performed the same service. This latter work was made the basis of a Church history by Ruter, published in New York, which first appeared as the work of a firm and bearing the name of Ruter's Gregory's Mosheim's *Church History*. That work in time lost its partnership and finally appeared as Ruter's *Church History*. But Mosheim can be seen on every page of the poor plagiarism. There have been many editions in English of Mosheim's *Institutes*. The best is by Stubbs, London, 1862. That by Murdock, new ed., 3 vols., New York, 1874, is enriched by the copious notes of that industrious Andover scholar, one of the founders of the science of Church history in America. The other editions are of little value. The *Commentary on Pre-Constantine Affairs*, also by Murdock, 2 vols., New York, 1853, is full of learning and acute disquisitions.

orthodoxy. His *History of the Rise, Changes, and Development of Protestant Doctrine* appeared in 1781–1800, and was the most important contribution to doctrinal history during the eighteenth century. Stäudlin wrote several important monographs, his *Universal History of the Christian Church* being especially valuable as a compendium of facts. The *Text-book of Church History* by Gieseler, one of the best fruits of this school, is a dry recital of facts in a thoroughly critical and impartial spirit. It is invaluable for its study of the sources, many of which are largely quoted or transferred bodily at the foot of the text. This makes Gieseler's work unique. Hase has written a *History of the Christian Church* in a moderately rationalistic spirit. It is an artistic presentation, bright with many original and pregnant characterizations.

5. The German Mediatory School. Out of the conflicts of German theology on the respective claims of faith and science there arose the mediatory school, which sought to reconcile the two. Schleiermacher, in his own remarkable personality and labors, constitutes the transition from the cold rationalism of the eighteenth century to the scientific evangelical theology of the nineteenth.

Neander was the first German theologian who stood fairly on the positive side. He spent his best efforts in historical studies. He was fascinated by the Church in its genetic stage, and no man of any age has equaled him in ability to penetrate its mysteries, separate the true from the false, discover the pure and worthy in our common Christianity, and clothe the life of the Church in vigorous and sympathetic language. His purpose was "to exhibit the history of the Church of Christ as a living witness of the divine power of Christianity; as a school of Christian experience; a voice, sounding through the ages, of instruction, of doctrine, and of reproof for all who are disposed to listen." He believed that the force and significance of the Church lay in its individual life, rather than in its universal character. His monographs on Julian, the Gnostics, Tertullian, Chrysostom, and Bernard indicated his emphasis on the value of the spiritually illuminated individual as a factor in the development of the Church. His great work, for which all his previous works were only a preparation, bears the title of *History of the Christian Religion and Church.* It was well said

at his grave, "The last of the Church fathers has gone." His thirty-seven years as professor in Berlin, his gentle and loving spirit and childlike faith, the enthusiasm with which he lectured and wrote on the history of the Church, and his profound learning had the effect of imparting and enkindling an unparalleled interest in historical studies.

The best writers in historical theology who have appeared in Germany during the last three decades belong to the school of Neander. Hagenbach delivered his *History of the Church* in the form of lectures to his students in Basel, and excels in freedom, clearness, and beauty of diction. Kurtz has written an excellent *History of the Church*, but it is too encyclopedic to be attractive and inspiring. The *Manual of Church History* by Guericke is an attempt to combine the history of the Church with a history of doctrine. Niedner, the successor of Neander at Berlin, and Semisch, the successor of Niedner, have each written in the spirit of their master, Neander.

The whole field of historical theology has been worked over in recent years in Germany with the utmost enthusiasm. A new spirit came in with Harnack, the disciple of Ritschl, a successor of Neander in Berlin University. With a clear view of Christianity as a supernatural force, and yet with a minimizing of miraculous details, Harnack has subjected the early literature to a penetrating criticism, and has given a fresh view of the growth of doctrine in his *Dogma-History*.

There has been a remarkable advance in the ecclesiastical historiography of the German theologians in the most recent years. It is impossible, in brief space, to individualize them. Zahn has made some fresh studies of great importance. The *Zeitschrift für Historische Theologie*, the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, Sybel's *Historische Zeitschrift*, and the numerous other scientific journals of theology and history have done much for the advancement of this study in Germany. The historical articles in the new edition of Herzog's *Encyclopædia*, edited by Herzog, Plitt, and Hauck, are exhaustive discussions giving the recent views.

6. The Tübingen Historians. This group of historians of the Church is of combined rationalistic and pantheistic spirit. Ferdinand Christian Baur, professor in the University of Tübingen, was its chief representative. He carried into the do-

main of ecclesiastical history one of the fundamental principles of the Hegelian philosophy, the subordination of the individual to the general; the control of all minds and the ordering of all events by what he calls a rational world-spirit, whose laws are necessary and infallible. Christianity is considered rather a fruit of this spirit than itself creative, the servant rather than the master. Baur, in his *Paul, the Apostle of Jesus Christ*, makes the apostolic period his chief field of attack upon the evangelical school. The contention of Baur is that early Christianity was composed of two elements, Paulinism and Petrinism, and that the Catholic Church of the second and third centuries was the result of the conciliation of this primitive Judaism and Universalism. Later studies have shown that Baur greatly exaggerated the antagonism between the Jewish and Christian elements, and his various conclusions concerning the New Testament writings have been revised. The spiritual sense in him was overshadowed by an intense intellectualism, and this unfitted him for weighing spiritual phenomena. But his influence on historical research has been most profound, and he first marked the way along which much fruitful work has been done. He was the founder of the Tübingen school, which has long since had its day.

Strauss, whose *Life of Jesus* appeared in 1825, applied destructive criticism to the Gospel history. It was the natural culmination of the pantheistic theology taught in Tübingen. Zeller has written in the spirit of Baur. Much of the Tübingen virus has passed into the present German Protestant Association, whose center is the Heidelberg University. This organization proposes to do away with all confessional restraint and to introduce the so-called liberalism into every theological department. Schenkel, in his *Character of Jesus Portrayed*, was the first to define a doctrinal policy for the new movement.

Nippold, of Heidelberg, later of Berne, now of Jena, has written a *History of the Church in the Nineteenth Century* from the point of view of the German Protestant Association. All the history produced by this school betrays a total absence of appreciation of the deep religious life of the Church and of the supernatural force whence it derives its origin and spirit. Rothe, when he wrote his *Beginnings of the Christian Church and Constitution* (1837), had not exhibited any sympathy with

this free-thinking group. In his last years, however, with the skeptical tendency in the other lecture rooms of Heidelberg, and depressed by serious domestic affliction, he used language at variance with his earnest and evangelical sermons delivered at Rome when chaplain in the Prussian embassy and with his masterly *Ethics* and *Beginnings*. But the evidence is too strong against his having given any hearty support to men of the Schenkel school, although they used all possible efforts to get the support of his strong name.

7. The Evangelical Historians of other European Countries. In England very decided interest in historical theology has been awakened during the last few decades. One of the first effects of the Tractarian movement at Oxford in 1833, under the leadership of Pusey, Keble, and John Henry Newman, was a new interest in the purer and better days of the Roman Catholic Church. One of the most original of these historical studies was Newman's *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*, which appeared in 1845, shortly before his formal entrance into the Roman Catholic Church.

The historical writings of the English theologians were, however, not at all confined to the Tractarian leaders. Waddington, Dean of Durham, wrote a clear and concise *History of the Church* (1833), covering the ancient and mediæval periods, and, later, a *History of the Reformation on the Continent* (1841). Milman has written a *History of Christianity*, a *History of Latin Christianity*, and a *History of the Jews*. His style is attractive, and his *Latin Christianity* especially is a noble monument to his great scholarship, liberal views, and fine historical sense. Dean Stanley has excelled all the Church historians of England in the glow and purity of his style and in the arrangement of his material. His chief historical works are a *History of the Eastern Church* and a *History of the Jewish Church*. His *History of the Church of Scotland* is of less value. James Craigie Robertson, Professor of Church History in King's College, London (died 1882), wrote a *History of the Christian Church to the Reformation*. It is a dry piece of historical patchwork, but it is fair, written from the sources, and is a convenient chronological work.

Robert Vaughan (died 1868) was one of the most thorough students and discriminating writers on the origins of the Non-

conforming Churches. His *Memorials of the Stuart Dynasty*, *Religious Parties in England*, and *English Nonconformity* are excellent monographs. His son, the saintly Robert Alfred Vaughan, lived only long enough to produce, in his *Hours with the Mystics*, the best work on the history and opinions of the mystics in any language. Stoughton has written a *History of Religion in England*, extending from the opening of the Long Parliament to the end of the eighteenth century (new and revised ed., 1881, 6 vols.). Perry, in his *History of the Church of England*, has described the Established Church from the death of Elizabeth to the present time. Much valuable information on the ecclesiastical development of England is to be found in the works of Hunt and Tulloch, who treat theology, rather than history, and of Green, who shows how far the progress of England is owing to the presence of the religious element in all stages of her growth.

In France, Matter, a professor in Strasburg when Alsace belonged to France, wrote a *General History of the Christian Church*; while his *History of Moral and Political Doctrines of the First Three Centuries* and his *Critical History of Gnosticism* throw special light on these departments of ecclesiastical history. The historical labors of Pressensé, with the exception of his *Religion and the Reign of Terror*, have been confined to the early period. He has written largely with an apologetic purpose in view and with glowing style and profound sympathy with his themes.

In Switzerland, Merle d'Aubigné held a high place as an ecclesiastical historian. While yet a young man he chose the Reformation as his field, and adhered to his purpose, with the exception of some minor monographs, throughout his life. His *History of the Reformation* has been translated into all the principal languages, and, while it has been superseded by later works and is no longer an authority, it is a brilliant and, in the main, correct account by an enthusiast. Professor Chastel, of Geneva, in his *History of Christianity*, produced a work of great learning and ability, abounding in valuable historical monographs. The late Ernest Renan followed his *Life of Christ* with a *History of the Origins of Christianity*, written in fascinating style, and, especially on Marcus Aurelius and the second century, he has presented much new and striking

matter. Paul Sabatier has published a *Life of St. Francis of Assisi* (1894) which has attracted considerableattention for its human interest and impartial method. It is one of the best studies of the Middle Ages. Its author, a Protestant, received the pope's blessing for his work, but the book, nevertheless, received the honor of being placed in the *Index.*

In Holland we meet with the names of Hofstede de Groot, Spanheim, and Venema, whose Church histories reach to the sixteenth century and are written with abundant learning. The works of the Basnages, father and son, are also of great service; and in Jean le Clerc's *Study of the First Two Centuries* (1716) we come upon good specimens of historical criticism. Van Oosterzee has treated ecclesiastical history only incidentally, his labors being largely occupied with doctrinal theology, particularly on its apologetic side. His *Life of Christ* is a masterpiece of combined historical and apologetic treatment. Chantepie de la Saussaye has written a work on the *Religious Crisis in Holland*, a choice monograph on the later attempts to infuse rationalism into the fiber of the Dutch Church.

VI. *Modern Roman Catholic Historians.*—After the Reformation had become an accomplished fact the historical labors of the Roman Catholic Church were largely confined to a defense of the earlier history. Even Baronius had nothing new to present. As to the French writers, they were more independent than either the German or Italian. Here and there an Italian broke loose from the prevailing submissiveness, as with the monk Sarpi. His *History of the Council of Trent* was in a measure an attack on the historical delinquencies of Romanism. Among French historians were the following: Godeau, the author of a *History of the Church of Christ to the Ninth Century;* Natalis Alexander (Noël), who wrote an *Ecclesiastical History to the Council of Trent;* Bossuet, a *Universal History from the Beginning of the World to the Empire of Charlemagne;* Fleury, an *Ecclesiastical History* extending down to 1414; and the Jansenist Tillemont, who wrote an *Ecclesiastical History of the First Six Centuries.* Both Fleury and Tillemont were distinguished for elegance of style and a critical spirit. Dupin (died 1719) published a *Biographical and Literary History of the Church down to the Seventeenth Century*, which was followed by a similar work by

Ceillier—both works of immense learning and research and written in an independent spirit. The French Benedictines of St. Maur did great service by critical editions of the fathers and by their works on Christian antiquities. Mabillon, Montfaucon, Ruinart, Martène, Durand are a few of these eminent names. The more important historians of the eighteenth century were Choisy, Ducreux, and Berault-Bercastel. To the present century belong Lacroix, Robiano, Henrion, and, most important of any French ecclesiastical historian of the nineteenth century, Rohrbacher, who wrote a *Universal History of the Church.*

Among the German Catholic historians are the romanticist and poet Stolberg, who wrote a *History of the Religion of Jesus Christ*, extending to A. D. 430; Katerkamp, a *History of Religion to the Founding of the General Church* and a *Church History* to A. D. 1153; Döllinger, a *Text-book of Church History;* and the Church histories of Alzog, Kraus, and Hergenröther—all scholarly works written by original investigators, though in the Roman interest. The Wetzer and Welte *Church Lexicon* is rich in historical matter; but in the second edition by Kaulen the revisions are reactionary and prompted by the Vatican spirit. Hefele's *History of the Councils* is our best authority for the general councils of the Church. It was continued by Knopfler and Hergenröther down to, and including, the Council of Trent. Locherer and Jungmann have written solid histories. Johannes Janssen attempted the reconstruction of German Church history in his *History of the German People*, which created a sensation in Germany and elicited numerous Protestant replies. The Belgian Benedictine, Bellesheim, has written a *History of the Catholic Church in Scotland*, which, for the most part, may be highly commended.

In England the Roman Catholic historians have done but little as yet. The best is Lingard, whose *Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church* is now somewhat antiquated, but whose *History of England* to 1688 is of great permanent value. Lingard was a scholar of judicial spirit, and, though he needs correction in the light of later writers, he is indispensable as giving the conclusions of an independent Catholic investigator. Cardinal Newman wrote while still a churchman a *History of*

the Arians in the Fourth Century, to which he added various interesting essays. Allies carried forward an ambitious work on the *Formation of Christendom*, which is still incomplete. Gasquet and Bridgett have written on various aspects of the Reformation and post-Reformation periods in English history, and their researches are indispensable to the student of English Church history. Morris, Drane, Gillow, Pollen, H. T. Coleridge, and Formby, in collections of original documents and in other works, have rendered great service to historical literature. Two English churchmen should not be forgotten—Frederic G. Lee, because of his *Studies of the English Reformation*, and Samuel R. Maitland, because of his *Dark Ages*. The latter brings much new light and in a fresh and charming manner dissipates many venerable prejudices.

VII. *American Ecclesiastical Historians.*—It has been a just ground of lament that until recently but little taste has been manifested in the United States for Church history. The late Henry B. Smith thus accounted for our dearth of the historical spirit:

> As a people we are more deficient in historical training than in almost any other wants of scientific research. We live in an earnest and tumultuous present, looking to a vague future, and comparatively cut off from the prolific past which is still the mother of us all. We forget that the youngest people are also the oldest, and should therefore be most habituated to those "fearless and reverent questions of the sages of other times which," as Jeffrey well says, "are the permitted necromancy of the wise." We Americans love the abstractions of political theories and of theology better than we do the concrete realities of history. Church history has been studied from a sort of general notion that it ought to be very useful, rather than from a lively conviction of its inherent worth. History is to us the driest of studies, and the history of the Church is the driest of the dry—a collection of bare names and facts and lifeless dates. It is learned by rote and kept up by mnemonic helps.

This is confirmed by a statement of J. A. Alexander, who says:

> Our national tendency, so far as we have any, is to slight the past and overrate the present. This unhistorical peculiarity is constantly betraying itself in various forms, but it is nowhere more conspicuous and more injurious than in our theology. Hence the perpetual resuscitation of absurdities a thousand times exploded, the perpetual renewal of attempts which have a thousand times been proved abortive. Hence the false position which religion has been forced to assume in reference to various

inferior, yet important, interests—to science literature, art, and civil government. Hence, too, the barrenness and hardness by which much of our religious history is distinguished, because cut off from the inexhaustible sources which can only be supplied by history.

But it is now forty-five years since these regrets at the neglect of historical studies in American theology were expressed, and during this interval great progress has been made. Church history was, earlier, a neglected department in our theological schools; but no theological seminary of fair character in the United States is now without its professorship of historical theology. The labors of Prescott, Bancroft, Motley, Kirk, and Parkman and the genial works of Irving have had an important effect in awakening a popular historical taste, while the contributions in the theological department are fully equal in ability and interest.

Our chief support has come from abroad. The best historical works of Great Britain and Germany have been promptly introduced among us. Professor Henry B. Smith published an excellent original *Tabular History of the Church;* Lamson, a *History of the Early Church;* Shedd, a treatise on the *Philosophy of History* and a *History of Christian Doctrine;* Henry Charles Lea, a layman, important monographs on the Church in special relation to Roman Catholicism, showing immense research and opening up new fields, and a monumental *History of the Inquisition;* Fisher, a *History of the Reformation*, *Beginnings of Christianity*, an admirable *History of the Church* in one volume, and some masterly historical essays.

The labors of Philip Schaff belong rather to the United States than to Germany. Although a native of Switzerland and a student in the German universities, his remarkable literary productiveness is a part of the theological wealth of this country. No ecclesiastical historian has equaled him in the general arrangement, grouping, and proportionate use of historical material, nor in the literary and religious genius which pervades the whole. His *History of the Christian Church* bears all the traces of his German culture and profound sympathy with the spirit and instructions of Neander. At the same time all his theological labors reveal his thorough identification with American institutions and a clear conception of the needs and opportunities of the ecclesiastical life of the Church in the

United States. What Carlyle did for the introduction of German literature into England Schaff did for the introduction and safe utilization of the evangelical theology of Germany in the United States, the third and largest home of the Teutonic race.

Schaff went over more ground than any other historian, treating the whole history of the Church to the Reformation in an elaborate manner, including two volumes on the German and Swiss Reformation. The second part of the mediæval period was left incomplete at his death, but it will appear. Of equal importance is his *Creeds of Christendom*, the most extensive work of the kind in any language. Schaff founded the American Society of Church History in 1888, which has been the means of eliciting invaluable monographs from him and other American scholars, and has published annually a full report of its proceedings, etc. (1889–96, 8 vols., New York).

Henry C. Sheldon has written an excellent *History of Doctrine* and a *History of the Church*. Henry M. Baird has made extensive studies in French Huguenot history, and R. W. Thompson has investigated the *Relation of the Papacy to Civil Affairs*. Mombert has given the best history of Charles the Great in any language, and in briefer form has done work equally well on the *History of the Crusades* and the *History of the English Bible*. Gillett traced the *Course of English Religious Thought in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, and wrote a *History of John Huss* in two large volumes, both works monuments of American scholarship. The following special works are conscientious studies by careful writers: *Bernard of Clairvaux*, by Storrs; *Knox*, by Taylor; *Savonarola*, by Professor Clark, of Toronto; *Mediæval History*, by Professors McLaughlin and Emerton; *Molinos*, by Bigelow; *Alcuin*, by West; *The Early Religious History of England, Scotland, and Ireland*, by Cathcart, Moffat, and De Vinne respectively; *The Reformation in Sweden*, by Butler; *The Canons of the First Councils*, by Fulton; contributions to Dante literature, by Davidson, Longfellow, Norton; *History of Humane Progress*, by Brace; *Mediæval Civilization*, by Adams; *The Lutherans and the English Reformation*, by Jacobs; *Baptism in History*, by Burrage; a *History of the Anabaptists in Switzerland*, by the same author; and various works by that enthusiastic investigator, Henry M. Dexter.

The American Church has produced more denominational histories than works of a general historical character. This is largely due to our active confessional life and the absence of the State Church system. Bacon, Dexter, Punchard, and Williston Walker have written on the Congregational Church; White, Burgess, Perry, McConnell, and Tiffany, on the Protestant Episcopal Church; Hodge, Gillett, Webster, Briggs, and R. E. Thompson, on the Presbyterian Church; Bangs, Stevens, and Atkinson, on the Methodist Episcopal Church; McTyeire and Alexander, on the Methodist Episcopal Church, South; Mayer, Harbaugh, and Dubbs, on the German Reformed Church; Demarest and Corwin, on the Reformed Dutch Church; Wolf, Jacobs, Gräbner, Schæffer, and Schmucker, on the Lutheran Church; Ellis, Ware, and Allen, on the Unitarian Church; and Noethen, Shea, and Clarke, on the Roman Catholic Church. The American Society of Church History has inaugurated a series of denominational histories, written with reference to the best authorities and in a liberal and catholic spirit. The books in this series already published are the earnest of a grand future for American historiography.

There need be no ground for alarm as to the future progress and independence of historical theology in the United States. The conditions which have limited our development in this respect in the past are rapidly disappearing. The American Church has been compelled to address itself to grave social and evangelistic questions, and has confronted them with courage and vigor. At its distance from the great fields of persecution and protracted controversy it will in time acquire that needful equipoise of mind for inquiring carefully and pronouncing judiciously concerning the great matters of the general life of the Church. We can well expect that the American Church will become a wise inquirer concerning the past and an apt disciple at its feet.

John F. Hurst

Art. II.—EMERSON AS A PHILOSOPHER.

I. The beginning of Emerson's philosophical activity was contemporaneous with the inception of the transcendental movement in New England, and they cannot be studied apart. Undoubtedly he was greatly affected by this deep-sea wave of sentiment; but more than its effect upon him was his influence over it. He proved to be its guiding spirit; at his hand the movement eventually received its best statement; and to him reference is almost always made when writers attempt to designate the representative man of the epoch.

The transcendental movement began about 1820 as a reaction against custom, institutions, and authority. The younger thinkers of New England, having been aroused to a richer consciousness of life, chiefly through the scientific and philosophical deliverances of Goethe, the presentation by Edward Everett, Andrews Norton, and N. L. Frothingham of some of the phases of contemporaneous German philosophy, and the progress of modern science—in particular, the sciences of astronomy and geology—made an effort to break away from tradition and to return to normal, natural methods of thought and life. Up to this time the sensuous philosophy of Locke had ruled the thought of New England. The *Essay on the Human Understanding* continued to be used as a text-book at Harvard until 1817, at which time it was superseded by the Scotch philosophy. The works of Paley were then introduced as text-books, and the views of this author were authoritative up to the year 1836.

Transcendentalism, which at first manifested itself as a mere tendency, came to receive form and expression in the most casual way. Mr. Emerson, George Ripley, and Frederick Henry Hedge, on the day of the celebration of the second centennial anniversary of Harvard College, chanced to confer together on the state of theological and philosophical opinion. In this conversation there was expressed a strong dissatisfaction with the reigning sensuous philosophy. The following week these three called some like-minded gentlemen together at the home of Mr. Ripley, where these questions were further discussed. This was the inception of the movement. There was no specific object; no regular organization, simply a conjunction

of like-minded persons. Those who were present at the meeting held at the home of Mr. Ripley, together with J. S. Dwight, W. H. Channing, C. A. Bartol, O. A. Brownson, Theodore Parker, Margaret Fuller, Elizabeth P. Peabody, and others, continued to meet, at uncertain intervals, for three or four years. The meetings were informal in character; the company adopted no name; and it is not known who first called the members "transcendentalists." Theology was frequently a subject of comment. Among other subjects discussed were, "American Genius," "Personality," "Is Mysticism an Element of Christianity?" "Pantheism," etc. Emerson was rarely absent from these meetings, and he was held in high esteem by his associates.

Even among its adherents there has been a variety of opinion as to what constituted transcendentalism. Mr. Emerson himself, in his lecture on "The Transcendentalist," delivered in 1842, represents it as follows:

> The transcendentalist adopts the whole connection of spiritual doctrine. He believes in miracle, in the perpetual openness of the human mind to new influx of light and power; he believes in inspiration and in ecstasy. He wishes that the spiritual principle should be suffered to demonstrate itself to the end, in all possible applications to the state of man, without the admission of anything unspiritual; that is, anything positive, dogmatic, personal. Thus, the spiritual measure of inspiration is the depth of the thought, and never, Who said it? And so he resists all attempts to palm other rules and measures on the spirit than its own. . . . Shall we say, then, that transcendentalism is the Saturnalia or excess of faith; the presentiment of a faith proper to man in his integrity, excessive only when his imperfect obedience hinders the satisfaction of his wish? Nature is transcendental, exists primarily, necessarily, ever works and advances, yet takes no thought for the morrow. Man owns the dignity of the life which throbs around him in chemistry, and tree, and animal, and in the involuntary functions of his own body; yet he is balked when he tries to fling himself into this enchanted circle, where all is done without degradation. Yet genius and virtue predict in man the same absence of private ends and of condescension to circumstances, united with every trait and talent of beauty and power. This way of thinking, falling on Roman times, made Stoic philosophers; falling on despotic times, made patriot Catos and Brutuses; falling on superstitious times, made prophets and apostles; on popish times, made Protestants and ascetic monks, preachers of faith against the preachers of works; on prelatical times, made Puritans and Quakers; and, falling on Unitarian and commercial times, makes the peculiar shades of idealism which we know.

Mr. Frothingham criticises the above passage. He maintains that the movement had much more of definiteness than is here ascribed to it:

> It was something more than a reaction against Puritan orthodoxy, though in part it was that. It was in a very small degree due to the study of the ancient pantheists, of Plato and the Alexandrians, of Plutarch, Seneca, and Epictetus, though one or two of the leaders had drunk deeply from these sources. Transcendentalism was a distinct philosophical system. Practically, it was an assertion of the inalienable worth of man; theoretically, it was an assertion of the immanence of divinity in instinct, the transference of supernatural attributes to the constitution of mankind.

Writers upon New England transcendentalism have laid great stress upon its religious and practical phases, but they have not indicated with sufficient emphasis and distinctness its philosophical implications and affinities. No doubt the transcendentalists themselves showed their consistency in declining to attempt any systematic treatment of their views. Indeed, how could they attempt any such treatment of their views, in the light of the passage just quoted from Emerson? Nevertheless, it is an important fact that the philosophical principles underlying transcendentalism were the same, whether published in Germany, in England, or in America.

Transcendentalism as a distinctive system had its roots in the philosophy of Kant; it was first given complete systematic statement by Schelling, the central luminary and representative spirit of what is known as the German romantic school of philosophy; and it was transmitted to England and America through Coleridge, who, having thoroughly mastered the doctrines of Schelling, gave them attractive expression in English. It is a matter of no slight importance, in determining the philosophical setting of New England transcendentalism, to trace the connection between Schelling, the representative German transcendentalist, and Emerson, the chief exponent of this doctrine in America. While there is no indication that Emerson carefully read any of Schelling's works in the original, there is ample proof that he was familiar with the German philosopher at second hand. It was through Coleridge, Carlyle, and Wordsworth, particularly the first, that he became acquainted with Schelling's thought. In 1829 he was reading Coleridge. An interesting note, credited to Emerson, in which

he says that he has private accounts of the lectures then being delivered by the aged Schelling at Berlin, appears in the *Dial* of 1842. He describes the personal appearance of the philosopher, and speaks of the intense interest being manifested by the throngs that attended his lectures. In the *Dial* of 1843, under the head "Literary Intelligence," appears another reference to Schelling's Berlin lectures.

Further evidence that he was influenced in no small degree by Schelling is to be deduced from the striking similarity of their doctrines. The characteristic doctrines systematically advanced and developed by Schelling at the culminating point of his philosophical activity, from 1797 to 1803, are intellectual intuition, that is, the essential and inextricable interblending of knowledge and being; the unity, the eternity, and supremacy of mind; the absolute identity of subject and object, intelligence and nature, in the Supreme Reason; the impersonal nature of the Absolute; the conception of nature as animate, though unconscious, intelligence; the doctrine that man is divine; the conception of history as the gradual unfolding of the Universal Mind in time, and of art as the joint product of the unconscious and conscious; and, last, and perhaps most significant, the teaching which he constantly advanced with remarkable freshness, vigor, and beauty, that the universe, in whatever form it may manifest itself, is a living process, active and creative, and, at the point of human intelligence, conscious of itself in creating. It is just these doctrines, as will be shown hereafter, that are most prominently advanced and most frequently alluded to in Emerson's philosophical productions. It is to be noticed, also, that the philosophical tendencies found in the works about to be analyzed constitute precisely the doctrines that characterized New England transcendentalism; and, further, that the views presented in these works are, for the most part, susceptible of consistent, if not wholly systematic, statement.

The little volume entitled *Nature* was Emerson's first effort at anything like a distinctively philosophical treatise. This book was also the first authoritative document presented by the New England transcendentalists. It is a production of astonishing beauty and power. In the Introduction the author encourages men to seek an original relation to the universe. He

questions the outward existence of nature, maintaining that sufficient justification of nature as a whole is to be found in the fact that God would teach the human mind. Culture invariably begets a doubt of the reality of matter. The uses of nature may all be summed up in one—constantly to suggest the Absolute to man. Nature teaches the lesson of worship; it is a divine dream; it is God faintly incarnate. Nature is not cause, but effect. It cannot be violated by the human will; consequently it is a fixed point whereby we may measure our departure from God. In conclusion, the writer dwells upon the importance of trusting, to some extent, insight, surmise, and prophetic forecast. In mingled song and prophecy he suggests that spirit is primal and eternal; that the foundations of man are in spirit; that man is a fallen God; that skepticism prevails; and that man is ignorant because he will not trust to faith and instinct. Power will come only when will and intellect cooperate. Love and reason must go hand in hand.

His poem "May Day" informs us that nature is animate. She is fair and uncontaminated. She ministers to man, instructing him, cheering him, and pointing him to God and a constantly brightening future.

"Monadnoc" affirms that nature is animate, that it is rooted in mind, that it reflects the Primal Mind, and thus instructs man.

In the "Song of Nature" lurks the doctrine of evolution. Nature is animate. The world has been preparing for the advent of man; but, with all its travail, the ideal man has not yet arrived.

In the vague, mystical poem "Brahma" is discernible the doctrine of absolute identity. The One and the All are identical. Absorption of self in Brahma is the greatest blessing that can befall the finite.

"The Problem" teaches that nature and art are alike the product of a universal, superintending Mind. The same instinct that directs bird and fish and beast also actuates man as he rears monuments, carves marble, and molds thought into literature.

The poem entitled "The Sphinx" contains the following thought: Nature, animate but unconscious, broods over its own mystery. All forms of unconscious life are pure and glad; but

man is fallen—he skulks and cowers. Pride occasioned his fall, humility restores him. A close affinity exists between man and nature. Man has guessed the secret of nature. He finds that love underlies all things. He discovers that, if he would realize himself, he must yield to a benign tendency that works at the heart of things and must not attempt to reach any given goal of rest.

"The World-Soul" conveys the doctrine that man is limited; no hard and fast solution can be given to the questions that constantly force themselves upon his notice. But there is a World-Soul presiding over both nature and man. Nature, art, and history are effects of which Mind is the cause. The World-Soul cherishes the strong, the cheerful, and the courageous, but scorns the weak and the selfish. Good is the outcome of ill. Man should be optimistic.

"Woodnotes" teaches that spirit pervades matter as a life-principle; that an occult relation exists between the soul of man and the Spirit that animates nature; that nature is plastic and assumes its varying forms at the will of primal, causing Mind; that man is fallen from his once-lofty estate, being robbed of his faith and trust, but that nature is remedial; that man can become wise only by denying his own wit and egotism and accepting the vision which union with the Primal Mind permits; that the world is the progressive realization of God's will; that all natural forms are fugitive and transient; that only mind abides; that the Absolute epitomizes itself in man as conscious law; and that God is identical with nature and with man. In this poem there seems, again, to be a clear intimation of the law of evolution.

The essay entitled "Self-Reliance" teaches that man should trust his instinct implicitly; that, if he would trust the light that comes to him, there is a universal essence above and around him that will not permit him to err in thought or act. The soul, raised over passion, beholds identity and eternal causation, perceives the self-existence of truth and right, and calms itself with knowing that all things go well. "Self-existence is the attribute of the Supreme Cause, and it constitutes the measure of good by the degree in which it enters into all lower forms."

"Compensation" sets forth the doctrine of absolute identity. Polarity—the principle of action and reaction, the same sub-

stance appearing at opposite poles, but finding its equilibrium in a point of identity—is plainly indicated. There is but one essence, and this essence is present in every particle of nature. "The true doctrine of omnipresence is that God reappears with all his parts in every moss and cobweb. The value of the universe contrives to throw itself into every point."

The substance of the essay on "History" is as follows: Mind is primal and unitary. The individual man is an incarnation of the Absolute. Nature is plastic and is molded throughout by mind. History is therefore the record of the works of the Universal Mind. Every thought or faculty of the human soul is embodied in some fact or event. The Universal Soul overarches and incloses every finite soul, and we actually become participants in every event of history.

The essay on "Fate" sets forth the doctrine that there is such a thing as irresistible dictation—compulsory laws of the world. In some inscrutable way, however, necessity and freedom are reconcilable. Fate understands itself. Fate means limitation—limitation that in the last resolve includes both insight and freedom of the will. One thing annuls fate, namely, intellect. "So far as a man thinks he is free." Thought and the moral sentiments go far to liberate man. Fate is only a name for facts that have not yet been construed to thought, causes whose mystery is still unexplained. As man merges into the Universal Mind fate disappears. To the Absolute fate is law, law is intelligence.

The two essays on "Art" may be summarized as follows: The artist's function is to set forth the spiritual and eliminate the material. He is directed and assisted in his work by an overhanging necessity. Art has its highest value as history. The products of art mark the height to which the human soul has risen at any given period. All the productions of art are universally intelligible because they restore to us the simplest states of mind and refer us back to an original unitary Power. Art has become a makeshift. It is sordid and lame. Men seek to detach the beautiful from the useful, and thereby mar the effect. The perfection of art will come only from the perfection of life.

"The Method of Nature" is one of Emerson's most ecstatic productions. Man and God are one. Man is fallen. Nature

is precipitated intellect. As it is pure and cannot be debauched it serves as a convenient standard by which to measure man's rise and fall. In nature there is a principle of life. There is no cause to be found in nature. Everything refers to something further back. Nature is active; tendency is everywhere, but perfection nowhere. Man is the central figure of nature. The health of a human soul is determined by the degree of its receptive power. Nature can neither be known nor published by man unless he surrender his will to the Universal Power and become a part of what he would make known. Intellect and holiness should be wedded. Man is God. "All things are known to the soul. It is not to be surprised by any communication. Nothing is greater than it."

"The Transcendentalist" advances a pure and lofty doctrine of idealism. The idealist admits the affirmation of the materialist, that there are coherent impressions of sense, and that these conduce to beauty and usefulness; but he goes further, and seeks grounds that will assure him of the interpretation of the reports made by the senses. "Every materialist will be an idealist; but an idealist can never go backward to be a materialist." All events appear as spiritual to the idealist; he does not deny any sensuous fact; but he views every object of nature as in consciousness. He views the world as an appearance, mind being the sole reality, of which men, as well as all other natures, are the better or worse reflectors. Ethics follows immediately from the conveyance of the world into consciousness. Man needs no outward gift or foreign strength; he is divine, is self-existent, has a part in the nature of Deity. He makes the world for himself—he cannot be controlled by circumstances. The transcendentalist is the extreme idealist. He accepts to the fullest extent the entire spiritual doctrine. The characteristic practical and social habits of the transcendentalist are sketched; and it is pointed out that the effort to realize the beautiful and to make it manifest in all conduct is the dearest quest and highest aspiration of the typical representative of this class of beings.

The attempt of the work entitled *The Natural History of Intellect* is to give to intellect, morals, and social life a scientific statement. Truth is the outcome of life. It cannot be found by poring over traditions. No complete system of metaphysics

can be constructed. No good is to be derived from the cultivation of metaphysics as an isolated field of study. Mind is creator; matter is extinct mind. Human life is an extension of the Infinite Essence into the finite. The human soul is still drawing its essence from that of the Universal Mind, and hence its possibilities cannot be foretold. The laws of thought and the laws of nature are identical. The individual soul is a momentary point of arrest in the rushing current of the Universal Soul. Every man is a new force and factor in the world's history and a center of redistribution. There is a common backlying reality from which individual reality derives its essence. The human soul that is pure, unselfish, and trustful is visited always by correct impulses from the central source of being and power. If men would seek universal, rather than particular, ends they would rely wholly upon instinct and inspiration. Awareness, transition, tendency—these, rather than certainty, rest, and repose, are the attitudes of power. The human soul is constantly open to influxes from the divine, and that the channels be kept unclogged—herein is power. The First Cause is a unity, active and inspiring.

II. This peculiar philosophic web seems to have neither beginning nor end. It was woven for inspection, but not for analysis. We must, therefore, do it violence, rending it in the midst, in order that a starting point may be found from which to unravel its intricacies. It would seem best, then, as will logically appear in the further discussion of the subject, to begin with his theory of knowledge, and afterward discuss in order his ontological, cosmological, psychological, and ethical views.

For Emerson there is no question as to the possibility of perceiving reality. Indubitably the soul has access to truth. Even to question the power of the human soul to solve its problems is a betrayal of weakness and insanity. It is a sin to doubt for a moment the possibility of satisfying any curiosity that has been excited in the mind by the cosmic order about us. Knowledge is a phase of life—participation in the primal, unitary Cause. Existence and knowledge are one; the seer and the thing seen become identical. Knowledge is a condition of receptivity. Truth is native to the soul; there is absolute correspondence between the world of thought and the world of things. But knowledge comes only by sanity, probity, and virtue. He who

would know the truth must be pure-hearted, simple-minded, and reverent. By being good he shall infallibly know the good. The deepest and truest deliverances of the finite soul are those that result from untaught sallies into the region where abides the Infinite. Spiritual insight is the most valid consciousness possessed by man.

To the philosophical student this statement of Emerson's epistemological views seems bewildering. It does not appear that Emerson troubled himself in the slightest degree either to point out or to solve the specific problems of epistemology. No doubt he recognized the significance of all these questions, and had a just conception of what ought to constitute an approved theory of knowledge. But his chief problem does not seem to have been to define reality, to analyze the content of life, or, specifically, to give greater definiteness to cognition. Upon the fundamental questions of apriorism and empiricism he simply took sides, making no attempt either to solve these problems or to deduce logical grounds for the position which he assumed. He maintained that nothing could render reality more certain than the pure vision of the soul itself. His theory of knowledge cannot be presented in the most approved philosophical terms. In respect to the process of knowing he is an out-and-out Neoplatonist. There is little difference between his ecstatic abandonment to the Universal Soul and the "union" of Plotinus. Perhaps the term "intellectual intuition" would indicate his theory of knowledge more accurately than any other in use. It is certain that he conceived of the subject and the object as absolutely one and identical in the process of knowledge.

Emerson's doctrine of reality has already been indicated; he holds that mind is absolute. It is primal and unitary, self-existent and creative. It is the abyss of pure being, from which arise all particular forms of existence; the dark, obscure, and unpicturable background of all life, all thought, and all action; the raw material from which is spun every web of reality whatsoever. Impersonal, self-balanced, and self-moved, this one supreme essence constantly acts and reacts throughout the universe.

The Absolute is the aboriginal ground of both nature and man. Each has its origin in the Primal Mind. Manifesting itself through the human soul, the Absolute is known as reason;

breathing through unconscious nature, it is known as spirit. There is no reality apart from the Absolute. In its ceaseless, though ever perfectly balanced, activity—for movement is of its very essence—the Absolute appears now as external nature, and, again, in man, as subjective, self-conscious intelligence; but, in so far as either object or subject is finite, in so far is it mere manifestation or appearance. "Under all this running sea of circumstance, whose waters ebb and flow with perfect balance, lies the aboriginal abyss of real being. Essence, or God, is not a relation or a part, but the whole—Being in the vast affirmative, excluding negation, self-balanced, and swallowing up all relations, parts, and times within itself." "The true doctrine of omnipresence is that God reappears with all his parts in every moss and cobweb." "There is one mind common to all individual men. Every man is an inlet to the same and to all of the same."

Was Emerson a pantheist or a theist? Early in life he himself answered this question as follows: "I am open to the name of a very poor speculator, a faint, heartless supporter of a frigid and empty theism, a man of no vigor of manner or no vigor of benevolence." That he was actually a theist, even at the time he wrote this half-hearted avowal, seems doubtful. However that may have been, there is no trace in his mature writings of other than a pantheistic conception of God. He uses the term "God" in a vague and loose manner. His God is, in no strict sense, a Being of love or providence. As nearly as can be determined from his writings, he conceives of the Absolute as unconscious, but in the process of becoming conscious; as determined, rather than free, in that it comprehends in its nature the necessity of manifesting and beholding itself as reason. Hence, it is evident, also, that Emerson thought of the original Essence as reason, rather than will. He neither proves the existence of God nor explains the sense in which the Absolute is cause of all things, but assumes that all attributes are potential in the impersonal background of Pure Being, and that all finite forms of existence arise simply in accordance with the inner nature of the Absolute.

Passing to Emerson's cosmology, we find that he regards nature as a manifestation of God in the unconscious—a remote incarnation of the Absolute. Nature is effect, not cause; phe-

nomenal, not real; shadow, not substance. It is the raw, outer edge of spirit, the flowing robe of divinity. It is volatile and obedient to the underlying cause. It gives quick and responsive expression to every throb or movement of the spirit which underlies it and which it shadows forth. Nature is the exact correlative of spirit, and answers to it as face betrays face in a mirror. The channels, small and great, complex and intricate, through which stream the tides of nature, were traced and cut by the rushing currents of mind. Nature is one of the essential forms in which the Absolute manifests itself. It is immature, unconscious reason striving to make its way up to man, who, as conscious reason, stands as the highest goal of its endeavor. This evolution from unconscious to conscious life gives evidence of the fact that, at bottom, nature and the conscious are identical. Nature is active and unitary. It is presided over by a solitary principle, called the World-Soul, which connects all natural causes in one body and animates the whole.

Nature is pure and uncontaminated. It lies, like an infant smiling in its dreams, innocent and inviolable. Its end is moral. Its highest and most noble function is to minister to the wants and instruct the reason of man. Its influence is sanative and purifying. It constantly tells him of God, and endeavors to lead him back to the aboriginal source of power.

Emerson finds the beginnings of human existence in mind, not in matter. Man's body is external, a part of the cosmic order, but his soul has its origin in the fundamental nature of things. He is an immediate and conscious incarnation of the Absolute. Mind being one and universal, man and God are one. The individual man is a momentary point of arrest in the eddying currents of the Universal Mind, at which it arises to consciousness long enough to survey itself and nature, its double. "Man is part and particle of God."

But man is fallen; he has been drugged by sin, and its baneful effects have never left him. He is bereft of sanity, purity, and power. He recognizes the fact that some occult relation exists between himself and nature and that intimate ties of kinship bind him to God; yet he crouches and cowers before nature and is an alien from God. Once every law of nature, however secret or remote, was penetrated and understood by man; now, through selfishness and sin, his intellect has become

darkened. It has been bereft of its insight and its power, so that man is no longer acquainted with all of nature's intricate laws. Nature has become opaque, and he catches only stray flashes of knowledge concerning its method, its order, and its significance. Nevertheless, if man be trustful and pure, if he unite holiness with intellect, he may recover every thought that lies cold and petrified in the world of matter before him, and cause it once more to burn and glow with the light of intellect. The farthest and most obscure law of nature will instantly become eloquent and transparent to the finite spirit that will fuse with the divine and claim its heritage. But man never truly comes to himself or learns the secret of the external world until he yields himself to the Absolute. To be self-conscious, to seek personal ends, is an acknowledgment of weakness and limitation.

We are here confronted by various questions which demand further explanation. What does our philosopher mean when he asserts that the world is a remote and inferior incarnation of God, and that man is an immediate incarnation of the divine? He means evidently that the Impersonal Mind makes an abortive attempt to realize itself in nature—to come to consciousness—but that in man it actually realizes its potentialities and communes with itself. Emerson would not look upon either inanimate or animate nature as a product of creation in any true sense of the word, but, rather, as the progressive liberation of the latent possibilities residing in the Infinite.

All that Emerson means by his distinction between spirit and reason is the difference between the unconscious life-principle as it resides, respectively, in nature and man. Nature is alive, but not conscious; man is both alive and conscious. Here it seems pertinent to ask what relation he conceives to exist between the human soul and the Absolute. His reply is that the human soul is the Absolute in the process of becoming conscious. It thus becomes evident that there is no self-conscious Absolute, but that the Absolute, as far as it is conscious, is only millions of "broken lights."

It may be of interest to point out more clearly what he means by man's fall and sinfulness. He does not mean by this doctrine what theologians term total depravity. Man's

fall consists in the fact that he has become self-conscious. He sins in seeking particular, rather than universal, ends.

We now pass to a consideration of Emerson's ethical doctrines. Moral law is fundamental. It originates in the heart of the universe. It is embedded in the constitution of the Primal Mind, and is everywhere reflected in nature. Man is an epitome of the universe. Into the tiny globe of the finite is compressed a copy of the Absolute. The mind of the particular man contains the universal laws of spirit in miniature, and the farthest particles of matter enter into his essence. Virtue, therefore, is native to the human soul, and when once individual men will act in accordance with the constitution of their nature the good of each will be the good of all.

Self-realization—perfection—is the end of all endeavor. The attainment of perfection will demand thought and foresight for outward fortune and comfort, as well as the development of worth and the realization of peace within the soul. Prudence, economy, and self-restraint should be practiced with reference to the outward demands of life, in order that the soul may not suffer want nor be deprived of its culture. We should seize the present and enjoy life's fleeting pleasures as they pass. Our conduct toward our fellow-men should be based upon the universal principle of love and justice. The highest perfection of life comes from within. It is quite independent of the external and transient. It results from a consciousness of inner worth, the culture of the soul, the cherishing of lofty visions, and the effort to realize the ideals that charm the soul. Our attitude toward the world should be that of cheer, courage, and good will.

It is manifest from the presentation of his ethical views that Emerson's system, if rigidly construed, leaves no place for obligation. He cannot consistently use the term. From his standpoint there is no difference between moral law and natural law. There is also an inconsistency in saying that virtue is native to the human soul and then maintaining that man is fallen. Perhaps this could be rendered consistent if it were construed to mean that the first stages of the process of becoming self-conscious are to be considered as a fall, but that "the far-off, divine event" that is to be the outcome of it all

will be the commingling of all the "broken light" in one supreme, conscious Being.

III. Some question naturally arises as to the propriety of applying the term "philosopher" to Emerson. It is true that, primarily, he was not a philosopher, but a poet. His soul went forth in quest of beauty, rather than truth. To be sure, when he found them he most frequently found them in each other's embrace; but he was more susceptible to beauty. Beauty fascinated and intoxicated him. He yielded to it with passionate relinquishment. "I think," says Emerson, "that philosophy is still rude and elementary. It will one day be taught by poets. The poet is in the natural attitude—he is believing: the philosopher, after some struggle, having only reasons for believing." In another place he says, "The true philosopher and the true poet are one, and a beauty which is truth, and a truth which is beauty, is the aim of both." Holmes says, "The poet in Emerson never accurately differentiated itself from the philosopher." Nevertheless, the term "philosopher" is altogether appropriate to one who grappled so independently and persistently with first principles. Emerson plucked up by the roots theories of knowledge, reality, and conduct and subjected them to the most scrutinizing gaze. Says Carlyle: "Emerson is the cleanest mind now living. I do not know his equal on earth for perception." Edwin D. Mead, in his volume on *The Philosophy of Carlyle*, makes the following similar estimate:

> Emerson's "Problem" and his essay on "Nature" do more to put the backbone into its proper place than anything else American that I think of. Emerson and Edwards are the greatest American philosophers thus far, for they bring us nearer to first principles than any others.

It is plain, from a consideration of these opinions and in view of the manifest tendencies of Emerson's mind, that his right to a place in the history of philosophy will depend upon the definition that we give to the term "philosophy." So far no strictly determined conception of philosophy has gained universal acceptance. From age to age the term has undergone many mutations. At the beginning philosophy implied mere love of wisdom, or the earnest quest for truth. "Plato reckons moral conduct as much a part of philosophy as knowledge." The Stoics applied the term to the practical conduct of life, in

so far as conduct could be based upon scientifically determined principles. Epicurus understood by philosophy the rational pursuit of happiness. In the Middle Ages philosophy degenerated until it became the mere instrument by which theology endeavored scientifically to maintain and justify its preconceived dogmatic claims. Kant limited its sphere to the critical examination of reason itself; while later philosophers, as, for example, Schelling, discarded the attempt at method and declared art to be the true *organon* of philosophy.

For the most part, now as well as throughout the past, the disposition on the part of philosophical writers has been to include philosophy under the general term "science." And it ought to be agreed that the true task of philosophy is to explore and explain reality as a whole in accordance with the most approved methods of science, and accurately to determine the true functions and implications of knowledge. But at the same time it is of the greatest importance to remember that philosophy is a persistent tendency, rather than a completed science; that some of the deepest and most significant aspects of life have so far refused to yield to scientific analysis and statement; and that, in the final analysis, faith and volition enter into the interpretation of reality and go as far to discover the rational order of the universe as the understanding itself. There are elements that enter into life, penetrating and interpenetrating our inmost being, that elude accurate scientific treatment, yet seem to insist upon finding some outward expression, and do, in spite of difficulties, somehow publish themselves to our measurable satisfaction. Among these elements may be classed the religious, moral, and æsthetic ideals of the soul. Philosophy, then, must not be defined in such a way as to exclude any phase of life that plainly tends toward self-realization.

Emerson was not a system-maker; he was not eminent as a reasoner; he was, indeed, deficient in logical and analytical qualities of mind; but in the sense that "the whole man philosophizes" he was truly a philosopher. His imagination was of a strong, philosophic cast; his mind was peculiarly sound, wholesome, and penetrating; he was a seer; and, just because his intellect was remarkably trustful, impartial, and free from prejudice, his gaze at reality satisfied himself and also convinced

others of its accuracy and worth. It was Emerson's effort, by purity of life and motive, to present himself as a transparent medium through which the truth might reveal itself. He gazed directly upon reality and published an exact transcript of what he saw. And it is just here that his claim to the title of philosopher must rest. His contribution to philosophy is the result of insight and faith, rather than of analysis and demonstration.

Emerson, then, must be estimated in accordance with no merely formal standards of philosophy. We should not compel him to conform to methods and canons of thought which he constantly denies and repudiates. It is not his desire to be weighed against the universe of thinkers; he must, therefore, be assigned a unique place and be estimated and criticised accordingly. He disclaims consistency; so it would be unfair to compel him to be consistent. He denies any attempt at system-making; so it would be an impertinence to crowd him into a mold and then belabor him because he did not exactly conform to it. He approaches ultimate problems from a different standpoint from that which most philosophers set forth. But, nevertheless, he does approach them, he does throw light upon them.

It may be well to estimate Emerson's thought, first, in the light of moral and intellectual inspiration; secondly, in the light of philosophical poetry; and, thirdly, from a strictly rational standpoint.

His attitude was peculiar and admirable. He was fearless and independent to the highest degree. He bowed to neither custom, tradition, nor opposition. Every avenue leading to his soul was left open and unobstructed. His view of the universe was fresh and free. As he abandoned himself to the central and absolute Force that, as he conceived, wrought in and about him, Emerson's worth and weight are exactly the worth and weight of his total manhood, which was great. His highest aspiration was to realize himself; and philosophy can produce no theory that promises greater results than the recorded activities of such lives. His unique and eloquent presentation of the supremacy of spirit, the immanence of God in nature, the immense value of man, and the ability of the finite to apprehend the Infinite did not fail, first to fascinate, and then to elevate, all who acquainted themselves with his doctrines.

We have called Emerson poet and have spoken of his vision and his gift of penetration. May it not be well to ask what value attaches to the dream of the poet and the vision of the seer? How is philosophy furthered by poetic insight? How are truth and beauty related to each other? What is the relation of seer and reasoner? Reality, it may be answered, is one. In the last analysis, truth, beauty, and the good are one. All truth is beautiful, and all beauty is good. These are only different ways in which the Primal Essence appears to the mind of man. The poet beholds reality, and it assumes graceful form and radiant color; the philosopher beholds the same reality, and his cold gaze crystallizes it into a law, a principle, a thought; the righteous will and trustful heart meet the same reality and find it perfect will and loving heart. The reality is never thoroughly construed to the finite life until it has been clothed with beauty, perceived as law, and incorporated into righteous conduct and communion. Shall the soul, then, refuse to respond to the vision of the seer while it accepts the logic of the reasoner? Shall we cast out of philosophy the moral and æsthetic ideals just because they cannot be reduced by the intellect to rigid law? Surely the soul has no deeper need than that which urges it to posit for itself an ideally good and beautiful universe. The ineffable essence is as frequently realized through the feelings as through the intellect. In fact, after the logician has cautiously and painfully reasoned through his theories and his laws he finds himself at the same goal which the poet has reached at a bound before him. They both trust that they have arrived at the proper goal; they both feel elated and satisfied with their perception of ultimate reality. And what is, after all, the supreme test of knowledge? It is not sensation. It is not alone rational intuition or the veracity of God. It is, in fact, no externally imposed standard whatsoever. The ultimate criterion of knowledge arises from the innermost life, and from that life in its unity and completeness. It is, in short, a self-realization akin to moral or æsthetic satisfaction.

It is important that a slight critical comment be made before Emerson's thought is considered from a strictly rational standpoint. The limits of this paper forbid adequate discussion of the significance of Kant's doctrine for the development of thought since his time; but we maintain that the center of

gravity of all metaphysical questioning should be shifted in accordance with his doctrine of the primacy of the practical reason. Life, as a whole, is the ultimate problem with which man is most interested; and whatever real explanations are reached will be reached by excursions from this standpoint, rather than by an attempt to construct the universe by pure reason. We repeat that man's deepest and most pressing problem is life, of which knowledge is only a part sought in isolation from the rest. Nothing is known that has not been lived. No cognitive function can be separated from the attendant functions of feeling and conation. Even if we could trace back the threads of life and thought to their sources, arrived there we could only bow reverently and trust. So the ultimate problem with which we have to deal is a progressive one: it is the problem of conscious becoming, and in this process knowledge is only a phase. If we busy ourselves too exclusively with this single aspect of our expanding life we lose our bearings and see all things out of focus. Life is its own interpreter; and it is quite as important, as human, and, from the standpoint of the individual, as much the discovery of the real to will, to feel, to trust, and to aspire as to know.

Emerson was among the first in America to emphasize Kant's doctrine that through the postulates of the practical reason we have access to the realms of moral freedom, immortality, and God. It is much to his credit that he bent his energies toward the practical and the positive, rather than the theoretical, aspect of the great German's doctrine. Emerson struck the first high, clear note to the prelude of the nobler philosophy that is only now beginning to pervade the lives of our best American thinkers. No one saw more clearly than he the shortcomings of philosophy as it then prevailed, the barrenness of soulless metaphysical inquiry, and the hopelessness of reaching any satisfactory results unless the traditional methods of thought were abandoned. He attempted no critical statement of his views; he entered into no polemic; yet he fearlessly departed from the beaten pathway of philosophy and shocked the reflective world into life and hope by his originality and his genius. He appealed to the lives, and not merely to the intellect, of his readers. From the depths of his own consciousness he spoke to the consciousness of others; he revealed God to them through

reflection. To-day comparatively few will question the truth of his statements that spontaneity and fullness of life, rather than a metaphysical system or a theory of knowledge, are man's greatest needs; that digested and completed systems at once become dead and worthless; that endeavor, not rest, is the soul's richest heritage; and that awareness is a more attainable, if not more desirable, state than certainty.

Frank C. Lockwood.

Art. III.—PAUL'S PSYCHOLOGY.

What may be the use and limitation of reason in the realm of religion is a question much in need of settlement in these days of independent thought. Paul has furnished the base lines from which a settlement may be made; but this paper proposes only to take a few field notes. Character is the basis of spiritual knowledge. The natural, animal man has no ability to understand spiritual things; they do not lie in his plane of thought; he catalogues them among the foolish things; they are not intelligible to him, because they are spiritually discerned and are to be examined by spiritual powers which the animal man does not possess.

Our age is skeptical; its very philosophy is without certitude. Religion has begun to doubt its own beliefs; there is a tendency to swing away from the old landmarks, from old beliefs and old methods of thought, and to push intellect over the old border land into the realm of doubt. Speculative thought is putting forth its greatest activity in order to clear up the field of consciousness and remove the fog line between logical inference and spiritual intuition. Popular authors, popular colleges, and some popular pulpits are attempting to fix the horizon of mind and crowd the field that lies beyond the logical powers full of the unknowable. But how can the mere logical powers know that there is an unknowable? The pride of knowledge puts out the spiritual eyes. It is the spiritual man that realizes his inability, that longs to know the spiritual things, and desires to examine them with spiritual powers; the mere animal man has no such desires. Had God committed to the natural man abilities to discover essential religious truths he could not have given to the race a revelation of himself. If the mere philosopher could ascertain spiritual truth, as Pythagoras discovered the triangle, holy men of God would not have been moved by the Holy Ghost to write the Holy Scriptures.

There are but three possible methods of obtaining truth by the natural power of the mind. These fix the limits of the natural man: 1. The empirical method, limited to the facts known through the senses by observation and experiment; the truths obtained are scientific truths. 2. The logical method,

the mental process by which all healthy mind comes into possession of new relations of truth by inference. There are forms of inference. Induction is the inference of truths from known facts. Mind may construct new truths from known facts, as men construct houses from the raw material by putting it in new relations. Deduction is the inference of other truths from truths which are known, the process of constructing new forms of truth out of individual forms. When the truths discussed are purely abstract the field is mathematical and the new truths are all demonstrable. When the constructive form of truth is speculative we have the unfenced field of metaphysics. 3. The intuitional method, if method it may be called, when both facts and truths are known to consciousness without any known process, without experiment, induction, or deduction. Such knowledge is absolute, not a notion or a belief resting upon the conscious fact that it cannot be otherwise; but it is positive knowing, such a knowledge as excludes all doubt and admits of no augmentation, is more emphatic than demonstration, is self evident, supersensible. Through this gateway mind receives all primary or first truths—axioms of mathematics, notions of time and space, the beautiful and true in art, the ethical ideas of right and wrong, self-consciousness, personal freedom, God-consciousness, or the realization of God as a personal Being.

The primary knowledge belongs to all men, all responsible being; it is without any process; it is spontaneous insight, soul vision, apocalyptic. This seems to be God's method of revealing spiritual truth to spiritual men. If God can reveal his own personality to the natural man, then why may not the truth of the incarnation, atonement, immortality, and the resurrection of the dead be revealed to the spiritual man? Over the doorway of the Academy of Plato was written, "Let none but geometricians enter here." Over the gateway to the realm of religion let the proud philosopher, the world-wide scholar, the keen, skeptical critic read the inscription from a greater Master than Plato, "I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes."

I. The Limitation of Reason in Religion.—Mere reason cannot by its logical powers discover God, or apprehend him when revealed. It is not to blame, for it was not intended for

the exploration of such a field of knowledge. The proposition of Herbert Spencer that so shocked the religious world is not only true, but demonstrably true: "Apprehensible to us there is no God." Spencer built his system of agnosticism upon the logical powers. Men of lesser brain persist in building Christianity on the same basis; so that we still have rationalists and some higher critics worshiping a conclusion of a syllogism or a solitary proposition for a personal God. The God of the Bible is not in the range of pure reason. Had man no other powers than the logical, no other method than logical inference, God would forever be unknowable, because not in the field of vision of the natural man. Any attempt to know God by inference involves the fallacy of false assumption.

The mind has no ability to infer the being of God from the facts of the natural world which lie in the realm of sense. The facts of nature may unify a truth already known, or illustrate what is revealed in some other way. The clock method and all similar methods are illustrations, not arguments. The fallacy of all such efforts may be logically exposed. Take the old saw: an Arab found the track of a camel near his tent, and hence inferred the existence of the camel; therefore, if the footprints of God do not prove the existence of God, neither do the tracks of the camel prove the existence of the camel. The conclusion being true, many minds assume the premise to be true. But how could the Arab know the track to be a camel's unless he had first known a camel? The footprints were evidence of the presence of the camel, not a discovery of the fact of its existence. The Arab had the fact to begin with and knew the camel's tracks, and hence logically inferred that the camel had been near his tent. That is the only logical value of his inference. Had he only the tracks to work on he could never have found the camel by the syllogism.

If God be only an hypothesis or a mental proposition, then he may be in the range of reason; but as a personal Being he is not in the range of our logical powers. The God that is presumed to be known by the syllogism is illogical, unsatisfactory, and unknowable, because absurd. God must be in the premise if he be found in the conclusion. But God is more than a proposition, and hence does not live in the range of the logical powers or any of the powers of the natural man.

But does not this contradict the great prince of logicians, who seems to indorse the logical method and hold man responsible for not finding God by his footprints? "Because that which may be known of God is manifest in them; for God hath showed it unto them. For the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead; so that they are without excuse." Why? Because of their logical power to infer God "from the things that are made?" No, but for another reason. God hath showed, manifested, disclosed, revealed it unto them, but not by logical inference. What are "the invisible things" that are made so luminous, so "clearly seen from the creation of the world," by which not only the philosopher and critic, but all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men, are "without excuse?" Why, his "eternal power and Godhead"—*θειότης*, not *θεότης*; for all the character of God is not revealed in nature, even when nature is interpreted by himself. But they had such a knowledge as to bring all under obligation to worship. How did this knowledge come? Not by inference "from the things that are made," not through the syllogism, but by divine manifestation.

God cannot be put into scientific formula. He is more than power, more than a proposition. When the beloved disciple said "God is love" he did not attempt to put God into a proposition; his predicate was not intended to contain all the subject. God is greater than all his works; neither the book of nature nor the book of revelation is in the range of the logical faculty. "The things of the Spirit of God" must be spiritually examined by Spirit-taught men. Supernatural disclosure is absolutely essential in order to interpret the book of nature or the book of revelation. God, if known, must be spiritually discerned, known by the spiritual faculties, which are alone developed in the Spirit-taught man—by the method of intuition, quickened insight, soul vision, apocalypse. Spontaneous insight seems to have been the normal method of knowing God exercised by the primitive man. Spontaneous perception is the logic of the blessed man. Jesus said to Peter, when he first realized the true character of the Messiah, "Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-jona: for flesh and blood hath not revealed

[ἀποκάλυψε] it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven [hath apocalypsed it unto thee]."

Upon this Spirit-taught man Jesus built his Church, or out of such Spirit-taught men he formed his ἐκκλήσιά. "But the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God; for they are foolishness unto him: neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned." Paul exhorts the higher critics on Mars' Hill—Aristotle and all his disciples—to cease trying to put God into the forms of art and crowding him into human syllogisms, and to feel after him [ψηλαφήσειαν] and find him, not by sense or by reason, but by soul vision. The spiritual man can feel more than he can think, realize what he cannot formulate, know what he cannot logically prove, because there is a class of truths which lies beyond the logical powers.

II. The Bible is a Revelation to the Spiritual Powers of Man.—Spiritual truth is limited to Spirit-taught men. If the animal man is convicted of sin, righteousness, and judgment it is because the Holy Spirit has done it; then it is a conviction, a spiritual impression, not a logical conclusion. Reason is limited to facts established by evidence and to self-evident truths and such truths as can be logically inferred from them.

The Bible has a literary side, of necessity. Truth is wrapped up in the forms of language, as mathematics in diagrams; but the truth does not depend upon the formula, but the formula does depend upon the truth. The critic, the scholar, the spiritually-minded can get nothing out of the forms of language but what was put in them. The logical powers are limited to history, biography, chronology, archæology, and truths of this class. And yet there is a spiritual element in these also which eludes the mere logical powers. Mind can know nothing by logical inference concerning God, the Trinity, incarnation, immortality, resurrection, and truths of this class, for they lie beyond the logical powers of the natural man and, if known, must be apocalypsed. The teachings of Jesus are not syllogistic; his truths are not inferences from facts; he never proves a proposition; his Gospel is not put together in logical forms. Hence it is absurd to suppose that the Gospel can be taken apart and examined by any logical

process, or be interpreted by the mere critic, as other books are interpreted. The Gospel is a divine formulation of intuited and apocalyptic truths not in the range of the mere logical faculties or the powers of the natural man.

III. The Use of Reason in Revelation and Religion.—It is valuable for the exposition of error. The syllogism is invaluable for finding and exposing fallacies. This is the use Paul makes of his great logical powers. His profound arguments are pure syllogisms that will hold water. But he never tries to prove the Gospel. Paul's success in defeating errorists seems to have led the majority of preachers to adopt the syllogistic method of presenting truth in the pulpit. Jesus presents truth in soul-pictures and never attempts to prove it. Logic is essential to prevent religious enthusiasts and fanatics from perverting the Holy Scriptures. Reason is essential to the complete understanding of the word of God by all rational beings; and all interpretation that can be shown to be false or absurd must be rejected. All religious dreamers and devout seers, the visions of Porphyry, the contemplations of Plotinus, the marvelous illuminations of Swedenborg must be tested by the logical faculty. The highest and best philosophy of any age is that which gives the best solutions to the problems of the soul. Sensationalism and science, falsely so called, have attempted to drive all the angels from the world, deny the supernatural, and shut up God in the laboratory; but philosophy without religion is insufficient for the highest explorations of mind. Some of the higher critics need a kind of intellectual palingenesis, as well as "Ye must be born again."

The earnest soul is weary of the worship of definitions, hypotheses, forces, principles, and conclusions of syllogisms. The best thinkers of the age are crying, like David, "As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God."

W. J. Nelson.

Art. IV.—THE CHRISTIAN CONCEPTION OF GOD.

If adaptation to human wants were chiefly considered there would be little difficulty in reaching a satisfactory conception of Deity. The Christian notion is exactly suited to the mental and moral needs of the race. Beyond dispute it comes into sympathetic contact with humanity at a larger number of points than any other. The same conclusion is arrived at if the matter is referred to pure reason for a decision. Once allow that theism affords the only proper explanation of the universe as it now exists, and the idea of the divine nature held by the Christian Church is the only thoroughly consistent one. Atheism, naturalistic evolution, pantheism, positivism, and agnosticism are involved in such hopeless difficulties as to drop wholly out of consideration. The alternative is either the God of revelation or utter skepticism.

The Holy Scriptures contain the data upon which the Christian conception is based. They furnish the only authoritative material from which to construct it. Reduced to simplest terms, the view they warrant may be stated in two propositions: I. God's absolute essence is immanent Spirit; II. His moral nature is holy love.

I. Every biblical student has noticed that God is frequently spoken of in both Testaments as a Spirit. He is said to be invisible, unsearchable, omnipresent, and omniscient. These properties are incompatible with material being. To be intelligible they must be connected with an independent, immaterial existence. Spirit thus appears as the fundamental essence in the divine nature. Deity cannot be thought of as confined to a form like a human creature. Such an idea would imply limitation. He is the Unlimited, bound by neither space nor time, and can be everywhere present at the same moment. Of course, it follows that he is unappreciable by the senses. He cannot be seen with eyes or touched with hands. Though he may be near, he must ever elude physical grasp. Job said, "Lo, he goeth by me, and I see him not." At the dedication of the temple at Jerusalem Solomon lifted up his eyes and cried, "Will God indeed dwell on the earth? behold, the heaven and heaven of heavens cannot contain thee; how much

less this house that I have builded." This is an exalted view of the divine nature. The idea of Spirit as fundamental in Deity is a notion beyond the reach of unaided reason. Only revelation could present it to human thought; but, once announced, its appropriateness is immediately recognized. It satisfies completely the demands of clear thinking.

A careful examination of certain scriptural statements brings out a fact, frequently overlooked, which is of the utmost importance for a proper apprehension of the Christian doctrine. While it is distinctly affirmed that Deity is Spirit, it is not taught or implied that he is removed from constant contact with the world. It is rather declared that he is in intimate and vital connection with it. All things are represented as depending on him and upheld by him. Without his active presence there would be no material existence. He is the Quickener, who gives life to all animate creation. Job said that in his hand "is the soul of every living thing, and the breath of all mankind." Were he to withdraw from the world for never so short a time all things would perish. The psalmist wrote, "Thou hidest thy face, they are troubled: thou takest away their breath, they die, and return to their dust." Paul uttered a similar truth when he said to the Athenians on Mars' Hill that it is God who gives to all "life, and breath, and all things," and that in him men live and move and have their being. The Infinite Spirit is in perpetual activity throughout the cosmos. He has not withdrawn in calm satisfaction or helpless impotency and left the world to run on with mechanical exactness. He has not prescribed a self-limitation to his powers and shut himself away from the works of his hands. He continues in immediate contact with all created things as the necessary condition of their existence. He is their omnipresent, immanent support. That which is commonly called natural law is simply the method by which he usually accomplishes his desires.

This conception of God forestalls discussion concerning the possibility of miracles. The objection to miraculous occurrences arises from a fundamental misapprehension of the real nature of the world and the divine relation to it. If the two are thought of as distinct and separate, in the same sense that the watch and watchmaker are separate, then Deity cannot well interfere with the action of world forces without producing a

disturbance in the established order. But the moment he is regarded as immanent Spirit, upholding and controlling all things, then natural action becomes simply the product of his will. All movements wait upon his behest. The so-called regularity of nature means simply that the usual mode of divine activity is uniform. There is no implication that the Almighty is hedged about by any unchangeable restrictions. Yet this is the harmless weapon which modern skepticism brandishes with great display and with which it proposes to destroy religion.

Not long ago a notorious champion of unbelief concluded an impassioned attack upon Christianity with the assertion, "The universe is governed by law." Apparently it seemed to the orator that the last word relating to miracles had been uttered by him and the impossibility of their occurrence settled forever. The easy confidence of such critics is very amusing; but when discussion is serious it cannot for a moment be allowed that law is an abstraction, with attributes like an individual, standing outside the universe and seizing it as a giant might seize a babe. The intelligent theist repudiates such a notion as too puerile for consideration. The fact is that law is simply the method by which a power works. Apart from the power, law has no significance. When used in relation to the world the term means the method of the divine activity. But with this understanding of the word the assumed difficulties quickly disappear. Back of the divine method is the divine will. A change in the will produces a change in the method. If He who is all in all chooses to employ for some special purpose a new method there is no clashing of forces. There is simply, for the time being, the introduction of a new law, which is the direct manifestation of the infinite will. This law remains in operation until the divine pleasure is accomplished, and then there is a return to the former method.

It may thus be said that when a miracle is wrought God simply neutralizes one law by the introduction of another. There is no violation or suspension of any law. The Christian conception of Deity, as immanent Spirit freely working throughout all creation, at once disposes of all objections against the miraculous. Whenever the divine will so determines miracles can take place without in the slightest degree disturbing the

equipose of nature. The extraordinary in the sight of God is no more strange than the ordinary.

II. The second proposition is that God's moral nature is holy love. This fact is clearly set forth in Scripture. It appears very evident that it was intended that man should see in Deity the Holy One whose love is all-embracing. The various moral attributes of the divine nature have their foundation in the ideas of holiness and love. Justice and righteousness, as displayed in moral government, are manifestations of holiness. Out of love springs compassion, patience, and mercy. The notion of holiness is early developed in revelation, but it is accompanied by views of love. It will be found throughout the Old Testament that the two are in close association, presenting in their unity the completed conception of Deity in his relation to man.

The New Testament likewise puts emphasis upon these characteristics. "Be ye holy; for I am holy" appears in one of the epistles, and in another the words, "God is love." The latter statement is worthy of special notice. It affirms that God is not merely loving, but is love. An identity is asserted. It is not said that God is holiness, but that he is holy. There is no place in the divine nature apart from creation for an attribute which depends for its significance upon a standard of right and wrong. Holiness, as a perfection of the Infinite, obtains its meaning from the relation that Deity sustains to his creatures under a moral government. Hence the fitness of the remark "I am holy," not "I am holiness." But the statement "God is love" carries us back of all creation. Before ever the worlds were made or any creature had been formed, in his own self-sufficiency Deity was love.

Undoubtedly a philosophy of the Trinity is impossible. The idea transcends human powers of comprehension. But the assertion that "God is love" appears to throw light upon the doctrine. The language of Scripture makes it certain that there are three personal subsistencies in the unity of the divine nature. A Christian is called upon to believe in "the Father, the eternal Son of the Father, and the Holy Spirit, eternally proceeding from the Father and the Son." Here is a great mystery, which, from the conditions of the case, cannot be pictured to the imagination. This does not, however, mean that

it is self-contradictory or unbelievable. There are many things which are reasonable and which can be believed, but which cannot be fully understood. Man may apprehend some phases of truths which he cannot entirely comprehend. Unaided reason never could have discovered the notion of the Trinity. It had to be revealed. But Scripture does not teach that there are three Gods. It distinctly asserts that there is but one God. There is a fundamental unity in the Trinity. A believer is baptized into the one name, "the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." The New Testament cannot be understood except on the ground of a numerical Trinity having its basis in an organic unity.

That a plurality in unity exists, though not picturable to the mind, seems to be implied by the doctrine of God's moral nature. One cannot love without an object of affection. As love in very essence God existed from all eternity. Manifestly there must have been eternally present an object of regard. A community in the divine nature appears to be required by the very necessities of the case. "Thou lovedst me before the foundation of the world," said Jesus the Son as he addressed the Father. In the very beginning, before the worlds were made, the Son, who in the fullness of time became the incarnate Word, was with the Father. In the thought of love as identical with the moral nature of Deity there is thus discovered a suggestion of that plurality in the unity of God which revelation has unfolded in the doctrine of the Trinity.

Turning from the idea of the Infinite in his absolute self-sufficiency to that of Supreme Ruler in connection with moral government, the conception of his nature, as the sum of the two perfections holiness and love, gives a key to biblical history. From some standpoints the Scriptures are quite unintelligible. It is not a matter of surprise that critics have found a great deal of fault with them when the position from which they have been viewed is considered. Especial difficulty has been encountered in dealing with the morality of the Old Testament. An unqualified approval of it has been looked upon as a great burden. The fancied trouble, however, entirely disappears when God is thought of as holy love working through the centuries, as best he could with the material at his disposal, for the development of a great design and gradually unfolding through

a chosen people a gracious purpose concerning the race. From this standpoint the history of Israel is a wonderful illustration of providential care and a luminous commentary on the divine solicitude for human welfare. From the choice of Abraham, through all the stages in the career of the Hebrew nation, there was a steady onward movement of forces, under the direction of an overruling Power, working steadily in the interests of human happiness. Everything was made to contribute to the intended end. If the heavy hand of displeasure was laid upon a rebellious generation it was for the good of all concerned. A vindictive spirit was nowhere manifested. Jehovah often reproved and rebuked, but always that he might ultimately bless. In sending Elijah to condemn Israel for her wickedness there was as real an evidence of love as in giving manna to the wanderers in the wilderness or staying the waters of the Jordan before the advancing host. The treatment of the Canaanites, Philistines, and Moabites was likewise dictated by a sincere concern for the welfare of man. The inheritance of these peoples was not taken from them till the cup of their iniquity was full and they had demonstrated their unfitness for the positions they occupied. Then they were removed to give place to others better qualified for working out the purposes of the Almighty. Scripture history is really the record of the unfolding of a beneficent plan conceived in the interests of humanity by a wise Creator. In the light of this fact embarrassments vanish and the Bible becomes intelligible and consistent.

Not only is there in this conception of God an explanation of Jehovah's dealings with the Hebrew people, but also the only proper account of the moral government of the world. It is not difficult to discern in the course of the years an orderly trend of moral forces. One after another nations that have outlived their usefulness have passed away. Steadily a power which makes for righteousness has wrought in human society. Out of confusion and uproar have come peace and quietness. The Christian notion of a God who is deeply interested in his creatures and constantly and mightily energizes in their behalf easily solves the problem which lies in the ethical phenomena of history.

There remains to be considered the crowning expression of holy love in the incarnation. For a time Deity was content to

send messengers to disclose his will; but there came an hour when he made bare his own right arm for the salvation of men. In the person of Jesus Christ he entered into union with humanity. Before the eyes of wondering saints and angels the marvelous spectacle appeared of Immanuel—God with us—walking over the stony pathway of mortal existence and climbing the toilsome slope of Calvary, that by an unparalleled self-sacrifice he might redeem the race. In the cross of Christ love found its loftiest illustration. The Christian conception of God measures the sublime condescension displayed in the atonement by the distance between the glory of Jehovah's throne and the ignominy of a shameful crucifixion. No greater self-humiliation than this was possible. It challenges the wonder and admiration of heaven and earth. The amazing fact stands out in solitary grandeur, unapproached and unapproachable.

The conception of the divine nature thus outlined is worthy of Him who fills immensity with his presence. It offers a satisfactory explanation of world experience. Before it all pagan notions stand rebuked and discredited. Moral deformity has everywhere characterized the deities of heathenism. They have reflected the temper and disposition of the peoples by whom they have been worshiped. The biblical doctrine rises to an immeasurable height above all the passions and follies of men. It shows a Deity who is the Absolute and Perfect One. As immanent Spirit and holy love he meets the demands of reason and the longings of the human heart. Tested by the influence exerted on character and life, this view of God is the one that deserves to stand. The Christian believer has no cause to apologize for his faith. More and more as men grow in wisdom will they appreciate the scriptural teaching concerning the Creator and Sustainer of all things and be led to bestow on it their sincere approbation.

Willis J. Odell

Art. V.—THE NEW MUNICIPAL MOVEMENT.

A distinct change of tone is observed in recent discussions of the city problem. The modern city has been called the "plague spot of modern times," the most serious "menace to our civilization," our "impending peril," and other names like these. Long ago Thomas Jefferson branded the city as the "ulcer of our body politic." Francis Lieber characterized the city as "the most perplexing and difficult problem of modern times." De Tocqueville said: "I look upon the size of certain American cities, and especially upon the nature of their population, as a real danger which threatens the security of the democratic republics of the new world." Mr. Bryce declares that "the government of cities is the one conspicuous failure of the United States." Ex-President White, of Cornell, writes it down as his sober judgment that "without the slightest exaggeration, with very few exceptions, the city governments of the United States are the worst in Christendom—the most expensive, the most inefficient, and the most corrupt."

All that is very serious, and especially serious in view of the fact that these "ulcers" and "plague spots" continue to grow and their dangers to increase. People knowing how evil and menacing these great centers are not only remain in them but move to them. The modern Sodom is Sodom, indeed, but immense hosts prefer to take their chances for themselves and their families in the modern Sodom. The great majority prefer urban to rural environment.

There are two ways of regarding the situation. Up to a recent date the evils and perils have had the emphasis. Many have considered the city a necessity, indeed, but also a necessary evil, unhappily destined to be permanent. The municipal pessimist abounds. On the other hand, it is thought by many careful students that, while the evils abound, the remedies are at hand. Many who see that the city is the inevitable order, as Dr. Albert Shaw puts it, hold also that this inevitable order furnishes the best possible condition for us and our descendants. "The present evils of city life are for the most part temporary and remediable. The conditions and circumstances of existence in the modern city can be so adjusted to the needs of the

population as to result in the highest development of the race, physically, intellectually, and ethically." Dr. Parkhurst calls the city "the problem of the devil in a big town." But Guthrie took the optimistic view: "I bless God for cities. Cities have been as lamps of life along the pathway of humanity and religion. Within them science has given birth to her noblest discoveries. Behind their walls freedom has fought her noblest battles. Cities have been the cradles of human liberty. They have been the active centers of almost all Church and State reformation. I cannot regard them either as excrescences or tumors, nor would I destroy them. I bless God for them."

I do not propose to discuss or even to review the evangelistic movements in the cities, but rather the plans of the larger campaign. City missions, institutional churches, and all those benevolent, reformatory, and evangelistic agencies which are so fruitful of good are well understood. But there is a movement, calling itself civic, not religious, which has in it elements of great power and advantage to the efforts called religious. The new movement has several points in its program:

1. It aims to understand the city problem, and then to create a science of municipal administration. Many readers of the *Review* know that there is now a large and determined body known as the National Municipal League, and that four national conferences for good city government have now been held. Philadelphia, Minneapolis, Cleveland, and Baltimore are the cities thus far honored by this body. Mr. Bryce's indictment of our municipal administration is not at all surprising. National and State administration has been the theme for our past study. Our great text-books have been strong on federal and State lines, but silent or weak on all municipal lines. Our great statesmen have shone in federal or State administration. Our eagle is not a municipal bird. Meantime our cities have grown faster than the skill and wisdom to govern them, and they have been subordinated to State and federal interests in a most harmful and unwise way. The student of civil government during the next quarter century will not know less about the federal Constitution or the rights of States, but he will know more about the science of municipal government. Already some studies adapted for use as text-books have appeared, and in several colleges and universities provision has

been made for instruction in this science. An abundant literature has already been created, including the reports of the conferences just mentioned, the very valuable volumes by Dr. Shaw upon *Municipal Government in Great Britain* and *Municipal Government in Continental Europe*, and many others. The campaign may be called thus far a campaign of education and study. The National Municipal League has not yet fallen into the pitfall of trying to secure an immediate reform of various cities. By comparison, by report, by discussion, by experiment it is earnestly trying to create a science of municipal government and a sentiment in its favor. It proposes, in its own language, "to multiply the numbers, harmonize the methods, and combine the forces of all who realize that it is only by united action and organization that good citizens can secure the adoption of good laws and the selection of men of trained ability and proved integrity for all municipal positions, or prevent the success of incompetent or corrupt candidates for public office; to promote the thorough investigation and discussion of the conditions and details of civic administration, and of the methods for selecting and appointing officials in American cities, and of laws and ordinances relating to such subjects; to provide for such meetings and conferences, and for the preparation and circulation of such addresses and other literature, as may seem likely to advance the cause of good city government." Many other organizations are working toward the same end.

2. The students of municipal government are pretty well agreed that "municipal government is business, not politics." "It now costs more to carry on the city of San Francisco than it does to run the rest of the State" (*Outlook*, July 11, 1896). The business interests of New York city are much larger than those of the State. Its finances are five or six times as large. *The Independent* of September 13, 1894, uses these figures concerning New York: "In 1893 the receipts of the city treasury were nearly $92,000,000, the payments almost a million larger, while those of the State for the same period were about $18,000,000." These figures tell their own story. Here is the opportunity for public plunder. Here also is the demand for the largest ability and the most conspicuous character. But up to date no American city has ever been administered as a munic-

ipality. Its elections have taken place and its affairs conducted with reference to the State and the nation. Denver has had within the past four years at least two "city hall wars." Under each of them observers could easily distinguish live wires running to the county courthouse, the State house, the United States Senate, and even the White House. It was freely said and nowhere denied that the city's affairs, her offices, her revenues were largely administered with direct reference to a complicated scheme of State and national politics. Men were appointed firemen and others policemen because of services rendered or to be rendered to the governor, the United States senators, and other officers. Appropriations were granted or refused for purely political reasons. Under the stress of public excitement a few men were dismissed, a few officers changed, and the system left undisturbed. This is true of every considerable city in the United States. Meantime the real interests of a city center in the management of finances, the care of streets and parks, good fire and police protection, public health, public improvements, libraries, law and order, art and education, commerce and houses. And these, *per se*, have nothing to do with such interesting questions as the tariff, the Cuban question, a new navy, or even the silver question. Party lines seem to be necessary. No attack is made upon them here. It is only contended that, since municipal affairs are such purely business affairs, they should be conducted on a business basis. The national parties should, as parties, keep their hands off city affairs. In cities the lines of cleavage should be different. The expensiveness and inefficiency of city governments are largely due to the fact that the public money is appropriated and squandered for purely political purposes. The president of an excise board in a large city recently said to a friend: "I have been appointed by the governor to this office. I shall make the department the most complete political machine for the governor's benefit the city has ever seen." It is easy to see what the policy of such an officer must be. He will not be interested in economy, for the larger his funds the more agents he can employ. He will be more anxious to secure men with political efficiency than those capable of doing their real work. And the city pays the bills. The "regular ticket" will have the right of way. Says Mr. Bryce again:

> At present the disposition to run and vote for candidates according to party is practically universal, although the duty of party loyalty is deemed less binding than in State or federal elections. . . . However, though the tenets of Republicans and Democrats have absolutely nothing to do with the conduct of city affairs, though the sole object of the election, say of a city comptroller or auditor, may be to find an honest man of good business habits, four fifths of the electors in nearly all cities give little thought to the personal qualifications of the candidates and vote the "straight-out ticket."

And heretofore about the only exception has been the spasmodic attempt to elect a nonpartisan ticket, which is usually a bipartisan "deal" by which both national parties get their hands into the city treasury. "They represent their parties first, and serve the city afterward." This complication of city with State and national politics is one of the chief obstacles in the way of reform. "It will cost us the governorship, and possibly the presidency," is the familiar cry. And good men by the thousand vote the regular ticket in the city election or indorse a wicked municipal measure because they fear for the State or national election. The cities are the center and throne of the saloon evil. "Municipal government is business, not politics." No one pretends that maintaining the saloon is good business. But because it appears to be good politics the saloon is intrenched. Every interest of the city requires that it should go, but the managers of the State and national politics declare that the saloon vote must not be alienated. And it stays. Business says it must go. Politics says it must stay. The business is municipal, the politics State and national. The municipality must be municipalized, not only in the interest of economy and efficiency, but in the interest of such reform as this. The process of changing all this so that city affairs shall be administered on this basis of business is long and difficult. But the sentiment in favor of it grows. The new movement, with its campaign of education, seeks to accomplish this change.

3. Another point in the campaign is the securing of home rule for cities. Frequent interference on the part of legislatures has not proved advantageous to the cities. American cities must have the largest opportunities for self-government. The people within the walls certainly know as well and care as much for the interests of the city as do the inhabitants of the distant parts of the State. Many legislators have never seen a large

city. There is nearly always a jealousy or dislike of the city. The country member resents its "airs" and pretensions. He is quick to oppose whatever is proposed by the city. He has no personal interest in the city and little knowledge of its necessities. The consequence is easily seen, as it might be easily foreseen. City government is partly a failure because no American city has yet had perfect home rule. A division of power and responsibility between a mayor and governor seemed wise and necessary in view of serious abuses of power, but the cure is not satisfactory. There is, therefore, everywhere a tendency to return to the principle of home rule, the centralizing of power, with a corresponding location of responsibility. It is an anomaly in administration that one man should be mayor while a half dozen principal departments of the city government should be under the control of the governor, often a man from the country and elected by rural votes. In a large western city the entire fire, police, and public works departments are under boards appointed by the governor. The mayor of the city has no control over them. When any failure or malfeasance occurs the mayor blames the governor, the governor blames the mayor, the people are unable to decide, but they pay the bills. Somebody is removed, but the system remains. The new campaign aims at the largest degree of self-determination in local affairs.

4. Another feature of the movement is the demand for genuine civil service reform in making municipal appointments. The current demand that appointments should be made upon the ground of fitness and merit is not lacking in grotesqueness —as if any other reasons should ever exist for an appointment! Chicago has largely extended the merit system. New York has done the same. Brooklyn had for several years a most efficient civil service commission. Philadelphia, since 1885, has required a "systematic, open, and competitive examination of applicants" for department positions; but the rules made it easy to have the appearance of civil service and, at the same time, the most complete loyalty to party. The worst henchmen in the world are those who are appointed apparently for merit, but actually as a political reward. Civil service reform opens the way for men to serve the city with honor. Every extension of it has justified itself. The long argument for civil service reform—the argument enriched by the eloquence and

devotion of George William Curtis for years—is complete. No further argument is needed. Application and action are now in order. The spoils system must be abolished. The party boss must be deprived of the power to reward his henchmen by robbing the treasury. Partisan tests are not fit tests. It has been shown in a half dozen recent investigations that policemen appointed for political services, with no firm tenure of office, have made hay while the sun was shining. They were not appointed because honest, faithful, competent, and efficient. Their terms were likely to expire with the term of the boss whom they served. Freely they have enriched themselves by accepting bribes for shielding lawbreakers and demanding hush money in abundance. Sworn to serve the city, they have served only themselves, their bosses, and, as far as possible, their parties. The spoils system must be destroyed—root and branch. The reformers are agreed upon that.

5. The students and reformers are also agreed that valuable franchises ought not to be given without some advantage returning to the city. Just the form which this should take is not clear. In some cases there is an imperative demand for municipal ownership and control of all such institutions as street railways, water works, electric and gaslight works. But the ownership and control of these institutions must be preceded by some other reforms, like the civil service reform. Cities have been notoriously reckless in giving franchises. Many have been bought outright by bribing aldermen. Abundant proofs of that can be found. The purchase price is usually reckoned as a part of the cost of a new plant. Professor Bemis states that an attorney and director for a Chicago corporation told him that his corporation had set aside $100,000 to buy the Chicago City Council during a few months. The money was not for the city treasury. The recent contract made between the city of Chicago and the promoters of what is known as the "loop extension" is a distinct recognition of the principle that public franchises should contribute to public funds. There are many difficulties surrounding this branch of municipal government, but they are not insuperable. The remedy for them does not lie in the present practice.

6. I have purposely left until the last the mention of one of the principal features of the current movement—the creation of

a civic ideal and ambition. No one believes that even a perfect charter will secure good government. A perfect charter is only an instrument with which citizens work. Malicious or stupid men can do vast damage even under a perfect charter. The civic spirit has been lacking. "We have thought this thing over, and we find that it pays better to neglect our city affairs than to attend to them; that we can make more money in the time required for the full discharge of our political duties than the politicians can steal from us on account of our neglect." Here, after all, is the real root of the trouble. "How can you get honest people to work as hard to get honest men elected as dishonest people work to get dishonest men elected?" said a member of the Civic Federation of Chicago at a meeting of that body. "Good government, like every other good thing, comes high," was the lesson Honestus learned at the caucus. The price is now pretty well known. "The first great task of the Civic Federation is to arouse thought, discussion, intelligence, and force convictions of right and wrong in public matters home to the heart of American citizens; it must reach the masses or it will fail." The governorship of a State is an office to be coveted. The White House lies along that path. But the governorship of few States equals in importance the office of mayor in a great city. The civic ideal, the civic spirit, the civic ambition—the creation of these is part of the program of the practical dreamers giving time and study to the subject of municipal reform. The next election cuts only a small figure with them. Many a noble reform has struck on that rock. It has staked everything on a single election. Winning, it has concluded that everything was accomplished; losing, that everything was lost. Electing a ticket is a small achievement when compared with the creation of a system and a sentiment.

William J. McDowell

Art. VI—DANTE GABRIEL ROSSETTI AND HIS SISTER CHRISTINA.

To one who believes that there is in a name some mysterious power influencing the destiny of a human being, the painter-poet, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, affords an example in evidence. Rossetti himself seems never to have forgotten the fact that he bore the name of Italy's greatest bard. The man upon whom devolves the burden of an illustrious name, if he be not borne down by it into listless despair, may be aroused to supreme endeavors to live up to the expectations of the friends who in addressing him involuntarily recall his glorious prototype.

Dante Gabriel Rossetti was a remarkable member of a remarkable family. Such a group of children as Dante Gabriel, William Michael, and Christina G. Rossetti are seldom found in the same household. Even the quiet, claustral spirit of the elder sister, Maria, was a shrine whence the clear-pointed flame of genius burned heavenward, though it was not for the world's curious gaze. Rossetti's father, Gabriele Rossetti, was a Neapolitan political refugee resident in London, and one of the most highly esteemed of Italy's recent patriotic poets. He was a profound and lifelong student of Dante, concerning whose works he cherished theories peculiarly his own. The mother of Dante Rossetti was of mixed English and Italian parentage, so that in the veins of the artist there was more Italian than English blood.

Gabriel Charles Dante Rossetti, known to the world as Dante Gabriel Rossetti, was born May 12, 1828, in London. He was the second of four children, Christina, his sister, being the youngest. In the characteristics which distinguished Dante Rossetti, and Christina as well, were included some of the rarest qualities of the two nationalities which in these notable lives came to their confluence. Dante and Christina were both scribblers in their childhood, writing stories and verses successively, the example being set them in their home by their tireless father, from whose pen flowed poems and other compositions innumerable. Dante's schooling was not of the broadest kind, though when he left King's College in the summer of 1842 he was reasonably well acquainted with Sallust, Ovid,

and Vergil, knew the rudiments of Greek, and could read easily in French.

With Rossetti's peculiarities and skill in the art of painting we have little to do here, except as he illustrated the Preraphaelite theories of art by his brush as well as by his verse. Rossetti is better known as a writer than as a painter, since, throughout his entire life, he was averse to placing his canvases on public exhibition. His regular preparation for the profession of painting was of brief duration. After a period of study at Cary's drawing academy he was admitted as a student in the Antique School of the Royal Academy. He did not complete his course in this school, finding it irksome to subject himself to methods prescribed by others, and liking always to do things in his own way. As the head of the Preraphaelite Brotherhood he displayed a power and originality in his art work which compelled the attention of connoisseurs to the fact that a new intellectual force had made its advent among them. Ruskin early became one of Rossetti's patrons, so that the singular endowments of the young artist are beyond question. Notwithstanding the present tendency to belittle the so-called Preraphaelite movement—and Rossetti himself ere his death seemed to think lightly of it—the ability of such men as Rossetti, Millais, Holman Hunt, Woolner, Collinson, and Stephens exerted an influence which is felt at this very day in the world of art.

On the side of letters, also, it is no slight proof of poetic puissance to make one's voice heard and imitated amid the babel of minor singers ever challenging the public ear. Dante Rossetti early and easily rose above the mass of bardlings whose parrotlike repetitions of the master's manner might, mauger their maddening wearisomeness, be regarded as the sincerest form of flattery. When "The Blessed Damozel" appeared, written when Rossetti was in his nineteenth year, he who ran might read that a new luminary, brilliant and unique, had risen in our poetical skies. The extraordinary symbolism employed by this writer, the earthly passion projected into spiritual experiences, the human longing surviving amid celestial environments, the sensuous, almost sensual, beauty breathing through the entire poem, set its author apart as a real and distinct energy in the literature of his generation. This poem

was avowedly written to be the counterpart of Poe's "Raven." As the latter poem depicts from the earthly viewpoint the yearnings of bereaved affection, so "The Blessed Damozel" portrays the same emotions from the celestial side. Scattered through this poem there are successive lines and stanzas as unforgetable as anything that has ever been written:

The blessed damozel leaned out
  From the gold bar of heaven;
Her eyes were deeper than the depth
  Of waters stilled at even;
She had three lilies in her hand,
  And the stars in her hair were seven.
. . . . . .

Her hair that lay along her back
  Was yellow like ripe corn.
. . . . . .

Beneath, the tides of day and night
  With flame and darkness ridge
The void, as low as where this earth
  Spins like a fretful midge.
. . . . . .

And the souls mounting up to God
  Went by her like thin flames.
. . . . . .

And still she bowed herself and stooped
  Out of the circling charm;
Until her bosom must have made
  The bar she leaned on warm,
And the lilies lay as if asleep
  Along her bended arm.
. . . . . .

The sun was gone now; the curled moon
  Was like a little feather
Fluttering far down the gulf.
. . . . . .

I'll take his hand and go with him
  To the deep wells of light;
As unto a stream we will step down,
  And bathe there in God's sight.
. . . . . .

We two will stand beside that shrine,
  Occult, withheld, untrod,
Whose lamps are stirred continually
  With prayer sent up to God;
And see our old prayers, granted, melt
  Each like a little cloud.

Given a compound of Poe and Shelley and Keats and Baudelaire and Vaughan, with an added element of a completely novel personality interfused through the whole, and you have a Dante Gabriel Rossetti. In his employment of parentheses and refrains Rossetti, like William Morris, sometimes irritates his readers by what seem to be mere affectations and mannerisms. To not a few, also, Rossetti's mysticism is far from pleasant, though this, be it said, is the weird moonlight flower whose roots struck into those shadowy deeps where lay united, not to be dissevered, the genius and the life of the man. Rossetti, with his mysticism eliminated, would have been another and, to one reader at least, a less pleasing Rossetti than the poet whom we know and have learned to love.

Let it not for a moment be supposed that Rossetti's mystical tendencies froze within his bosom the kindly stream of human interest and fellowship. His heart ever beat in tune with the pulsations that stirred the common heart of the world. He was an admirer and defender of Robert Browning while as yet that great poet was generally unknown or was mentioned only in terms of ridicule and jest. He was characterized by a quick and generous appreciation of ability in others, and always stood ready in every possible manner to encourage struggling talent. Philip Bourke Marston, the blind poet, Oliver Madox Brown, our own Walt Whitman, and others shared the helpful interest which he manifested in his fellows of the pen and the palette. Rossetti preserved not a little of his boyish relish for fun nearly to the close of his life. In 1874 he writes to his brother William: "At present I am going about with a black patch over my nose. Last night Jenny *fille* and I agreed to shriek at the same moment, one 'Crupy' and the other 'Crawly,' in Dizzy's [the dog's] two ears, while May beat a tattoo on the top of his head. The instant result was that he turned round howling and bit me—fortunately not Jenny—across the nose, at which I am not surprised." A warm, full-blooded, abundant humanitarianism flows through many of Rossetti's lines, notably the poem entitled "Jenny," written before the poet had attained his majority, than which no more simple, natural, broadly philosophic production in verse, and none more fully embodying the spirit of the thirteenth chapter of First Corinthians, has been published within the present

century. This poem enters into the discussion of a subject which few writers of prose or poetry would dare or care to undertake, namely, a courtesan who receives the visit of a man by night and who falls asleep upon his knee, thus arousing within him through "dead, unhappy hours" of watching reflections painful and pitiful to the last degree. The delicacy, the strength, the certainty of touch, the exquisite loveliness of this poem are beyond praise. Here, too, are memorable couplets, the grace, perfume, and unexpectedness of which are like early violets in the young grass:

> Poor handful of bright spring water
> Flung in the whirlpool's shrieking face.
> . . . . . .
> But must your roses die, and those
> Their purpled buds that should unclose?
> Even so; the leaves are curled apart,
> Still red as from the broken heart,
> And here's the naked stem of thorns.
> . . . . . .
> The cold lamps at the pavement's edge
> Wind on together and apart,
> A fiery serpent for your heart.
> . . . . . .
> Like a toad within a stone
> Seated while time crumbles on;
> Which sits there since the earth was cursed
> For man's transgression at the first;
> Which, living through all centuries,
> Not once has seen the sun arise;
> Whose life, to its cold circle charmed,
> The earth's whole summers have not warmed;
> Which always—whitherso the stone
> Be flung—sits there, deaf, blind, alone;—
> Aye, and shall not be driven out
> Till that which shuts him round about
> Break at the very Master's stroke,
> And the dust thereof vanish as smoke,
> And the seed of man vanish as dust—
> Even so within the world is lust.

As a writer of sonnets Dante Rossetti is well-nigh unequaled. Some of his sonnets written for pictures are nearly unapproachable in excellence, while the sonnet-sequence entitled "The House of Life" surpasses in richness, variety, and abounding vitality any other sonnet-sequence whatsoever, not excepting the "Sonnets from the Portuguese." Like a cleft

pomegranate, this red-vined fruit of a fertile life, opened anywhere, shows the crimson heart within as the heart of a man. What treasures were buried from mortal delight in the poems interred in the same grave with the poet's dead wife, and afterward exhumed, these sonnets of "The House of Life" may reveal. Here is one, under the caption "Broken Music:"

> The mother will not turn, who thinks she hears
> Her nursling's speech first grow articulate;
> But breathless, with averted eyes elate,
> She sits, with open lips and open ears,
> That it may call her twice. 'Mid doubts and fears
> Thus oft my soul has hearkened; till the song,
> A central moan for days, at length found tongue,
> And the sweet music welled and the sweet tears.
> But now, whatever while the soul is fain
> To list that wonted murmur, as it were
> The speech-bound seashell's low, importunate strains—
> No breath of song, thy voice alone is there,
> O bitterly beloved! and all her gain
> Is but the pang of unpermitted prayer.

The manner in which Dante Rossetti formed the acquaintance of Miss Elizabeth Eleanor Siddal, the lady who afterward became his wife, is sufficiently romantic. Walter Howell Deverell, a young painter much liked, though not a member of the Preraphaelite Brotherhood, one day accompanied his mother to a bonnet shop in Cranborne Alley, and among the shop assistants saw a young woman handing down a bandbox. She was very beautiful, tall, finely molded, with a lofty neck and a wealth of coppery, golden hair. Deverell obtained the privilege of sittings from this lovely model, whom Rossetti soon after saw, admired, loved, and to whom he became engaged to be married. Miss Siddal herself developed artistic talents of no mean order. Of her Rossetti said: "Her fecundity of invention and facility are quite wonderful—much greater than mine." The single published specimen of her verses is very far from discreditable to her skill in this direction. "Guggum," "Guggums," and "Gug" seem to have been the whimsical, and not very euphonious, pet names which Rossetti applied to his fair one. Miss Siddal's health was extremely delicate, and she died of an overdose of laudanum in less than two years after her marriage with Rossetti in 1860.

It appears to be a well-established fact that from the year

1872 until the close of his life, in 1882, Rossetti was mentally unbalanced. The excessive use of chloral and whisky was probably contributory to, if it did not produce, this deplorable result. In the *Contemporary Review* for October, 1871, an article was published under the caption "The Fleshly School of Poetry—Mr. D. G. Rossetti." The article was signed by one Thomas Maitland. Not long thereafter it came to the knowledge of Rossetti that Thomas Maitland was none other than Mr. Robert Buchanan, the English poet, novelist, and essayist. The critique was unduly severe, and to Rossetti probably unjust. Mr. Buchanan has since retracted the strictures contained in the article, and in a manly way has expressed his high appreciation of Rossetti's work. But such was the mental and physical distemper of the unhappy artist that, upon the publication of Mr. Buchanan's criticism, his mental equilibrium was upset, and it was never again wholly restored. For years he was subject to delusions of the most painful character. Old friends were regarded as united in a conspiracy against him, and even strangers were accused of intentionally insulting him. When Mr. Browning's "Fifine at the Fair" was published Rossetti at once seized upon certain lines toward the close of the poem as containing a covert, but spiteful, attack upon himself. Mr. Dodgson (Lewis Carroll) wrote a nonsensical poem entitled "The Hunting of the Snark." This Rossetti also declared to be a pasquinade directed against his fair fame. Again, while at Broadlands, a friend's seat in Hampshire, Rossetti one day became greatly excited at a thrush singing in a neighboring garden, fancying that the bird had been trained by the enemies of his peace to "ejaculate something insulting to him." On still another occasion he suddenly left Kelmscott, where he had been sojourning for a season, having plunged into a quarrel with some anglers by the river, conceiving them to have uttered something derogatory to him. Yet through all this dark period he continued to paint and write with even more than his former skill and industry.

Rossetti's home for many years was at Tudor House, Chelsea. Here dwelt with him at one time Swinburne and George Meredith, and at a later date Hall Caine. Here, also, Rossetti gathered about him much old furniture and crockery, inaugurating the fashion of collecting bric-a-brac which so generally

prevailed a few years ago. One charming trait of Rossetti's character appears in the tender and thoughtful affection which he ever cherished toward his mother. In his beautifully filial letters to her he again and again addresses her as "My Dearest Mother," and sometimes by the absurdly affectionate titles of "Teaksicunculum" and "Darling Teaksicum." He closes one epistle to his mother thus: "Take care of your dear, funny old self, and believe me your most loving son."

Rossetti's grave is at Birchington-on-Sea, where he closed his eyes on this world April 9, 1882. The tombstone, which is an Irish cross, was designed by Madox Brown. The inscription, written by William Michael Rossetti, is as follows:

Here sleeps Gabriel Charles Dante Rossetti, honored, under the name of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, among painters as a painter, and among poets as a poet. Born in London, of parentage mainly Italian, 12 May, 1828. Died at Birchington, 9 April, 1882. This cruciform monument, bespoken by Dante Rossetti's mother, was designed by his lifelong friend Ford Madox Brown, executed by J. and H. Patteson, and erected by his brother William and sister Christina.

The world, so tardy to recognize, so slow to remember, its flame-winged ministers of song, will not consent to forget Dante Gabriel Rossetti. His clayey form has melted from human sight like a mist-born vision of the morning, but the breath of his genius still lingers to awaken music in rare and sensitive souls, as the wind murmurs through an Æolian harp. His memory shall not be as his own dissolving image, of which he sang in "Love's Nocturn:"

Like a vapor wan and mute,
  Like a flame, so let it pass;
One low sigh across her lute,
  One dull breath against her glass;
  And to my sad soul, alas!
    One salute
  Cold as when death's foot shall pass.

In the poetry of Christina G. Rossetti may be clearly traced the austere beauty of a chaste and nun-like spirit. The poems of the brother and of the sister have very little in common except an underlying seriousness of purpose and an almost fastidious sense of melody. Christina's verse may be said to uniformly express the conflicts, the longings, and the aspirations

of a deeply religious mind. Her treatment of pietistic themes is all her own, and it is astonishing what a varied music she is able to produce upon a single string. It cannot be doubted that, upon the whole, the sister's outlook upon life was saner than that of the brother, whose latter years were so sadly clouded by mental infirmity.

When, not long ago, the voice of Christina Rossetti sank into the hush of death, England lost her sweetest songstress since Mrs. Browning sent up her swan-notes beneath Italian skies. Undoubtedly the contact into which Christina was brought with the clever young men who were the associates of her brothers, as recorded in the two recent volumes containing the memoir and family letters of Dante Rossetti, aided her not a little in the development of her intellectual life. She seemed easily to command all the melodious resources of which our language is capable. "Goblin Market" is a bizarre fantasy wrought out with utmost adroitness, the lesson of which seems to be contained in the closing lines:

> For there is no friend like a sister,
> In calm or stormy weather,
> To cheer one on the tedious way,
> To fetch one if one goes astray,
> To lift one if one totters down,
> To strengthen whilst one stands.

But it is in her lyrics that she is preeminent. The dewy freshness and simplicity of such a song as that beginning,

> My heart is like a singing bird
> Whose nest is in a watered shoot,

well illustrate the lark-like quality of Miss Rossetti's notes. "Another Spring," and the song "When I Am Dead, My Dearest," are all but flawless in their way. How sweet and graceful are her strains the last mentioned lyric well attests:

> When I am dead, my dearest,
> Sing no sad songs for me;
> Plant thou no roses at my head,
> Nor shady cypress tree:
> Be the green grass above me
> With showers and dewdrops wet;
> And if thou wilt, remember,
> And if thou wilt, forget.

I shall not see the shadows,
  I shall not feel the rain;
I shall not hear the nightingale
  Sing on, as if in pain:
And, dreaming through the twilight
  That doth not rise nor set,
Haply I may remember,
  And haply may forget.

Miss Rossetti's devotional pieces are shot through and through with the lovely fancies and exalted symbolisms of the genuine poet. Unlike most religious verse, hers is lifted far above the dreariness and commonplaces of mediocrity. Her own intense individuality informs every stanza, almost every line. Here is a brief poem entitled "Weary in Well-doing:"

I would have gone; God bade me stay:
  I would have worked; God bade me rest.
He broke my will from day to day,
  He read my yearnings unexpressed,
    And said them nay.

Now I would stay; God bids me go:
  Now I would rest; God bids me work.
He breaks my heart tossed to and fro,
  My soul is wrung with doubts that lurk
    And vex it so.

I go, Lord, where thou sendest me;
  Day after day I plod and moil:
But, Christ my God, when will it be
  That I may let alone my toil,
    And rest with thee?

In the Preface to the recent volume, *New Poems by Christina Rossetti*, her brother, William Michael Rossetti, has recorded the curious fact that, notwithstanding the intimacy of their home life and the large amount of verse which Christina has left to the world, he never saw his sister in the act of composition.

This article concerning this songful twain may not be further prolonged. They lived and sang through their allotted years, and their songs are yet with us. Let us be grateful for them. Now that the singers are beyond the reach of human blame or blessing, hands are not lacking to weave chaplets of praise wherewith to adorn their tombs. Slow, too slow, is this old

world to learn the oft-repeated lesson that the words of panegyric uttered above unconscious dust are as idle and ineffectual as the wind that bears them away. If the dead could be reached by the joys or sorrows of the living, many a heart misjudged and broken, which, despairing, has ceased to beat, would, amid its solemn shadows, be filled with gladness and perpetual peace. Let us hope that the following sonnet, one of Miss Rossetti's best, may not be altogether wide of a precious possibility:

The curtains were half drawn, the floor was swept
And strewn with rushes, rosemary and may
Lay thick upon the bed on which I lay,
Where through the lattice ivy-shadows crept.
He leaned above me, thinking that I slept
And could not hear him; but I heard him say,
"Poor child, poor child!" and as he turned away
Came a deep silence, and I knew he wept.
He did not touch the shroud, or raise the fold
That hid my face, or take my hand in his,
Or ruffle the smooth pillows for my head:
He did not love me living; but once dead
He pitied me; and very sweet it is
To know he still is warm, though I am cold.

James B. Kenyon.

Art. VII.—THE MORMON PROBLEM IN THE WEST.

Mormonism is one of the religious problems which have occupied the thoughts of the evangelical Churches of the United States for the past forty years. That the problem is not generally understood is apparent to those best acquainted with it. We do not here discuss its origin and history, but simply speak of it as it now appears. Mormonism is the dominant religious, social, mercantile, and political force in Utah, which has lately become one of the States of the Union. Beyond this, it is getting large control among the people of three other States, Nevada, Idaho, and Wyoming, and is extending into Arizona and New Mexico.

It is in the West to stay. Its people are settled in a permanent abode. In the beginning they braved the dangers of a long and perilous journey across a trackless desert occupied by Indians hostile to the settlement of the country by the whites, and at a time when few dreamed of railroads and telegraphs. Many of their women walked and pushed handcarts all the way from Omaha to Salt Lake. On the journey they buried some of their children far from human habitation, where the coyotes and wolves often feasted on their remains, the people themselves sometimes eating roots and herbs to keep from starving. In the space of forty years they have turned a wild and dreary desert into smiling fields, meadows, and orchards, so that the Scriptures are literally fulfilled, "The desert shall rejoice, and blossom as the rose." Every traveler through the valleys of Utah must admit the industry and frugality of the people. Their perseverance in reclaiming a vast desolate region, the home of wild beasts, and in making it a land of plenty has but few parallels in history. They have built one large city, Salt Lake, and hundreds of smaller towns and villages. Salt Lake, with its magnificent temple, tabernacle, and assembly house, is one of the wonders of this age. With its broad, shady avenues, gardens full of flowers and shrubbery, and beautiful lawns, it delights every beholder. It is to the Mormon people what Jerusalem and Mecca have been for ages to Jews and Mohammedans. Nothing short of an earthquake or some more terrible visitation of Providence, utterly blotting them

out, will ever remove these people from their chosen place of abode.

The Mormons are increasing. Many people in the East think that Mormonism is waning. This is a mistake. These people are multiplying rapidly. Every year large accessions are made to their numbers by the labors of missionaries sent to the Southern States and to several countries of Europe. They have churches and schools in large numbers. In hundreds of villages in all this West their meeting houses are the only ones to be seen and their bishops and preachers are the only ones the people hear. In a summer "outing" the writer passed through five villages in which are no religious services except the Mormon. In this county—Uinta, Wyoming, sixty miles wide and three hundred long, and having a population of over eight thousand—not a church of any sort except Mormon can be found outside of Evanston, the county seat. This is also true of many of the counties in Utah. Mormon votes elect the officers in all departments of the State government, and the Mormon Church controls the State university. Should a Gentile be elected to office he will do as those already in office do—court the dominant power for bread and butter. An illustration of this is found in the case of a prosecuting attorney of Uinta County, Wyoming. While not himself a Mormon, he has winked at polygamy, although knowing right well the men who have plural wives. As far as enforcing the law against polygamy is concerned, he might as well be an official in the Mormon Church. But some one will ask why the Christian people and business men who are not Mormons do not see that the officers do their duty. The fact is that most business men, whether Christian or not, do not care how many wives a man has if they can secure his trade; and those who do care are powerless.

The Churches are not reaching the Mormons. During the last twenty-five years over two millions of dollars have been put into Utah by the Christian Churches of the East for the purpose of converting the Mormons. While the Churches have been giving their money liberally to build up the Christian faith in all this West, more has been spent in Utah than in any other Western State or Territory. But, so far as converting the Mormons is concerned, this has been largely wasted.

If two hundred real Mormons have been changed and made into earnest evangelical Christians during that time we have not been able to discover them. A Presbyterian pastor who has labored for the past five years in Utah is of opinion that not one hundred Mormons have been converted into actual Christians. For this there are doubtless several distinct reasons:

1. The Mormons are largely a rural people. They occupy all the agricultural valleys and fruit-growing regions in Utah. The work of the evangelical Churches is chiefly given to the cities and railroad towns. There is an aversion on the part of most of the present-day preachers to the old-fashioned Methodist circuits. Hence little is done in the country, and the many thousands of people residing there, especially the young, never hear religious teaching from any other than Mormon tongues.

2. There is little intercourse outside of business between the Mormons and Gentiles. The former are a distinct people, keeping to themselves. There is scarcely more intercourse between the two classes than between whites and negroes in the South.

3. The Mormons resent and resist any effort made to change their religious faith, claiming, as they do, that they are the people of God. For this they present some plausible grounds. They are more evangelical than the Unitarians and Universalists of New England. They believe in the New Testament Scriptures, the divinity of Jesus Christ, and the atonement for sin secured by his death. Their ritual consecrating the bread and water for the sacrament shows this, as do also the sermons of their preachers. Unitarians would be indignant at any evangelical Church sending missionaries among them to convert them to the Christian faith, as if they were heathen. The Mormons have more authority from the Bible for their faith and practice, polygamy included, than have the Unitarians for theirs. When the commissioner from India in a recent Presbyterian General Assembly pleaded that the members of his Church in that country who have plural wives should not be expelled, but educated out of their polygamy, he quoted Bible examples for his plea. The argument against polygamy, like that against slavery, rests chiefly on other grounds than explicit biblical prohibition. Why waste time, money, and labor in carrying on what many regard as a religious crusade against a

quiet, sober, religious, and industrious people? Let the laity and clergy of the other Churches show by superior living and acting that they have a more spiritual religion, and in time the Mormon Church will discard many of her vagaries and learn a better way.

The time has come for the authorities of all evangelical Churches to change their plans of missionary operation in Utah. Mormonism cannot be overcome by the methods now in use, and the missionary money now wasted there ought to be applied to more fruitful fields. If the evangelical Churches will turn their attention more to the higher education of the young men and women they will in time accomplish more satisfactory results. One great mistake made by the Churches in the past has been in failing to provide opportunities for higher education. The Congregationalists are now recognizing this, and have founded the Salt Lake College, which in the not distant future will give them a commanding position. Had the missionary money spent during the past twenty-five years in supporting missionaries in uncongenial, unfruitful, and barren fields, where very few Gentiles live, been put by the Methodist Episcopal Church into a commanding college much greater results would now appear.

Art. VIII.—WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

An eminent architect has described Westminster Abbey as "the most lovely and lovable thing in Christendom." Its architectural beauties have recently been more clearly revealed by the demolition of two rows of houses on the south side of the Poets' Corner. No more valuable street improvement has been effected in Westminster during the last fifty years. An uninterrupted view is now obtained of the south side of the Abbey, of the "incomparable chapter house," and of Henry VII's exquisite Gothic chapel. But it is not merely its architectural beauty that has gained for Westminster Abbey an abiding place in the affections of the Anglo-Saxon race. It is the "head, crown, and diadem of the kingdom," where for centuries the kings and queens of England have been crowned, and then, a little later, laid to rest after their day of power and greatness. Edmund Waller, whose mother was sister to the famous John Hampden, thus speaks of its long line of coronations and funerals:

> That antique pile behold,
> Where royal heads receive the sacred gold;
> It gives them crowns, and does their ashes keep;
> There, made like gods, like mortals there they sleep;
> Making the circle of their reign complete,
> Those suns of empire, where they rise they set.

Westminster Abbey has another and a stronger claim on the affections of our race. It is not merely a royal sanctuary and mausoleum. It has become a temple of fame, where the noblest of England's sons, her courtiers and statesmen, her soldiers and sailors, her poets and musicians, her literary men, her discoverers, her scientists, and her great leaders in religion and philanthropy still live in the heart and memory of their country. A writer in the days of the Commonwealth says that the Abbey "hath always been held the greatest sanctuary and rendezvous of devotion of the whole island, whereunto the situation of the very place seems to contribute much and to strike a holy kind of reverence and sweetness of melting piety in the hearts of the beholders." If Howell were with us to-day he would enlarge his saying. Westminster is now, not merely the temple

of an island, but of a race; for, wherever the Anglo-Saxon has found a home on both sides of the Atlantic and in all corners of the world, this is for him the most sacred and the dearest spot of the mother country.

It is generally held that the first monastery was built on Thorney, in order that its inmates might enjoy the solitude of the Thames marshes. But Mr. Walter Besant, in his recent book on Westminster, maintains that the Isle of Thorns was close to the great highway which led from the north to the Continent. The Saxon Watling Street ended abruptly where Buckingham Palace now stands. From that point to the spot where the Dover Road began, on the southern bank of the Thames, the merchants and wayfarers of the day had to wade across the marshes guided by stakes. They rested a while on Thorney, then pushed across to the Dover Road. The stream of travelers scarcely ceased the whole year round. Merchants with pack horses, strings of slaves for the Continental market, jugglers and minstrels followed each other in quick succession.

The beginnings of the foundation are wrapped in mystery. The eastern cathedral of St. Paul's was reputed to stand where there had once been a temple of Diana; the Western Minister, if we may believe the traditions handed down by the monks, was the successor of a temple to Apollo shaken down by an earthquake in A. D. 154. Lucius, the first British king, was its builder. Sebert, the Anglo-Saxon prince, restored this ruined church in 616. It was to be consecrated by the Bishop of London on the morrow, when the noted "miracle of the hallowing" anticipated the episcopal function. At midnight a venerable stranger roused Edric the fisherman and was by him ferried across the river to Thorney. As he entered Sebert's church a thousand wax tapers shone out and sweet voices chanted music such as mortal ears had never heard before. At last the lights died away and the stranger reappeared. "Know, O Edric," he said, "that I am Peter." He instructed this ferryman to meet the bishop next morning at the door of the church and tell him that the building had already been consecrated by the prince of the apostles. His reward was a miraculous draught of fishes. When daylight came he made his way with a lordly salmon to the church. His tale was heard with amazement, but the drippings of heavenly tapers on the high altars and the

smell of fragrant incense sufficiently attested the story! A great thanksgiving service was held, then priests and monks returned to London for a stately banquet at which Edric's fish held the place of honor.

This myth must be read in the light of the long struggle which the abbots of Westminster waged against the jurisdiction of the bishops of London. In a credulous age such a tale was worth a thousand arguments. But if these stories served their purpose they have effectually disguised the real facts as to the foundation of the Abbey. Mr. Besant thinks that there was a rude wooden church on Thorney which was restored early in the seventh century. When Edward the Confessor built his new church a venerable set of relics was transferred to it, which shows that the foundation had already gained some celebrity.

The Confessor, however, is the first historic figure of Westminster Abbey. He forms a notable frontispiece for our record. His full, flushed, rose-red cheeks contrasted strangely with the milky whiteness of his waving hair and beard. His eyes were always fixed on the ground. His manners were a singular mixture of gravity and of bursts of laughter. He was as a rule gentle and affable, but at times had bursts of Berserker rage. He would spend hours in the church absorbed in devotion, and would then rush to the woods hawking and cheering on his hounds. When he was hiding from the Danes in Normandy Edward had vowed that if he were restored to England he would make a pilgrimage to Rome. His people, however, would not hear of such a journey. The pope, therefore, absolved him from his vow on condition that he should build or restore some religious house dedicated to St. Peter.

It is said that he became greatly attached to the old Abbey at Westminster because a crippled Irishman, who had made six pilgrimages to Rome, was there restored to strength. He told the royal chamberlain that St. Peter had promised to cure him if the king would carry him on his back to the church. Edward, amid the scoffs of his court, bore the beggar on his shoulders to the high altar, where he was immediately cured. So ran the legend. The old Abbey was in some sense an appanage to the Palace of Westminster, so that the king must have felt a personal responsibility for its proper maintenance. The new Abbey absorbed one tenth of the property of his kingdom and

occupied fifteen years in building. It was in the Norman style, resting on great arches, with a stone vault and very narrow windows. It was the first cruciform church in the country. The Confessor attended the Christmas services of 1065, wearing his crown and royal robes; but three days later, when the feast of consecration was kept, he was unable to leave his bed. His queen represented him, and returned from the service to nurse him. He died on January 5, 1066. The monkish legends report many warnings which Edward had received of his approaching end. The child Christ appeared to him as he knelt before the high altar and bade him make ready for his last journey. One day when the Abbot of Westminster was with him in the palace he was startled by the king's bursting into laughter. Edward had seen the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus turn over on their side, a sure portent of coming sorrow! Yet another sign was vouchsafed. A beggar asked for alms. The king had no money, but he plucked from his finger a precious ring, which he gave to the suppliant. Some time afterward two pilgrims brought back this ring from Palestine. A venerable man, surrounded by a bright light, had appeared to them and told them that he was St. John. They were to take back the ring and tell the king that before six months were passed he would welcome him to Paradise.

After Edward's death the ring of St. John was put on his finger and a crucifix of gold hung around his neck. Then six of his liegemen bore him on their shoulders from the palace to the Abbey, where his loving people thronged the dark Norman choir, thinking bitterly of the evil times in store. Funeral masses were sung for three hundred days, and the poor flocked to the grave to receive the alms which Edward had left for his needy subjects.

The funeral dirges were scarcely over before William the Conqueror, fresh from his victory at Hastings, came here to be crowned. That Christmas Day in 1066 witnessed a tumultuous scene. When the people in the Abbey shouted "Yea, yea," in response to the question whether they would accept William as their king, the guards outside, fearing for their master's safety, flung lighted torches on the thatched dwellings that nestled around the Abbey. Then they began to plunder. The congregation rushed out, leaving William defenseless and

unarmed. The coronation service was hastily finished without the sacrament, William trembling all the while with fear and excitement.

Such a service was no pleasant introduction to the Abbey; but the Conqueror proved himself a stanch friend to the foundation. Here his son Henry was on the same day both crowned and married to the English princess Matilda. She had been compelled in those stormy times to take refuge after the death of her father in a convent, of which her aunt was abbess. There she consented, under strong compulsion, to take the veil. A synod of ecclesiastics now absolved her from her vow. Archbishop Anselm ascended the pulpit at Westminster to announce this decision and to ask the consent of the people to the marriage. Maud's blushes surpassed her crimson robe in color. The queen soon won the hearts of all her husband's subjects. She secured the repeal of the odious curfew bell, built many bridges and roads, and every day in Lent walked barefoot and clothed in sackcloth from the palace, to wash and kiss the feet of beggars in the Abbey.

It was in the reign of her grandson, Henry II, that Westminster gained the great object of its ambition. The Abbey had suffered much during the nineteen years that Gervaise de Blois had been at its head. He had squandered its resources on his vices, so that the coffers were now empty. Abbot Lawrence, who was elected in 1163, saw that there was no way to restore prosperity save to secure the canonization of the Confessor. He preached a sermon before the king and court, dwelling on his virtues. With one voice Henry and his nobles besought the abbot no longer to hide "so glorious a light from the world." On October 13, 1163, a bull of canonization was secured. A Norman-French life of the Confessor is preserved at Cambridge, with an illumination representing two ecclesiastics placing the body of Edward in its new shrine. The king and Archbishop Becket are helping the monks. Lawrence drew off St. John's ring from the saint's finger and placed it among the relics. Another illumination shows the shrine completed. Pilgrims are creeping into a niche beneath it to be healed by contact with the coffin. A monk stands at the side reading the king's biography. Becket gave one of the statues of ivory and gold that stands on the shrine. Did he dream, we

wonder, of his own death and consecration ten years later, or of the countless train of Canterbury pilgrims that should hasten to his shrine?

A hundred years later Henry III became the second founder of Westminster. Gothic architecture had now completely eclipsed the heavy Norman style. The king wished to have a nobler building as his national cathedral, and resolved to honor God and the two saints, St. Peter and St. Edward, by erecting it without delay. The workmen found it no easy task to pull down the Confessor's massive arches. They began their task in 1245. The country had grown richer, but the erection of the Abbey taxed its resources heavily. Indulgences were granted to those who would give money. The widow of an Oxford Jew was compelled to find £2,591. A fifteen days' fair was held. The fairs at Ely and other places had to be given up in its favor, and while it lasted no shops or booths could be opened in London. People were thus brought to Westminster who would naturally visit the shrine and swell the revenues. By 1260 the expenses of the building had reached £29,345, a sum equal to £200,000 in the present day. Nine years later the Confessor's body was placed in its final resting place. A mound of earth brought from Palestine was placed behind the high altar. On this stood the shrine, "high on a candlestick to enlighten the church." It was constructed by Italian workmen, and was made of Purbeck marble, porphyry, and glass mosaic, decked with pure gold and jewels. Henry III gave an ensign of red samite, embroidered with gold. It represented a dragon with its tongue continually moving. Its eyes were of sapphires. Successive princes added to the treasures of the shrine. There was a golden statue of St. Peter, adorned with precious stones. In one hand the apostle held a church, in the other he had the keys. Nero lay beneath his feet. Henry's queen gave a silver image of the Virgin and Child, set with rubies, emeralds, and garnets. A special monk was appointed guardian of the shrine, and in times of national crisis the king was able to pawn the treasures in order to raise money for his wars. Edward II gave two new figures of pure gold at his coronation.

A tender human touch is given to the history by the death of Henry III's five-year-old daughter Catherine. She was

the first royal person buried in the new Abbey. The child was "dumb and fit for nothing, but possessing great beauty." A costly tomb of marble and rich glass mosaic, elaborately colored and gilt, was erected for her in the south ambulatory, just within the gates. Her death caused much heartache in the palace. The tomb is still standing, but its colors are faded, and the two images that stood on it have long since disappeared. William of Gloucester received seventy marks for making one image of silver. Simon of Wells set it in its place on the tomb.

Three years after the Confessor's shrine had been consecrated the king was laid to rest in his new minster. His son Edward I may almost be called the child of the Abbey, for he was the first of our English princes named after the Confessor. At his coronation five hundred horses, on which the nobles rode to the service, were let loose for the crowd to catch. The queen consort, one of the great royal ladies of England, was buried here in 1290. Charing Cross, where the funeral procession made its last halt, still enshrines the memory of *la clère reine.* A hundred wax tapers were set on her tomb. When any royal visitor came thirty of these were lighted, while on the anniversaries of her death all blazed out in memory of Eleanor of Castile. Edward gave the Abbey an abiding memorial of his favor when, in 1297, he offered at the shrine the crown and scepter of the Scottish kings and the famous coronation stone from Scone, which already had a history of four hundred and fifty years. By his own orders a coronation chair was made, with two leopards carved at the sides. This was finished in 1301. It is now merely the wreck of its former self, but it is covered with rich cloths on coronation days to hide the ravages of time. Just before Edward set out on his last expedition to Scotland he held a great feast in the Abbey, when the first Prince of Wales, Edward II, knighted three hundred youths of noble family. They received purple cloth, silk, fine linen, and tunics wrought with gold from the royal stores. Then they kept vigil in the Temple Church, which was surrounded with tents where they robed for the ceremony. The prince, with his father and his companions of highest rank, kept their vigil in the Abbey. The noise made by trumpets, fifes, and voices completely drowned the singing of the monks, which

could not be heard from one side of the choir to the other. Edward knighted his son in the palace, then the prince knighted his friends in the Abbey. The pressure before the high altar was so great that two of the knights were stifled and several others fainted, even though each candidate had three supporters to protect him. Such was the crowd that the prince actually belted them on the high altar. Two swans, gorgeously caparisoned and with gilt beaks, were brought before the king, on which he swore to punish the perjury of the Scots. Not long afterward Edward set out on his expedition, and died at Burgh-on-the-Sands.

Again we pass over the larger part of a century to the days of Richard II. He owed much of his popularity to the fact that he was the son of England's darling, the Black Prince. Life in his Palace of Westminster was marked by all the profuse magnificence of the days of chivalry. There were twenty thousand retainers, each of whom had bouche of court, that is, rations, pay, arms, and lodging at the king's expense. The palace, which approached within twenty feet of where Henry VII's Chapel now stands, was a crowded city, gay with pageants and tournaments, full of intrigue and revelry. On the day before his coronation the young king rode from the Tower, with his Knights of the Bath, now first created, to attend him. No knight in all the company could rival Richard in grace of person or manners. He had a long face, with large eyes and flowing light brown hair. He loved rich attire, and generally wore a green doublet or jerkin embroidered with flowers, crowns, and his own initials. He revived the old custom of appearing in state at the Confessor's feast, swore his most solemn oaths at his shrine, and before riding out to quell Wat Tyler's insurrection at Smithfield heard mass in the Abbey and consulted its hermit. When his consort, Anne of Bohemia, died of the plague at Shene in 1394 he cursed that palace and, it is said, ordered it to be razed to the ground. Hundreds of wax tapers brought from Flanders were burnt at her grave in Westminster. Froissart says the illumination was "so great that nothing like to it was ever before seen." Richard quenched the luster of his reign by his own mad favoritism and came to a bitter and untimely end. He lies at Langley, far away from the Abbey he loved.

Henry IV only held the throne which he had usurped for about twelve years. He came up to London in 1412 to prepare for the last Crusade, but was seized with a fit as he knelt before the Confessor's shrine. He expected, according to an old prophecy, to die in Jerusalem; but it was in the Jerusalem Chamber that he breathed his last. Shakespeare makes him say:

> But bear me to that chamber; there I'll lie;
> In that Jerusalem shall Harry die.

This chamber was the scene of that memorable "conversion" which, according to our great dramatist, changed the wild young prince into a noble man:

> The breath no sooner left his father's body,
> But that his wildness, mortified in him,
> Seemed to die too; yea, at that very moment,
> Consideration, like an angel, came,
> And whipped the offending Adam out of him,
> Leaving his body as a paradise,
> To envelop and contain celestial spirits.

Henry V was crowned in a snowstorm. His people rejoiced in his personal graces of mind and body, and went mad with exultation over his memorable victory at Agincourt. Then came the coronation of his French queen, Catharine. Two years later Henry died at Vincennes. His funeral car journeyed through France to the burial place of our kings. An effigy made of boiled leather lay face upward on the coffin. It was painted to resemble the king, and was clothed in the royal robes, bearing the crown, scepter, and ball of gold adorned with precious stones. It rested on a coverlet of vermilion silk. A crowd of men in white marched round the funeral car, carrying nearly a thousand torches. When the procession, with its gorgeous banners and the royal coat of arms, passed up the nave at Westminster Henry's three chargers, laded with his arms and accouterments, followed their master to his last resting place. He was laid in his own chapel, to the east of the Confessor's shrine, which stands behind the present altar screen. A nation's hopes seemed buried with him. The steps that lead to the chapel are still worn and hollowed by the knees of his loving subjects who came to hear masses sung for Henry's soul. On either side of the altar are the old cupboards, with their

curious bolts, in which the relics were kept. Henry V was a devoted son of Westminster and a deadly enemy of all heretics. The wild oaths of his youth were replaced by two expressions, "It must be done," and "Impossible." He had set his heart on destroying all the vines in France in order to root out drunkenness.

Before we close the mediæval history of the Abbey let us visit the monastery. Its mitered abbot ranked next in dignity to his brother of St. Albans. On his election he always dropped his surname and added his birthplace to his Christian name. As he passed through the cloisters the monks rose to their feet as a mark of honor. He was entirely free from episcopal jurisdiction. Abbot Crokesley, who gained this much-coveted exemption, died in 1258. His successors had, therefore, to journey to Rome to secure the pope's approval of their election. But Peter of Lewisham was too fat to move, and before the problem could be solved he died. The abbots of Westminster do not play any conspicuous part in history, though some of them were munificent builders and able administrators. The vast estates of the monastery, not only in Westminster, but scattered through ninety-seven towns and villages, seventeen hamlets, and two hundred and sixteen manors, evidently absorbed too much of the abbot's time and care to leave him free to carve his path to fame. One of his chief duties was to prepare the kings and queens for their coronation. He visited the palace two days before this event to warn the prince to cleanse his conscience before the anointing oil was poured upon him. The Dean of Westminster still keeps the *Liber Regalis*, or Coronation Service Book, which dates from the reign of Richard II.

The monks are more obscure than the abbots. Some gained great skill as painters. John of Canterbury, who flourished in the days of Richard II, has gained a place in the annals of his house by those calves and thighs of his which were the wonder of all England. When the country was threatened by a French invasion John was provided with a suit of armor to go to the coast as Abbot Littlington's bodyguard. After peace had returned the armor was offered for sale in London, but no one could be found big enough to fit it. The younger brethren shaved in the cloister, where soap and hot water were always at

hand. If any monk could not shave himself he was advised to resolve in his mind that saying of the philosopher, "For learning what is needful no age seems to me too late." The monks shaved once a fortnight in summer, and every three weeks in winter. In their great refectory many a distinguished guest was welcomed. The brethren met at least once a week to confess in the incomparable chapter house. Offenders were whipped at the central pillar. The chapter house became the cradle of Parliament. Six years after it was built, in 1256, the great council of the nation met here to grant a subsidy. In the time of Edward III it was lent for the meeting of Parliament. The modern windows are a memorial to Dean Stanley. A curious corner of the monastery was the infirmary, where lived the monks who had reached the age of fifty and were exempt from the ordinary regulations of the house. They were never told anything unpleasant, and enjoyed full liberty to censure and examine everybody in the establishment.

The building of the Abbey church proved a long and heavy task. Henry III left the Norman nave standing and joined his own choir to it. About the middle of the fourteenth century the monks resolved to rebuild it. Henry V helped them nobly, but it was not till the days of Henry VII that the west window was set up and the junction made with the choir. Henry VII has left his mark on the Abbey in that Gothic chapel which Leland called "*orbis miraculum.*" When he died at Richmond in 1509 it was only completed as far as the vaulting. Nine days before he died he gave the abbot £5,000 to finish the chapel. Before time and the Puritans laid their hands upon it it was one of the sights of England. The upper windows were filled with painted glass, which has now nearly all vanished. The exterior was restored by Gayfere at the beginning of this century. No inch of the original surface work survives, but the mason was so devoted to Gothic architecture that he restored the place to something like its old beauty. Henry is buried in his chapel in a wonderful tomb. His son dissolved the monastery, whose revenues were equivalent to £70,000 a year of our money. The altar cloths, copes, and illuminated missals were carried off or destroyed, and the plate and furniture vanished.

Queen Mary held here a service of reconciliation between Rome and England, at which Philip of Spain was present.

Thank God that page in our history was soon turned. Her heart, on which she said the word "Calais" would be found written, lies in her vault, wrapped in red sarcenet and in a box covered with crimson silk and black velvet, garnished with gold lace. This case cost twenty-five shillings and ninepence, as the chamberlain's books still show. Queen Elizabeth was a great lover of the Abbey. It was said that Dean Goodman, who was her personal friend, could get whatever he liked for Westminster. Her tomb here was erected under James I at a cost of £965. Long afterward Fuller speaks of "the lively draught of it, pictured in every London and in most country churches, every parish being proud of the shade of her tomb; and no wonder, where each loyal subject created a mournful monument for her in his own heart." A copy of this "draught" is still preserved at St. Saviour's, Southwark, with the lines underneath:

St. Peter's Church at Westminster
Her sacred body doth inter;
Her glorious soul with angels sings,
Her deeds hath patterns been for kings,
Her love in every heart hath room;
This only shadows forth her tomb.

One page of Westminster history must not be overlooked. The Abbey enjoyed rights of sanctuary which had been defined and regulated by Edward the Confessor. These covered not only the church, but extended to its gardens, cloisters, and all its precincts. On the northwest corner, near to the spot where the Westminster Guildhall is now built, stood a ponderous square keep seventy-five feet long and sixty feet high. Its heavy oaken door, covered with sheets of iron, gave access to a gloomy chapel, above which was another chapel where the refugees of highest rank might find greater security. Other suppliants formed a kind of settlement around this sanctuary. Elizabeth Woodville, the queen of Edward IV, twice sought shelter here. In 1378 the constable of the Tower pursued two fugitives into the Abbey with a band of armed men, and three persons were killed in the fray. The church was closed for four months, and the chief culprits had to pay a heavy fine. But, though the right of sanctuary was a boon to the Middle Ages, it gradually became a curse to the nation. Traitors, thieves, and murderers harbored here till the precincts of the

Abbey became a nest for criminals of the basest sort. The rights were, therefore, taken away in the days of James I, and in 1750 the venerable St. Peter's sanctuary itself disappeared.

Let us step behind the choir into its north aisle. This is the "Musicians' Aisle." One tablet arrests attention. "Here lies Henry Purcell, who left this life and is gone to that blessed place where only his harmony can be exceeded." Purcell's father and uncle were musicians of the Chapel Royal, and as a lad he became a chorister there. Dr. Blow, the organist of the Abbey, resigned his post in favor of his gifted pupil, who became organist in 1679 at the age of twenty-one. Purcell holds rank as one of the greatest English composers. After his appointment to Westminster he wrote anthems and sacred music for the Abbey services and for State funerals. He died at the age of thirty-eight, when his old master resumed his post as organist.

Westminster Abbey has many claims on remembrance, but none are so tender as those drawn from the fact that it is "the resting place of famous Englishmen from every rank and creed and every form of mind and genius." It is interesting to trace the steps by which it became a national temple of fame. The cloisters contained the little monastic cemetery. A huge slab in the south cloister, called "Gervase" or "Long Meg," is the footprint left there by the black death of 1348, the most deadly plague that ever visited Europe. The abbot and twenty-six monks are said to be buried here. The immediate retainers of the court and their families naturally found their way to the same resting place. Hugolin, the chamberlain of the Confessor, was buried near the treasury which he had guarded so well. It was under Richard II that the first impulse was given to the burial of famous subjects in the Abbey, not, however, without protest. When John of Waltham, Bishop of Salisbury, treasurer, keeper of the privy seal, master of the rolls, was buried in the Confessor's chapel there was a general murmur. Another prelate, Richard Courtney, of Norwich, whom Henry V nursed during his illness at Harfleur, was laid to rest here just before the battle of Agincourt. In the reign of Elizabeth the Abbey was first distinctly recognized as a temple of fame. We naturally turn to the chronicles of Judah, where we read of Jehoiada that "they buried him in the city of David among

the kings, because he had done good in Israel, both toward God, and toward his house." "It has been the peculiar privilege of the kings of England that neither in life nor in death have they been parted from their people." Such a fellowship of princes and subjects adds unspeakably to the interest of the Abbey as an epitome of England. When Nelson had taken the Spanish *San Nicholas* at St. Vincent, in 1797, another three-decker, the *San Josef*, attacked him. This compelled him either to quit his prize or engage his new assailant. He attacked at once, crying, "Westminster Abbey or glorious victory!"

One page in the history of the Abbey must not be overlooked. In the Middle Ages, when the rival monasteries vied with each other as to which should attract the greatest crowd of devotees by its relics, Westminster was able to boast some rare treasures. The Knights Templars sent Henry III a vial of blood which, according to the Patriarch of Jerusalem and other dignitaries, had been taken from the wounds of our Lord upon the cross. The king himself bore it aloft from St. Paul's to the Abbey on the Confessor's feast. Two years later he added a marble stone said to bear the print of the Saviour's foot. In more modern times the custodians of the Abbey reaped their harvest from the wax effigies which were on view. The hearse, or platform decorated with black hangings, usually remained for a month beside the grave, or in the case of a sovereign for a much longer time. Till Henry VIII's day the body itself was laid on this hearse. Afterward a wax figure of the deceased took its place. Laudatory verses were pasted or pinned to it, such as Ben Jonson's epitaph on the Countess of Pembroke:

> Underneath this sable herse
> Lies the subject of all verse,
> Sidney's sister, Pembroke's mother.
> Death, ere thou hast slain another
> Learned, and fair, and good as she,
> Time shall throw a dart at thee.

After the rush of visitors had ceased the wax figures were generally removed into wainscot presses above the Islip Chapel. Between the sermon and evening prayers the vergers showed these tombs and effigies for a fee of two pence. A Devonshire clown called it "the play of the dead folk." In his *Citizen of*

the World, Goldsmith gives an amusing description of a visit to these wonders:

> Our conductor led us through several dark walks and winding ways, uttering lies, talking to himself, and flourishing a wand which he held in his hand. He reminded me of the black magicians of Kobi. After we had been almost fatigued with a variety of objects he at last desired me to consider attentively a certain suit of armor, which seemed to show nothing remarkable. "This armor," said he, "belonged to General Monk." "Very surprising that a general should wear armor!" "And pray," added he, "observe this cap; this is General Monk's cap." "Very strange, indeed, very strange, that a general should have a cap also! Pray, friend, what might this cap have cost originally?" "That, sir," said he, "I don't know; but this cap is all the wages I have for my trouble."

The "Ingoldsby Legends" touch the same topic in these lines:

> I thought on Naseby, Marston Moor, and Worcester's crowning fight,
> When on my ear a sound there fell, it filled me with affright;
> As thus, in low, unearthly tones, I heard a voice begin,
> "This here's the cap of General Monk! Sir, please put summut in."

After Nelson's burial in St. Paul's the crowd of sightseers deserted the Abbey to gaze on his funeral car. The officials at Westminster were, however, equal to the emergency. They procured a wax figure of the naval hero, dressed it in some of the clothes he had actually worn, and were rewarded for their enterprise by the return of the sightseers. This wax effigy of Nelson is one of the eleven figures which still survive. Queen Bess, Charles II and the Duke of Buckingham, Queen Anne and her little son, William and Mary set together in a glass case, and the Earl of Chatham—these are the chief remnants of the famous waxwork show at Westminster.

In the north transept rest the statesmen. As we stand there we realize what Macaulay meant when he spoke of that "temple of silence and reconciliation where the enmities of twenty generations lie buried." Chatham is there, and the sumptuous national monument bears witness to his country's sense of his greatness. His brilliant son, William Pitt, sleeps in the same vault, while close by rests his great rival, Fox. Sir Robert Peel, Palmerston, Beaconsfield, and a band of England's noblest and greatest sons are here.

One spot in the Abbey is dearer than all others to our race. It is that Poets' Corner in the south transept where the sweet-

singing birds of England are held in abiding honor. Chaucer, who died in 1400, probably owed his place, not to the fact that he was a "well of English undefiled," but sometime clerk of the royal works in the palaces at Westminster and Windsor. No memorial save a leaden plate hanging to a pillar marked his grave till 1555, when Nicholas Brigham, himself a poet, erected the present tomb. Edmund Spenser was laid near Chaucer, and Cowley rests beside the poet whose "Faerie Queene," before he was twelve years old, "filled his head with such chime of verses as never since left ringing there." Glorious John Dryden is here; and, though Shakespeare rests at Stratford, his monument, erected by public subscription in 1740, sets the great master in his royal seat among his brother poets. Ben Jonson was buried upright in what would have been a nameless grave had not Jack Young, who passed by at the moment, given eighteen pence for the inscription, "O rare Ben Jonson." Dr. Johnson tells us how he once stood with Goldsmith in the Poets' Corner. He burst out with the saying, "*Forsitan et nostrum nomen miscebitur istis.*" As they returned by Temple Bar Goldsmith pointed slyly to the heads of the Jacobites: "*Forsitan et vestrum nomen miscebitur istis.*" One April night in 1759 Handel was buried here at eight o'clock. A vast concourse of people of all ranks, numbering not fewer than three thousand, met to honor the great master of harmony. Three years later Roubiliac's statue, taken from a cast after death, was unveiled. Handel left £600 for this monument, and the portrait is said to be the best of him in existence. The centenary of Handel's birth was kept in the Abbey in May, 1774; more than ten thousand persons were present during the four days' festival. The doors were besieged from early dawn till ten o'clock. Disheveled hair and torn garments bore witness to the eagerness of the crowd. The orchestra and choir numbered six hundred voices. Thrones were placed for the king and queen before the choir screen. When the "Hallelujah Chorus" burst forth George III rose to his feet with tears streaming down his face. The audience followed his example, and that custom has obtained ever since that first Handel festival. When the composer wrote the chorus he said, "I thought I did see all heaven opened and the great God himself."

During the last quarter of a century the Abbey has gained an ever-deepening hold on the affection of the English-speaking world. Charles Dickens was laid here in 1870. The creations of his genius seem to start up around us as we stand by the master's grave. David Livingstone's slab in the nave will never cease to attract the lover of heroic living. A Christlike spirit still speaks to us in those memorable words on the slab in the nave of the minster: "All I can add in my loneliness is, May heaven's rich blessing come down on every one, American, Englishman, or Turk, who will help to heal the open sore of the world!" What Methodist heart does not thrill as it approaches the tablet to John and Charles Wesley, erected in 1876? Have any men in this great national house of fame laid the world under such a debt as those Epworth brothers? Dean Stanley and Lady Augusta rest in Henry VII's Chapel. In all the bright succession of custodians of this temple of fame, including Lancelot Andrewes, the casuist, scholar, and saintly man of James I's court, and Francis Atterbury, the exiled Jacobite, there is no name more beloved than that of the catholic-hearted Stanley. He was laid to sleep in the Abbey in 1881. A few years later our two great princes of song, Robert Browning and Alfred Tennyson, were gathered to this illustrious fellowship. Browning is the poet-thinker and the master of lyric poetry, whose short poems are as wonderful in beauty, charm, variety, and vigor as they are in number. Tennyson was the restorer of Arthur's court, who opened a new wonderland to our generation and taught the loveliness of purity and unselfishness. His funeral in the Abbey was a national demonstration. Lord Salisbury, Lord Rosebery, Dr. Jowett, Mr. Lecky, and the presidents of the Royal Academy and Royal Society were among the pall-bearers. The Abbey was packed from end to end by the multitude that had come to pay their last tribute to the laureate, and for several days there was a never-ceasing stream of visitors to his grave.

Westminster Abbey belongs to the whole Anglo-Saxon race; but America has her special share in this temple of fame. George Peabody's body lay in the nave for a few months before it was carried across the Atlantic to Salem. Longfellow seems almost as much our own in England as Tennyson him-

self, and his bust holds its place of honor in the Poets' Corner. A small window in the vestibule of the chapter house has been filled with glass in memory of J. R. Lowell. Lowell himself was one of the original promoters of the Dean Stanley memorial, which took the form of stained glass windows for the chapter house. One of these windows was presented by the queen, another by friends in America. The Abbey has thus knit more closely the bonds of brotherhood between the two great English-speaking peoples on either side of the Atlantic. As Dean Stanley said, "It is the peculiar home of the entire Anglo-Saxon race, on the other side of the Atlantic no less than on this." Stanley's book still holds its place as the most fascinating history of the Abbey; but Mrs. Murray Smith, the daughter of the present dean, has just written a volume which the Messrs. Cassell have brought out in a sumptuous edition, and Mr. Walter Besant has given us a monograph on *Westminster* which is quite as picturesque as his novels.

The history of the mother country for eight hundred years unfolds before us as we stand in Westminster Abbey. All the currents of English life have left their mark here. The moralist and the student of character will always discover fresh themes here. But the chief lesson that we learn is the old lesson of mortality. Brilliant pageants succeed each other in rapid succession, but they are interspersed with solemn funerals; for, as Jeremy Taylor said in his sermon on death, "Where our kings are crowned their ancestors lie interred, and they must walk over their grandsire's head to take his crown." St. Peter's words are never more significant than when we stand here in the presence of death's victories over the great and honored, over princes, courtiers, statesmen, men of genius: "For all flesh is as grass, and all the glory of man as the flower of grass. The grass withereth, and the flower thereof falleth away: but the word of the Lord endureth forever. And this is the word which by the gospel is preached unto you."

John Jefford

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

The ethical culturists would do well to meditate upon the following sentence from a book which some have attributed to Herbert Spencer: "We should not cry out for new ethical standards, for new and impossible moral authorities, while we ruthlessly destroy a standard and an authority—religion—the practical usefulness of which could not be replaced for centuries by any new standard or authority, even if invented now."

The progress of civil service reform in the national government has been slower than its enthusiastic advocates could have wished; but its gradualness has tended to make that progress secure. Step by step it has gone on through nearly twenty years, various groups of clerks in the civil service passing successively under the rule of entrance by examinations and tenure during fitness, until the number of appointive officers dependent on presidential elections is only a fraction of the whole, or will be so when the present presidential term closes. The progressive system of change has disarmed hostility, and each new advance has had the support of success in previous advance. Spoilsmen have discovered that the reform is practicably completed, and that rewards for political service must hereafter be sought in such satisfaction as the triumph of principles or patriotic pride may afford. The matter proves once more that the American people have a sound heart and a clear purpose toward their public service; and it proves also that discretion is as useful as courage in sound reform movements. If we had waited until the civil service could be reformed at a stroke we should still be waiting. Discreet men found means to advance by stages, and they are now entitled to general applause.

There are few more cheerful chapters in our political history than those which record the story of the gradual passing of the spoils of office. Those bright chapters may well make us hopeful in our struggle to reform the government of cities. Difficult,

stupendous, hopeless as this enterprise looks to be in these first years of the conflict, it does not wear so hopeless an aspect as did civil service reform at Washington in its early years. It is possible, too, that the method of the civil service reformers may teach lessons to the champions of municipal reform. It is often good generalship to conquer an enemy in detail rather than to fight him in mass. Each one of a hundred skirmishes may be lost without losing the campaign, while one pitched battle may imperil by defeat not only a campaign but a whole war. Is it wicked to suggest that possibly we are making more progress than some think by the skirmish lines, and the step-by-step advance of temperance reform? This at least is certain, that we are not called upon to despair of any good cause when such an example as civil service reform shines upon our path to better things.

LETTER AND SPIRIT.

Is Christianity a system of great principles adapted to grown men, or is it a collection of petty precepts prescribed for children? If one were to judge from the way it has generally been regarded and administered he would have to conclude that the latter is the correct view. Only a small minority seem as yet to have apprehended the fact that it is our privilege to serve God, not in the bondage of the old letter, but in the freedom of the new spirit. Most people, even in these closing years of the nineteenth century since the birth at Bethlehem, take their religion very much in the Jewish fashion, and totally misconceive the purpose of the Bible.

One reason for this worship of the letter is no doubt found in the fact that it is easier and simpler, and so makes its appeal to the natural laziness of humanity. People like to be spared the trouble of thinking, like to be relieved of the burden of responsibility, like to be told just what they should do. To have explicit directions set down in black and white falls in much better with their mental inertia or intellectual incapacity than to have to work out independent solutions to the complicated problems of life. It is also true that in this way greater honor seems to be paid to the Bible; and with vast multitudes this thought is decisive. They have unbounded reverence for the sacred book, the book of wonderful achievements, of universal adaptations, of unvarying victory in multitudinous conflicts, the supreme source of truth, instructor of the erring, comforter of the sorrowing, joy

of the virtuous, abhorrence of the vicious, guide of youth, and hope of the world. For such a volume what homage can be too great? And that theory which leads to its being more frequently consulted as of binding authority has for the great body of Christian people a most weighty presumption in its favor. Having some influence to make the same view popular with the mass of mankind is the perception that the masses are thus put on a level with the classes. Priests and prophets are no more needed. Wise men and learned men lose their advantage. Brains count for little, experience for less. If all are reduced to the grade of children, whose only task is to take a plainly written direction just as it stands and follow it without variation, then no one can assume any superiority or set up to be a teacher.

For these various reasons, and doubtless for more, it is very difficult indeed to detach any large number of people from the deeply inwrought conclusion that we have in the Holy Scriptures a sort of code so miraculously framed by infinite wisdom that it furnishes a conclusive answer to all questions of duty, and provides distinct directions for all perplexities that may arise in all ages and lands. So they regard the most literal reading of the volume as always the best, religiously refuse to exercise their reason, and shrink back with something like horror from the suggestion that the Bible requires not merely translation from a foreign tongue, but manifold other adjustments and interpretations, to bring it into completest touch with our practical needs to-day.

Nevertheless, though the truth be distasteful it is better to face it. And certainly both Jesus and Paul took great pains to set the matter right. There were many in Christ's day who were stumbled by his speeches because they took them more literally than he expected or wished. To such on one occasion he said, "It is the Spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing; the words that I have spoken unto you are spirit and are life." That is to say, do not be so dull; you are about to leave me, alienated, offended, disgusted, because I have said something about drinking my blood and eating my body. I did not intend this to be taken in a carnal, fleshly way. I did not intend you to become cannibals; I supposed you would see this; I speak of spiritual things under physical images; my words are not dead things capable of only one interpretation, they are living seeds of truth; if you give them a chance they will germinate, they will fructify till a great harvest of blessing has resulted. And thus it has verily been.

Had people laid hold of the fact that Christ's words were alive they would not have treated them in such a wooden way. Dead matter has only one form; it cannot change. Life takes on all sorts of forms; there is in it a power of growth, amplification, modification. Life has in it the promise and potency of a thousand things. It means largeness, freedom, adaptation, progressiveness. And this is what true Christianity, built as it is upon Christ's words, must ever be, large, free, and progressive, not stereotyped or stagnant and anchored, not cribbed, cabined, and confined, but broad, bright, breezy, all-enfolding, world-embracing, time-enduring, age-defying.

St. Paul was especially the apostle of the spirit even against the letter, standing for liberty from the minute ceremonialism and hard bondage of the Mosaic law. He clearly apprehended the era of emancipation which his Master had come to set up, the deliverance from tutors and governors, the transition from childhood to manhood. Paul was divinely called and constituted to be the champion of that great idea, and he fulfilled his office well. He saw that Christianity was to become a world-wide affair, to go into all countries as well as all centuries, and on that account must be stripped of everything having a merely temporary or local nature, everything suited only to one set of circumstances, one kind of folks. Adherence to the letter of the law would have killed all progress, would have put the new movement into bands so tight that it could not move, would have kept it within the narrowest of circles. So the great apostle exceedingly rejoiced to be able to say, "God made us ministers of a new covenant; not of the letter but of the spirit; for the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life;" "the same in newness of the spirit, and not in oldness of the letter."

Not the precepts, then, but the principles of Holy Writ are the things that chiefly and immediately concern us; not the transitory but the permanent, not the incidental but the essential, not the outward form but the inward substance. When we read the Sermon on the Mount and find therein a multitude of particular precepts for the exact regulation of life—resist not evil, give to him that asketh, lay not up treasures upon earth, swear not at all, judge not—we need not throw to the winds the dictates of common sense in our efforts to slavishly carry out these precise directions. It seems sufficiently clear that even at the time they were spoken they were not intended to be taken with absolute literalness; still less are they thus binding now. Most valuable principles are

to be found there, but not universally applicable rules. A revengeful, quarrelsome spirit, quick to render blow for blow, and hold a grudge; a niggardly, covetous spirit, turning a deaf ear to every cry of want, hardening the heart to all appeals for pity that it may have more to hoard up or spend upon its pleasures; a spirit of levity and frivolity that weighs not its words but flings out promises or threatenings, blessings or cursings, as the mood may be, with no gravity or seriousness of mind; an anxious spirit, distrustful of God, worrying itself for no good; a censorious spirit, eager to find fault, forming conclusions rashly and harshly, to the injury of the reputation of a neighbor; a licentious spirit, full of animalism and lubricity, making everything bend to its own base, beastly passions; a boastful, ostentatious spirit, more mindful of doing what will be praised than of doing what is right—these are the things that Jesus strikes at in the sermon, and the things that every religious teacher must strike at. For they are things that are wrong in every age, for every person, totally, unmistakably wrong, to be condemned always and everywhere without restriction or qualification. But when one comes to draw up the special regulations that bring these general principles into close connection with one's everyday life, there is, of course, much room for diversity of opinion and variety of practice in different ages, countries, and personal conditions. And since Christianity is a religion for the whole world, and for all time, it is very clear that it cannot deal much with precepts, but must confine itself to principles.

If this had been borne in mind the mistake would not have been made of supposing that the community of goods practiced among the early Christians was an example to us, forbidding private property. Nor would the epistles of Paul have been so mischievously misunderstood at many points. The abolitionists of a past generation would not have felt obliged to throw over the Bible under the impression that its sanction of slavery in the first century meant its sanction for the nineteenth. The opponents of wine-drinking would not be stumbled by the miracle at Cana and the other scriptural indications that the matter was looked at differently by good people of that day in Palestine from what it is now in America, nor would wine-drinkers imagine that they could make an impregnable defense for themselves by a reference to Cana of Galilee. The advocates of the largest possible extension of woman's sphere would not have had so much difficulty in convincing their opponents that the customs of Corinth, nineteen

centuries ago, had very little to do with settling what was best in America in 1896.

There have been few reforms of modern times, few advance movements, however beneficial, which have not had to fight against the opposition of some who, in all sincerity of soul, considered that they were contending for the very foundations of Christianity and the essential truths of the Gospel, whereas it was simply the worn-out letter which they had set up to worship in place of the imperishable spirit. Many a branch of physical science has had texts of Scripture flung at it to impede its way, and ecclesiastical opprobrium heaped upon its promoters, till they were almost forced to be infidels in spite of themselves, because they would not surrender to a mistaken exegesis what they knew to be the facts disclosed to them in their investigation of the works of God. Nothing of this could have happened had it been kept in mind that there are both transitory and permanent elements in this marvelous divine-human book, statements which of necessity took their color from the period when they were written, as well as statements which are for all ages alike.

The principles taught by Christ and his apostles—to be gathered not from isolated texts or catchwords, but from the general trend of the teachings and the prevailing spirit shown—are of immortal worth. They have destroyed slavery in all Christian lands, though it was not deemed wise to directly antagonize it in that early day. They have also destroyed polygamy, have nearly annihilated dueling, and are in a fair way to make war impossible. The fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man, the golden rule, the supremacy of love, the divine beauty of self-sacrifice, the heavenly quality of mercy—things like these, enforced by the life and death of Jesus, are transforming the earth and turning its wildernesses into fruitful fields. And it is by things like these we are to govern our lives, not looking in the Bible for explicit minute directions which are not there, and which in the very nature of the case cannot be there. Jesus says, Be humble, be just, be spiritually minded, regard the rights of others, care for the weak, be filled with love; then he leaves us to work out for ourselves, by the use of our own intelligence, specific rules for home life, business life, social life, political life, ecclesiastical life.

The one thing of primary and supreme importance is that we have the spirit of Jesus. Nearly all difficulties speedily resolve themselves when we take the right attitude, when we cherish the right desire. To one who surveys the things of time and sense

from the position of utter loyalty to Christ, right decisions are easy. For him few rules will be required. He will be a rule unto himself. He who loves can do as he pleases, for he will please to glorify God and bless his fellow-men. He will serve, not in the oldness of the letter or the bondage of the law, but in the newness of the spirit and the freedom of the Gospel.

Here we cannot help remembering a massive and masterly sermon by one of our living bishops, packed with the wisest religious statesmanship upon this subject. Well were it if its Christlike wisdom might permeate the Church.

THE PUBLIC DUTIES OF THE TRAINED INTELLECT.

The socialistic spirit of the time is, to a certain extent, wholesome. A vast increase of wealth through a more perfect dominion over natural forces has greatly increased our physical comforts, and it has awakened the philanthropic interest of the good in the welfare of the less fortunate members of the human family. It is easy to assume that the less fortunate are *very* unfortunate, and that the more fortunate have caused the failures of their weaker brethren, and the most popular reformers are those who make this easy assumption. No argument is required to prove that the social conditions which permit spoliation of the weak by the strong need radical treatment. The force of nearly every radical scheme lies in the assumption that the successful are to blame for the condition of the unsuccessful. Conservatives vainly point out that the less fortunate have contributed to their own failures. It is not a pleasant suggestion, because the majority think themselves unfortunate, and there is a current belief in a major premise which declares that the majority must be right in its thinking. Thoughtful persons will agree that the rich and the poor have both contributed in their different ways to the misfortunes of the less fortunate. The socialistic spirit will probably succeed in reducing the contribution of the rich to the evils, real and imagined, of the majority. When that has been done, perhaps the moral and religious spirit may effect reforms in the habits and characters of the less fortunate. If socialism begins at the wrong end—as some of us think—it cannot always keep the other end out of sight. The gin shop alone, to mention no other factor of poverty, is a very large and unceasingly active cause of the economic failure of the unfortunate. But it is distinctly unpopular—and more unpopular

every year—to mention the drink bill of the poor in connection with poverty.

Leaving all such disputation to others, we take up here some large elements of socialistic problems. A first one is the competency of a democracy to judge wisely of any socialistic reform. Human history affords us no examples fitting our modern case. The Roman plebs and the Parisian mobs never dreamed of such reforms as single tax and government ownership of capital (and, of course, of labor) and fiat money. These three are typical, different as they are, of the problems set for solution by popular elections. To a student with whatever ripeness of years these questions seem difficult. They cannot be disposed of by theorems; they involve large groups of facts and practical tendencies, and no human life is long enough to hunt out all these facts and marshal them, and only a generation of experience could determine their tendencies. And yet there seems to be a demand that we shall believe in the competency of the crude majority to pronounce judgment and to precipitate revolutionary changes without any adequate experience and without much intelligence.

The matter is made more perplexing by the peculiar conditions of public discussion. There is an apparent decadence of leadership; or rather, with all proper respect for the actual leaders, the wise and the expert are not often found in the front of the popular columns. The scholar and the scientist are at home in English politics; they have not been, as a rule, in American politics. We are assured that it is the fault of the men of letters and science among us—they neglect their political duties. There is some truth in the charge, but there is more truth in the assertion that the socialistic tendency is not favored by science and letters. At all events, new departures of vast importance are advocated and pressed upon the attention of the people, and with rare exceptions these departures are condemned by the best-trained intellects of the nation. It is a strange situation. The gravity of the questions and the vehemence of the clamor produce in many thoughtful minds an apprehension that we are approaching a great catastrophe—first, a socialistic order doomed to disaster; then, a dictatorship. We are to pass, according to some sinister prophecies, from a democratic order administered by the wisest citizens, through a socialistic order administered by ignorance, back to mediæval despotism—back at least to the seventeenth century. It is to be demonstrated, say the seers, that popular government is a delusion.

It is impossible to believe these prophets of catastrophe. But we reject their visions only because we trust the popular conservatism to resist the popular radicalism, and trust the trained philanthropists to find safer solutions of our problems than the untrained philanthropists are likely to propose at each step of our march through this period of *sturm und dreng*, of socialistic clamor for reform. The American people have seldom acted with sudden rashness. Grave questions have been long pondered and safely answered by appropriate legislation. Every new question will have to pass through the common mind associated with the judgments pronounced upon it by the best minds. Authority in matters of such gravity being indispensable, there is no good reason to doubt that the best authority—that of the trained thinker, the studious and experienced expert in the particular matters involved—will be preferred and followed in the long result. Temporary and local ascendency of demagogues and socialists must be endured with fortitude, but not with patience, the weight of such affliction deepening our resolve to spare no pains to bring it to pass that the people shall soberly choose the way of safety. This is the declaration of intelligent patriotism in presence of the prophets of disaster.

This serene confidence is maintained in the face of some untoward conditions of public thought. The newspaper silenced the political teacher a generation back. Now, for some time, the newspaper has abandoned the function of political instruction for the most part, and glories in recording the news. There is no steady downpour of political light from legislative debates. The ward politician and the local leader fashion the issues for the people and instruct venerable statesmen in their duties as lawmakers. It is difficult to designate the central forces of political action or to show where the streams of tendency in public thought take their rise. If the intelligence of the nation is shaping our course the helmsman is out of sight, and the course seems to be often changed for insufficient reasons. It would appear from recent elections that thousands of men have changed their minds in a year, not about complex social problems, but about questions as old as the republic and as familiar to real statesmen as the alphabet. Right in one year or wrong in another—that is not the point. It is rather the doubtful competency of the changeful electorate. Which party is right at any given moment is a small concernment beside this distrust of competency raised by the changefulness and apparent capriciousness of majorities. What hope is there

that far graver questions will be decided by the discretion of wise leaders and the patriotism of their followers?

Knowing that every attempt to move toward a socialistic order will require to be guarded by both wisdom and patriotism, there is every reason for summoning the trained thinker to take up the burden of his neglected public duties. This duty is not simply voting or holding office; it is hard thinking on public questions and plain speaking about them after he has thought his way through them. He may think he can find a safe path to a desirable socialistic order; if he discovers such a millennial path he will render the people a great service; or he may find that the socialism now so voluble and violent is a current sweeping to the cataract. But, whatever conclusion he reaches, he is in duty bound to put all his brains and conscience to the business of investigation and decision. It will be a miserable business to fall into a worse ditch than the French Commune merely because the thoughtful have disdained the task of political reflection and the duties of influential citizenship. We want the scholar in politics, not simply as a factor in ward meetings and primaries, but especially and influentially as a patriotic thinker and leader of thought. There is no denying that he has been guiltily absent from the front, where he belongs. There are conspicuous exceptions to all large rules; and in this case a few leading minds are easily found disinterestedly devoting themselves to public thought. The few are unequal to the mighty task imposed upon the brain powers of the nation by radical and deep-reaching proposals and demands for change in our theories and methods of administering government by the people. If the catastrophe comes the responsibility will rest upon the men qualified by gifts and training to guide the American people.

The inanities of some forms of demagogism would be harmless if trained intelligence were doing its whole duty. Not long ago the entire nation had to listen to a "leader" gravely declaring that (government) bonds and slavery were synonymous terms. Such inanities stand insufficiently answered or not answered in the proper place because so many of the intellectually competent refuse or neglect the task. But the thinker must know that he is not *ex officio* a public leader. Grave questions require special studies of the theories and of the facts involved in them. Theoretical wisdom is comparatively easy for the scholar and the scientist. The facts are a far more difficult matter. It has happened that the thinker entering public life has thought his repertory of theory

adequate to greater occasions demanding practical wisdom. Theories are apt to make men obnoxious to public feeling, especially when the questions at issue cut deep into daily wants and practical undertakings. The most striking thing in many socialistic schemes is the unwillingness of their advocates to pass on to the practical working of their reforms, and to weight their judgment with the masses of facts to be grasped and administered under their new methods.

The tendency of almost all scholarship in our day, happily for us, is practical. The trained thinker has no call to a new kind of work when he takes up the duties of patriotism. His education has qualified him, as it did not qualify men a century ago, to grapple with the practical elements of public policy; and the nation is rich beyond all precedent in this kind of intellectual competency. It cannot be possible that this trained American brain will count for nothing in the political conflicts of the immediate future. The very fact that novel ideas and startling changes are demanded and pressed upon public attention will summon the best intellects to the fight. They may be expected to obey the call of the republic; and there cannot be a catastrophe under such leadership. What is good in the socialistic movement will be guided to safe issue; what is not will pass away like a summer cloud, or be rejected by the American people after a hot conflict.

The moral demand in such a time as the present is even more emphatic than the intellectual. We shall lose rather than gain if the thinker in politics is in politics for gain. We are moving through a region of appalling danger to pure public life. The vastness of the public resources tempts trained men even more than their fellows, because they are better able to exploit the confidence of the people. There is no national greatness without personal disinterestedness. A wealthy people has more need of purity in public men than a poor nation can possibly have. The most painful spectacle of these years is that of great organizations of iniquity served by trained intellect. To refer to no doubtful case, the Louisiana Lottery could not have trifled so long with the moral welfare of the people had it not been buttressed by men of intellect and high reputation. It is said of a great corporation whose methods are subjected to severe censure that its servants are, nearly all of them, of a very high average of ability and character. If ability is to be for sale to good bidders the unrighteousness of such service will eat like a canker. The voice

of a bribed thinker must be odious. Any truth he may speak is soiled by his lips.

One of the demagogue's methods for stirring up discontent is to tell the people, night and day, year in and year out, that the thinkers are bribed to oppose reform. In such a situation the thinkers need to stand unimpeached and unimpeachable. They cannot escape calumny; they can keep clear of corruption. A real philanthropy is not content with good advice. The philanthropist must give himself. In great emergencies peoples are saved by men who bleed for the people, who are willing to pay dear and deep for their devotion to righteousness. The hour seems near when public danger will call for self-sacrifice, as well as for purity; when it will not be enough to show clean hands, but be needful to show the print of the nails in hands wounded in the service of the people. This essential element of devotion, suffering for a cause, is apt to drop out of sight in great and wealthy nations. Among us the political atmosphere has lost the gracious odor of personal immolation; and the more part will smile at the bare suggestion that public services should be gratuitously rendered. And yet we have not reached the infamy of paying for the highest service of a citizen—the casting of a ballot into the electoral urn.

Is it possible that a large part of our difficulty is just here, in the self-seeking of the trained thinker? The popular mind is full of distrust; this distrust is profound; and the gains of ability are held to be as odious as those of corporations. Much of this distrust is outrageously unjust; some of it is measurably merited. Can the pure devotion of the trained man be made clear to the complaining masses? Will they ever listen to another as they listened to Abraham Lincoln? Is the Lincoln type of thinkers and leaders too high for our times? It is certain that in a social storm the plain and sane, as well as thoughtful, people will listen reverently to such as he and turn away from the opposite type of character.

Given, then, a socialistic agitation approaching an acute stage, of which the wise have forewarned us and which is now manifest to all, the vast and involved problems set for public debate and electoral action in the near future will call for a particularly arduous service by men intellectually trained and morally charactered. We shall need an army of such men, as we needed the soldiers of the Revolution and of the civil war; and their service must be disinterested and self-sacrificing. These also must bleed for the people.

THE ARENA.

ENTIRE SANCTIFICATION.

If two distinctions are held clearly in mind much of the confusion respecting the doctrine of entire sanctification will be avoided: first, a discrimination between what is removed from the inner nature and the power bestowed in entire sanctification; and, second, a consideration of the difference between purity and perfection.

In conversion all sin that carries with it guilt is removed, and the sinner becomes a saint. But there remains in most cases a sinward tendency or bias to evil, inherited from Adam and other ancestors according to the laws of heredity. For this the converted man is not responsible. It is not sin in him for which he is blameworthy, but the effect of sin in another. The regenerating and sanctifying power of the Holy Spirit renews his nature and sweeps away to a greater or less extent the inherited depravity. This initial sanctification may in rare cases be complete, but usually it is not. It seems reasonable that as the saved man endeavors to serve the Lord, and forms habits of godliness which become more and more fixed as he is more fully and continuously dominated by the power of the Spirit, the inherited depravity for which he is not responsible will gradually decrease in its power. Whether he will ever reach a point in this life when this depravity will entirely disappear without his definitely seeking its removal is a question on which there will be great difference of opinion. I am disposed to think that such freedom from depravity is possible. When the Christian thus reaches gradually a state of entire sanctification he may not be aware of the time when this work of grace was completed; and he may not, indeed, profess to have gained this complete purity. Bishop Janes held that there were many in the Church who had really experienced the elimination of this tendency to evil, yet had never professed entire sanctification. Now, if the saved man lives a fully justified life continuously—which is possible—he is in a state of grace very little, if any, below that of entire sanctification.

But it is his privilege through definite prayer and faith to be delivered instantaneously from this depravity. Such deliverance constitutes entire sanctification, or purity, and marks an epoch in his spiritual life. At such a time he receives, in addition to the removal of the depravity, a power which, if retained through watchfulness and prayer, will hold him —to use the language of Dr. Whedon—"in that same perfect fullness of divine approbation as rested upon him when justification first pronounced him through Christ perfectly innocent of sin." If he has been living continuously, or almost so, in the light of a justified life prior to this experience the change may not be very apparent to others; but the internal warfare will be less severe, and God's restraining grace will not be required in such large measure, since the tendency to evil has been removed.

Nevertheless, there will yet be susceptibility to temptation and the possibility of sin, so that God's help will be needed every moment.

This is complete purity, but not perfection. Perfection includes purity, but purity does not include perfection. There will be for the purified nature a growth in knowledge, wisdom, and power as all the faculties of the soul develop toward that symmetry and ripeness of character which deserves the name of perfection. And the scars of sin will ever be upon us in this life, so that there is a perfection which can only be gained when "this mortal shall have put on immortality."

Danville, Ill. G. E. Scrimger.

POSTHUMOUS HUMANITY OF CHRIST.

The child Jesus had a human nature, inherited from Mary and David and Abraham. If immortality be inherent in all humanity, then this human nature of Jesus must have been immortal; and so the Son, as a distinct Person, must live in glory in his humanity. But while the Son lived on earth we believe he possessed a divine nature which was curbed and limited in the exercise of its powers by his human nature. Does this human nature still cling to him in the heavenly state, restraining and confining the divine nature which we consider inseparable from his very being? Or did he cast off his entire humanity, with all its sweet memories of Galilee and its sad associations with human sorrow? In that case his human nature was not immortal. Possibly it was so overshadowed by divinity that it could not put forth full moral volition, and so could not claim immortality. Possibly, again, it was so assimilated to the divine nature and so sublimated thereby that, after the ascension, it ceased to exist as human. For, after all, we must remember man was made in the image of God, and a being who was "God-man" on earth might be wholly and solely God in heaven, yet eternally possessing attributes corresponding to all that is noble and godlike in man.

The difficulty and mystery of human immortality in connection with the Sonship are enhanced by their application to other worlds than ours. Why should we not weigh probabilities and possibilities when we cannot possess certainties? While there are many millions of inchoate and undeveloped worlds, it is altogether probable that at least one in a million is inhabited by intelligent and responsible beings like ourselves; and it is entirely probable that these beings in many worlds have sinned. It is natural and easy for free-acting beings to do wrong. It is doubtful if ever any order of beings was created without the liability to sin. If, then, all orders of beings, in the play and freedom of their capacities and susceptibilities, actually sinned, is it not reasonable to believe that a Saviour was sent to each and all, as well as to the human race? Why should our case be anomalous? *Ab uno disce omnia.*

Now, if the Son descended to other worlds and assumed the nature of their inhabitants in order to redeem them, and afterward ascended with their nature into the heavens, how many natures must, on that supposition, be associated with the one Christ? Moreover, are these supposed

incarnations confined to the past, or do they pertain to the future also? Had the Son already become incarnate many times and in many worlds when he appeared as the Child of the manger? Will he repeat the deed of condescension and love in multitudinous incarnations through ages of ages? Who dare say that all this is either impossible or unworthy of almighty Love? Indeed, may it not be what we might expect of a love that is not only free and full, but self-sacrificing? For aught we know, suffering, when beneficent and redemptive, may be as natural to the Deity as is enjoyment.

On the theory of more worlds than one, and possibly more redemptions than one, the doctrine of posthumous humanity becomes loaded down with complexity, if not contradiction; but the doctrine of posthumous and eternal divinity remains conceivable and reasonable.

Thurlow, Pa. T. M. GRIFFITH.

FOREKNOWLEDGE AND CONTINGENCY.

A WRITER in the "Arena" of a former number of the *Review*, referring to a previous contribution concerning "Foreknowledge and Contingency," animadverts at some length on the position taken by the contributor. He writes apparently to maintain the proposition that God's foreknowledge is so limited that he cannot know the future issues of man's free will; or, as has been said by some one, "God cannot foreknow the unforeknowable." In short, the assertion seems to be that what man cannot foreknow of the issues of human free will God cannot.

This is certainly a temerarious assertion, and ought not to be made unless it is backed by sound logic. The latter, however, seems to be totally wanting in the communication now under review. To say that "God cannot foreknow an event, as such, which has not come to pass and which is, therefore, not an event," is a mere platitude, as much as to say God cannot foreknow an event until it has come to pass. Pray, how can he *fore*know it then? This is a simple denial of the foreknowledge of God. The remainder of the paragraph just quoted is simply a reiteration in varied form of the proposition that a contingency to the human mind must be also of necessity a contingency to the divine mind. This is a direct contradiction of the position of the writer's opponent, who is quoted as saying in his former article: "What is contingent to the human mind is not necessarily contingent to the divine mind;" but to successfully rebut this position requires something more than mere assertion. Having made the subject a matter of controversy, the burden of proof rests on the recent contributor to the "Arena." Had he simply called in question the position of his opponent the burden of proof might have been thrown upon the latter.

The concluding paragraph of the recent communication seems to be concerned with determining what is the nature of God's foreknowledge of the issues of man's free will, or rather, perhaps, what is its extent. The argument is that, if a "man of boundless wealth" can confidently undertake the execution of some great human enterprise with an assur-

ance of successfully overcoming all contingencies and opposition of human wills and bringing his undertaking to full completion, much more God, "through his infinitely productive will and the limitless resources of his character and the universe, can accomplish great things in the race." The only way to reduce this to logic is by what mathematicians have called the theory of limits. Otherwise the argument has no force without limiting the freedom of the human will. Practically applied, this theory, as revolved in the Infinite Mind, would proceed thus: "If one free human will refuses to fulfill my divine will another may not; and if that one refuses a third may not; and so on *ad infinitum*, or to the end of the human race; at all events, sometime and by some one my will will doubtless be fulfilled." How belittling is this to the infinite attributes of God!

The recent writer says of his opponent's statements, "There is a slip in such logic." I will not venture to make such an assertion of his own statements, lest I be not able to point it out, to say nothing of correcting it. Let us look again: "What is contingent to the human mind is not necessarily contingent to the divine mind. Contingency is not an attribute of future events, but of our finite qualities." I see no logical fallacy. Moreover, the statement seems to agree with the Scripture (Isa. xlvi, 9, 10, and xlii, 9): "I am God, and there is none like me, declaring the end from the beginning, and from ancient times the things that are not yet done;" "Behold, the former things are come to pass, and new things do I declare: before they spring forth I tell you of them." With the psalmist I exclaim, "Such knowledge is too wonderful for me; it is high, I cannot attain unto it" (Psalm cxxxix, 6). As Dr. Miner Raymond is wont to say, we cannot deny or doubt God's foreknowledge; but we must ever wonder how in the world God knows so much!

Lynden, Wash. F. H. Chamberlin.

AN EXCEPTION TAKEN.

In the *Review* for March–April, 1895, the article by Dr. Carroll on "Our Attitude toward Roman Catholics" was calculated to challenge wide attention. Concerning this article I desire to note a single exception. It does not require a protest as a whole. The general position taken by Dr. Carroll must receive the approbation of the careful observers of the trend of events as between Romanism and Protestantism for the past quarter of a century. In the *Quarterly Review* for 1868 were two articles on Romanism by Dr. Hiram Mattison, than whom none was more competent at that time to speak on this subject, and whose concluding sentence was, "Resistance now or a religious war within twenty years is the alternative before us." The twenty years and more are passed, and the tendency has been away from, rather than toward, a religious war. Now there are two wings, perhaps two factions, within the Roman Catholic Church in America, which are separated from each other, how widely perhaps none outside the charmed circle of the hierarchy may know. Besides, individual opinion on the part of the laity contrary to the expressed will of

the clergy is coming to be manifested with increased frequency. This might be illustrated by numerous facts coming under my personal observation, and because my attention was directed to this subject by Dr. Mattison's articles a quarter of a century ago. Now, these are but two indices of the trend of events—and more might be given—which confirm one in a position in harmony with that taken by Dr. Carroll. So, on the whole, one must commend the article in question. That the hierarchy would incite a religious war upon Protestantism in America may be just as true to-day as at any period in the past, and in this, as in any other, country. But it is a fact that they cannot command the laity sufficiently to warrant them in such a declaration of war; and, by the by, this "cannot" is confirmatory of the position of Dr. Carroll.

Now, the exception to be noted is the use, which occurs frequently in the article, of the word "Catholic" as applying to the Roman Catholic Church. Perhaps this may be a matter of small moment. Perhaps it may be of the nature of logomachy. However, to my thought, it is not a correct use of words, nor is it fair to concede to any denomination the exclusive use of a term of such significance as "Catholic." The order of thought in our religious experience should be (1) a Christian; (2) a catholic Christian; and (3) a Methodist catholic Christian. Perhaps nowhere else is "catholic" a misnomer more truly than as applied to the Roman Catholic Church; and yet a broad catholicity would concede its use, in connection always with "Roman," in order, perhaps, not to break the continuity of terms in Church history. I am a Methodist catholic Christian, and I humbly protest against the appropriation of the term "catholic" by, or even its concession to, any single denomination of religion.

Wayland, N. Y. W. O. Peet.

"ANOTHEN"—A WORD STUDY.

This word appears in the original of the New Testament thirteen times, and is rendered three times by the Authorized Version "again," namely, in John iii, 3; iii, 7; and in Gal. iv, 9. The Revised Version renders it in the first two instances by "anew;" and in each of these the marginal reading is "from above." In the first two instances it is used by Jesus in his interview with Nicodemus, and in a purely spiritual sense. I can see no gain in translating *ἀνωθεν* by "anew," as the Revised Version does. This distinguished visitor of Jesus would not, I apprehend, get any clearer idea of Jesus's meaning, were he living to-day, from the use of "anew," instead of "again." It was a great fact that Jesus desired to get clearly before the mind of Nicodemus, and not the mere process of that fact. Jesus evaded the *modus operandi*, and did not so much as attempt to illustrate it till this nocturnal questioner inquired, "How can these things be?"

Ἀνωθεν is rendered "from above" by both the Authorized and Revised Versions in the following references: John iii, 31; xix, 11; James i, 17; iii, 15; and iii, 17. In two of the last three instances it indicates the

source of the wisdom spoken of, that is, heaven; and not only the source, but the quality, is implied. It is a "good gift," a "perfect gift," and it comes *ἀνωθεν*, that is, "from above." Mere worldly wisdom is "earthly, sensual, devilish;" but this wisdom of God is "from above," and is "first pure, then peaceable, gentle, easy to be intreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without variance, without hypocrisy."

Three times *ἀνωθεν* is rendered by "the top," by both the Authorized and Revised Versions, namely, in Matt. xxvii, 51; Mark xv, 38; and John xix, 23. The last is in reference to the seamless coat of Jesus. When the soldiers had crucified him they took his outer garments and cut them in four pieces, each of the four soldiers taking one as a perquisite for his service, which was in accordance with Roman law. But when they came to the tunic, or under garment, which was "without seam, woven from the top [*ἀνωθεν*] throughout," they cast "lots" for it, thereby unwittingly fulfilling Psalm xxii, 18: "They part my garments among them, and upon my vesture do they cast lots." The two former instances are references to the miraculous rending of the veil of the temple from the top [*ἀνωθεν*] to the bottom, so that, whereas it had been one whole piece, it was now two. This rending was to remain, for all time, a symbol of that perfect and sufficient sacrifice for the sins of the whole world by Christ Jesus.

In Luke's preface to his gospel we have the word rendered by "from the very first" in the Authorized, and "from the first" in the Revised Version. The task Luke sets for himself is to go back to the first (*ἀνωθεν*), and, from the facts gathered, to inform the "most excellent Theophilus" of all "those matters which have been fulfilled among us, even as they delivered them unto us, which from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word, . . . that thou mightest know the certainty concerning the things wherein thou wast instructed."

Another, and the last, instance is in Acts xxvi, 5. *Ἄνωθεν*, in this instance, is rendered "from the beginning" by the Authorized, and "from the first" by the Revised Version. In his great apology before Agrippa Paul challenges the Jews who had instigated his arrest and trial, telling the king that he, Paul, is well, if not favorably, known among the very men who are so eagerly awaiting his sentence. He says, "My manner of life then, from my youth up, which was from the beginning among mine own nation, and at Jerusalem, know all the Jews; having knowledge of me from the first, if they be willing to testify, how that after the straitest sect of our religion I lived a Pharisee."

Summing up this little study of this word, we see that it is rendered by six different expressions in the Authorized and Revised Versions, namely, "again," "anew," "from above," "the top," "from the beginning," and "from the first." We may group the result under two heads: when an adverb of place it means "from above," "from on high," and hence "from heaven;" when an adverb of time it means "from the beginning," "from the first."

S. R. Reno.

Ludlow, Mo.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

NEW MEASURES AND NEW OPINIONS.

The age in which we live is one of intense agitation. Nothing seems to be settled as to what men ought to believe and how they ought to act. The doctrinal and ethical systems of the world are undergoing revision. There seems to be an assumption that the past has been a period of ignorance and failure, and that the future is without hope unless the present generation shall show it the truth and discover new methods of influencing humanity. These fluctuations affect the Church most decidedly. The doctrinal upheavals are so great that many Christians scarcely know what to believe, and seriously inquire how they shall escape from the labyrinth of uncertainty which environs them; in other words, they ask whether the past is to be entirely discarded and an entirely new order of things is to take its place.

In order to decide this question we must study the teachings of history, and ascertain whether the success of the Church has ever been attained by new views and new methods, or whether her greatest triumphs have been found in the return to the old. We may recur for illustration to the period of the Reformation under Martin Luther. There had been a constant growth of new views and opinions in the early Church. Ritual and laws had greatly changed. Morals had deteriorated. The Church had become a mere secular power. Even the highest dignitaries did not pretend to be religious, much less Christian. Worldliness was the motto of the Church, and the Church had practically become the State. Luther's Reformation was a bugle blast calling a return to the past. He studied the Epistle to the Galatians, and out of that epistle the Reformation was born. He attempted to find out what the apostle thought, and received in their fullness the teachings of Christ; and thus, by returning to the old doctrines and old methods of the apostles and prophets, he gave a new impetus to the Church and laid the foundation of a new civilization.

Historians now concede that the revival under John Wesley was a reformation and has largely affected for good the whole English-speaking world. The England of to-day is a different England from what it would have been had not John Wesley and his brother Charles and the Holy Club restored a new order of things, and that by a return to the past. John Wesley did not propose a new theology, he only desired to restore the old theology and make it a force in the hearts and lives of the people. Religion had become divorced from morals, and priests and people alike were neglectful of religion. The Wesleyan reformation was a restoration of the past. It, too, was born in the Epistle to the Galatians, for it was while reading the introduction to that epistle that John Wesley's heart was "strangely warmed." It was the revival of Pauline teaching and of Pauline ethics which constituted the Wesleyan revival. Again

we find a reformation to take place, not by new methods and new measures and opinions, but by the restoration of that which had been discarded and long forgotten.

The age in which we live is regarded as the most advanced in the history of civilization. We boast of our science, our literature, and our art; and yet never was an age so busy in attempting to show what men ought to think and what they ought to do, and never was there more of a failure in doing what the most advanced thinkers say ought to be done. The methods of business, the personal ambitions, the desire for power are very influential in this scientific and artistic age. Wealth was never more potent, and poverty never so discounted. In the midst of our luxury we look supinely at the deterioration of humanity. The Church has often adopted worldly methods and has too largely accepted worldly aims. The advancement of the Church has become our watchword, rather than the advancement of humanity. The world is honeycombed with organizations, each claiming to be a panacea for the ills under which we labor.

What shall be the remedy? Our modern thinkers tell us new measures, new opinions. On the other hand, we think the true remedy is in the old measures, the old opinions. We must do over again what has been done in every crisis in the history of the Church. We must restore the past. Christ must be the model of living. The Scriptures must be the basis of opinions and the ethics of the New Testament must be the ethics of the daily life of the people. The present must yield to the past; and only in this way shall the new era of humanity come. The minister of to-day will do well to examine by what means the advancement of every period has ever been achieved, and to utilize them in his own ministry. This is not a proposal to reject progress, but to ascertain and exercise the fundamental laws of all progress.

THE LOSS OF AIM IN THE MINISTRY.

An article in the last "Itinerants' Club" on ministerial ideals may fitly introduce the present subject. No life can be at its best without a supreme purpose. If one investigates the history of the men and women who have made profound impressions upon their times, either in commercial, professional, or political life, he will find that their success has been the result of a steadfast adherence to some dominating purpose. They have subordinated their methods to their aims. In no sphere or profession is this principle more important than in the Christian ministry. The loss of aim involves failure. Each minister will recall the early days of his consecration, the time when he first became impressed that it was his duty to preach the Gospel. How lofty and sublime the purpose of those years when he was preparing himself for his great work! He saw in vision the world which Christ came to redeem "dead in trespasses and sins," with no hope save in the new life imparted by the Holy Spirit through faith in Christ Jesus. The motive which controlled him was the salvation of souls. For this he was willing to make great sacrifices in securing an education.

He cheerfully gave years of time to get ready to tell the story of the cross. In his view no place was too small, no congregation too ignorant, for the best talents and the choicest culture he could bring to the sacred office. After a few years in the ministry there has sometimes come to such a one, almost unconsciously, a less definite aim. He has become more professional. He has begun to think of the relative position which he occupies with others of the same profession. Another minister, perhaps his college friend, whom he knows to have less scholarship and no greater ability than himself, is preferred in the assignment of work. He finds himself the pastor of a small church instead of a large one, and has apparently little prospect of advancement to the chief places in the Conference. This is disheartening and will destroy his usefulness if he does not keep distinctly in view his sublime purpose. If in the midst of his discouragements he does not lower his aim he will conquer success, if not position. He must never forget that worldly position and ministerial success are not convertible terms.

The loss of aim is also a danger to those who occupy places of responsibility in the Church. The preachers who are the most successful in a worldly sense will do well occasionally to enter upon a course of introspection. An investigation into their motives will recall the fact that they are no longer interested in the direct work of the Christian ministry, but busy with its accessories. They are thinking, perhaps, how they may enlarge their congregations, how they may build up in material things the particular interests committed to them, or how they may contribute to the enlargement and power of their own denomination. They have, perhaps, become devoted to Church externals, rather than to the development of the individual Christian life of their people. We will grant that it is well to devote oneself to one's particular Church and to think of the success of one's own denomination; but if these are the chief aims which dominate him he will not even be able to build up his Church in its highest and truest sense. He will accomplish the most for all true causes when he comes back to the original purpose for which he entered the ministry, namely, the conversion of sinners and edification of believers.

This loss of purpose on the part of the ministry is readily perceived by the congregation. It does not take the people long to understand the controlling motives of the man who is placed over them as their religious teacher and guide. The success which attends the efforts of evangelistic laborers attests the same thing. When these persons come to the help of the pastor the church seems to take new life. It subordinates everything to the supreme purpose, and in this way the church is quickened and souls are rescued. It is a sad thing when the ministry so loses its aim that it must be recalled to it by outside workers.

One who studies the condition of religious thought at the present time must be impressed with the discussions which are taking place—discussions as to the authority of the Scriptures, as to the date of the several books, as to the best critical processes, and as to the literary character of the Scripture records. These are important; but when they become the purpose

of study, rather than the means of reaching an end, they constitute a menace to the progress of God's kingdom. The minister, therefore, should not lose his aim, his supreme purpose being the rescue of men and the upbuilding of humanity. Happy is he who, in a small or large church, engaged in literary or critical studies or in the everyday duties of his office, does not lose the high aim with which he started upon his mission, the abandonment of which will make his ministry a failure, however successful it may appear to human observation.

EXEGETICAL—ROM. V, 1.

The Revised text of this passage, "Being therefore justified by faith, let us have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ," is a remarkable change, from the indicative form, "we have peace," of the Authorized, to the subjunctive form, "let us have peace." The manuscript authority is decidedly in favor of the subjunctive; while, at the same time, subjective considerations growing out of the context lead some eminent critical scholars to retain the indicative mood, as in the King James Version. With regard to the textual authority for the passage the reader may consult the *Methodist Quarterly Review* for September, 1881, pages 722, 723. It is there shown that eminent expositors have regarded this as a passage where contextual and logical considerations must overbalance even the strongest external testimony. It must be conceded that, while there are instances like this where such a method of criticism may be accepted without danger, it is so precarious that it would be an unsafe rule in determining the text either of the Old or New Testament. The evidence of the codices must stand as our authority for the precise form of the text which we are to expound. The present case is a peculiarly interesting example, and the reader may be referred also to the valuable discussion by Meyer in his commentary on this verse as an excellent specimen of the character of the discussion and of the interests involved.

The changes in the reading growing out of the results of modern textual criticism involve changes in interpretation corresponding thereto. It is one of the peculiarities of biblical interpretation that when we are puzzled as to the exact form of the text we may yet find rich instruction in any of the renderings we may adopt. Even if the changes have been due to personal bias they have been such as satisfied the mind of the writer and are instructive for us. The ordinary text in the passage under consideration gives a clear and satisfactory meaning. It is a positive statement that because we have been justified by faith we have peace with God. This meaning seems to fit the course of the apostle's argument so exactly that many have insisted on retaining it even against preponderating manuscript authority. We must consider, however, that the fact that the interpretation of a new reading is difficult is no valid reason for setting it aside. It is a hasty assumption to say, with Shedd, of this passage, "The subjunctive mode, in the hortatory signification certainly, is entirely out of place here." We must note, not only the mood, but the tense both of

the participle and the verb. Beet says, "The participle implies only that the act of justification precedes the state of peace with God," and regards justification as "the means by which we must have peace with God." His rendering is, "Let us then, justified by faith, have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ." The passage, in this view, does not regard justification as having necessarily taken place already, but rather gives the connection between it and the peace which is the privilege of the believer. Beet says further that "in this verse Paul passes from abstract and general doctrine to actual and individual spiritual life. He marks the transition by urging his readers to join him in claiming the blessing whose glorious results he is about to unfold." Sanday lays stress on the meaning of ἐχωμεν, and says that it does not signify to "make" peace, "get" or "obtain" peace, which would require σχῶμεν, but rather to "keep" or "enjoy" peace. "The declaration 'not guilty,' which the sinner comes under by a heartfelt embracing of Christianity, at once does away with the state of hostility in which he had stood to God, and substitutes for it a state of peace which he has only to realize." Sanday regards the participle as marking "the initial moment of the state," and he paraphrases as follows: "The state which thus lies before the Christian should have consequences both near and remote. The nearer consequences are peace with God and hope which gives courage under persecution."

Dr. Shedd, as already stated, rejects the hortatory signification, but remarks that "the concessive signification of the subjunctive might be defended here by one who should insist upon taking the reading which has such strong diplomatic support—'Being justified, we may have peace.'" He regards the subjunctive here as approximating to the future, and quotes the Peshito's rendering in its support: "Because we are justified by faith, we shall have peace." We incline to the explanation which emphasizes the tense of the verb and urges to "keep" or "enjoy" peace. We are thus led to preserve that peace into which we have entered by our justification through faith in Jesus Christ. This exposition harmonizes with the succeeding, rather than the preceding, context, and it is this aspect of the passage which helps us to the conclusion that notwithstanding the great force of the logical argument from the former chapter for the retention of the indicative, the context which follows would equally favor the text which is adopted by the late revision. There are so many things to be taken in consideration before we decide against the conclusions of well-established external testimony that we may well hesitate before we reject them. A text which at first view seems entirely out of harmony with the context sometimes, after fuller consideration and more careful study, becomes necessary to the course of the argument.

The textual changes which have been the results of modern text criticism open a field of exegesis as yet untrodden. These modifications have been discussed in the treatment of the Greek text, but are only now beginning to be employed in their practical application. On careful study it will be found that these well-established changes yield a meaning full of instruction and of comfort.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

CYLINDERS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

THERE is probably no place on earth where those interested in Babylonian and Assyrian antiquities can carry on their investigations to better advantage than in the spacious rooms and galleries of the British Museum. Here are found, in the palatial Assyrian, Nineveh, and Nimroud galleries, as well as in the Assyrian central saloon, to say nothing of the transept and the Babylonian and Assyrian room on the upper floor, innumerable treasures which the pick and spade of an army of excavators, under the direction of Layard, Rawlinson, Smith, Loftus, and others equally worthy of mention, have brought to light during the past fifty years. As one walks through these vast galleries, arranged often in the same order as in their original places, and studies the delicate work on the bas-reliefs, executed with such artistic skill and which unroll to him the records of past glory and greatness, he is filled with amazement at the advanced stage of the plastic arts in the remote ages, and also with gratitude to those who have rendered such excellent service in restoring these monuments.

As might be expected, these discoveries have revolutionized the science of Old Testament criticism. No one who has examined the seals, cylinders, tablets, and other articles in the Babylonian and Assyrian room will ask whether the art of writing was known to the Semitic people at the time of the Exodus. How exceedingly shallow the following words of Ewald, the great Göttingen Hebraist, seem to us in the light of recent discoveries! And yet this great biblical scholar some fifty years ago wrote as follows in his *History of Israel:* "Was there a system of writing already current in the time of Joseph, or Abraham, or at least in the days of Moses? The narratives of the patriarchal ages bear no trace of a certain tradition of the use of writing in that ancient period. It cannot be proved that any written documents came down from the patriarchal times to later ages." Though there are earlier specimens of cuneiform writings than those found upon the cylinders and seals, yet the study of these will be of the greatest interest and profit.

Lest there may be some reader who has not a clear idea of what cylinders are it may be stated that there are of these at least three distinct kinds. The first may be called cylinder-seals. These, as the name indicates, are cylindrical seals, which were much used by the Babylonians, and later by the Assyrians, Phœnicians, Egyptians, and others, not only as amulets, charms, and ornaments, but also to ratify contracts both private and public. They were impressed upon tablets while the clay was still soft. The brick document was then hardened, either in the sun or by means of artificial heat. This practice corresponds to our impressing official documents on leather or paper with seals upon wax. These cylinders, made of amethyst, chalcedony, emerald, jasper, onyx,

and various other precious stones, vary in size from about one half an inch long to two inches or more; in diameter from one quarter of an inch to five times that dimension. The amount of carving upon them depends upon the size and purpose of the seal; some contain only the name of the owner and that of the god or gods he worshiped, while others have in addition some legendary passage from a sacred book, as that of Asrinilu, from the great Chaldæan epic entitled "Gilgames." These cylinder-seals were perforated lengthwise through the middle, a string, by means of which they were suspended from the neck, being passed through this hole. The oldest seal yet discovered is that in the De Clercq collection at Paris. It bears the name of Sargani or Sargon the First, King of Agade, who lived about 3800 B. C. The work on this is very exquisite. Babelon in speaking of this seal says, "I do not know which should astonish us the more—the degree of perfection to which the Chaldæans had carried the plastic arts, or the prodigiously distant epoch to which such monuments transport us." It is almost impossible to conceive how, in the gray dawn of antiquity, such delicate engraving could be made upon such hard materials—objects so difficult, even now, to cut or engrave.

Mr. Pinches, an eminent Assyriologist, wrote in 1885 in substance as follows: The earliest example of engraving on stone preserved in the British Museum is a pink-veined marble egg-shaped object about two and a half inches long, drilled from end to end, probably the head of a mace or staff of office. It is inscribed thus: "I, Sargon, the messenger, King of Agade, have dedicated [this] to Samas in Sippara." There is now, however, one specimen in the same case, a gate-socket of Entenna, King of Babylonia, 4200 B. C., the upper rim of which is covered with inscriptions. Just across, in case A, is a fragment of a granite bowl of Eannadu, the first king of Babylonia, or at least the first mentioned in the inscriptions. Though the engraving on this dates back to 4500 B. C., yet it is clear and distinct and quite modern-looking.

Let us return to our cylinders. Without going into details, it might be stated that "specimens of cylinder-seals have been found which apparently belong to a period about B. C. 4000; and it is known from the examples preserved in London and Paris that the art of engraving was carried on without a break from that period down to the time of the Persian conquest of Babylon by Cyrus, about B. C. 539" (Budge).

Besides these smaller cylinders used as seals and prophylactic amulets, there are also exhibited in the Museum a large collection of what may be termed historical ones. There are two prevailing types, the barrel-shaped and the polygonal. While the former belonged to the Babylonian empire and the latter to the Assyrian, it would not be safe, as has been done, to assert that the shape determined the character or nationality, for we have in one case five barrel-shaped cylinders giving a summary of the wars in the early part of Sennacherib's reign (B. C. 705–681), as well as an hexagonal one of the same king which, among other things, has an account of his war against Hezekiah and the capture of Jerusalem. Alongside of this is another hexagonal cylinder; it is that of Esar-haddon (B. C. 681–668).

What makes this of special interest is the fact that it gives in detail an account of the defeat and surrender of Manasseh. That portion of this official account which describes Sennacherib's campaign in Palestine and the defeat of Hezekiah is of such interest to every biblical student as to justify an insertion of it here. It has been thus translated: "Six and forty of the strong cities, and the strongholds and the hamlets round about them, belonging to Hezekiah the Jew, who had not submitted to my rule, . . . I besieged and captured. Two hundred thousand and one hundred and fifty souls, young and old, male and female, horses, mules, asses, camels, oxen, and sheep without number, did I make to be brought forth therefrom, and I counted them as spoil. Hezekiah himself, like unto a bird in a cage, did I shut up within his house in Jerusalem. I cast up mounds against the city, and I turned back every man who came forth. His towns which I had captured from him I took away from his kingdom and gave them to Mitinti, King of Ashdod, to Padi, King of Ekron, and to Silbel [?], King of Gaza; and I reduced his land. I increased the sum of the tribute which he paid yearly unto my majesty. The fear of the glory of my majesty overpowered Hezekiah; and his captains and his mighty men of valor whom he had brought into Jerusalem to defend it laid down their arms. Thirty talents of gold, eight hundred talents of silver, precious stones, ivory, treasures, his daughters, the women of his palace, etc., . . . he sent unto my palace at Nineveh."

This long extract is only a portion of what is contained on this hexagonal monument. Extensive, however, as this State document is, there are at least three in the British Museum which are much larger and, as might be expected, contain much more matter inscribed upon them. Perhaps the largest of these three measures twenty-one inches in height, has ten sides, each about two and a half inches. It would take a sheet of paper twenty-one by twenty-five inches to hold as much matter as we find upon this cylinder, which records the glories of Assur-bani-pal. In a neighboring case are exhibited three fine cylinders dug out from the ruins of a temple at Kalah Sherghat, the so-called city of Assur. They are all inscribed with the great deeds and glories of Tiglath-pileser I, who lived about 1100 B. C. The largest of these octagonal baked-clay cylinders is fully twenty-one inches high, and has upon it a lengthy account of the campaigns and building projects of the great monarch just mentioned.

There is a very large number of these cylinders, generally of small size and always barrel-shaped, which record the operations of Nebuchadnezzar and Nabonidus. Two are of special interest; for, besides recording the restoration of the temple of Ebarra at Larsa, which had been destroyed during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II, it also describes the discovery of the monuments of Burna-Buryash, B. C. 1425, and of Khammurabi (the Amraphel of Genesis), B. C. 2200, and again that he discovered in the foundations of the temple of Eulbar inscriptions of Sargon I, B. C. 3800, though other kings in different reigns had vainly sought to find them. We shall only mention four more, which were found by

Taylor imbedded in the four corners of the temple of the moon-god at Mugheir, or the biblical Ur of the Chaldees. These are not large, but very perfect, and simply record the restoration of this temple by Nabonidus.

From what has been said the reader will have surmised that these cylinders were commemorative as well as talismanic in their character. This is made the more probable from a discovery of M. Place at Khorsabad, where he disinterred a stone box from the foundations in which was inscribed on gold, silver, antimony, copper, and lead the following inscription, translated thus by Oppert: "May the great lord Assur destroy from the face of this country the name and race of him who shall injure the works of my hand or who shall carry off my treasure." Compare also what Professor Hilprecht calls "one of the oldest monuments of Semitic speech," which was found deep among the ruins of Nipur and reads: "Whosoever removes this inscribed stone, his foundation may Bel and Samas and Ninna tear up, and exterminate his seed."

It would be easy to multiply examples; but the above will give the reader some idea of cylinders, their antiquity and use. In conclusion, it may be stated that those interested in the study of the articles above described will find some rare specimens in the museums of New York and Philadelphia, and that the University of Chicago is soon to have elegant casts of some of the finest specimens in the British Museum.

REPORT OF THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

THE Quarterly Statement of this organization, July, 1896, has been recently issued, and contains much interesting and suggestive matter. Dr. F. J. Bliss makes his ninth report concerning the progress of his excavations within the present city limits of Jerusalem. He has for some months past been tracing the course of an old wall, several feet below the surface, probably not dating much, if any, further back than the time of the Crusaders. His report possesses a real value as showing the vast amount of patient preliminary labor, often of an experimental and tentative character, that has preceded all important archæological discoveries, whether in classical, oriental, or other fields, or that has followed them before their value has been fully established. Of the various papers appended to the statement the best are those on "The Date of the Exodus," by Captain A. E. Haynes and Colonel C. R. Conder. Out of such discussion, as inconclusive and unsatisfactory as it may now appear, will eventually come—supplemented, as it will be in the order of Providence, from time to time by such fresh and pertinent discoveries as our increasing knowledge is able properly to assimilate—a clear light and, we believe, a sure confirmation of our Scripture records. Captain Haynes, who seems sufficiently under the influence of higher critical tendencies, nevertheless in a footnote says: "The record of a seven years' famine in Egypt during the seventeenth dynasty has been found in the tomb of a certain Baba in Upper Egypt, and has been used to support the suitability of the time of the Hyksos for the immigration of Israel to Egypt."

MISSIONARY REVIEW.

THE AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY AS A MISSIONARY AGENCY.

One of the foremost missionary agencies of this country is the American Bible Society, and it is with great pleasure that we note its steady and rapid growth in the confidence and support of the people. In eighty years it has issued 61,705,841 volumes in nearly one hundred languages and dialects. In the first quarter of a century of its existence it issued a little less than three million copies; in the next quarter of a century it swelled its publications to nearly nineteen millions; and in the third quarter of a century, as it had the pleasure of announcing at its diamond anniversary, its issues reached about thirty-two and a half millions. In the five years since then it has sent forth seven and a half million copies.

Whither have gone the volumes distributed within the last year? The answer is at hand. They have helped to evangelize and elevate the thirty thousand people engaged in mining and other branches of the iron industry in Jefferson County, Ala., two thirds of whom are negroes; the saw mill towns of the southern part of the State; and the small farmers of the northern portion. In California, they have gone among the Japanese and Chinese, Chinese copies having been obtained from the Rev. Mr. Hykes, a Methodist in charge of the Shanghai agency. Over twenty-eight thousand copies have been circulated, in thirty languages, in Chicago and other parts of Cook County, Ill. In the Indian Territory, the last vestige of the national domain held in fee simple from the United States government by the red man, the Scriptures have been circulated in thirteen Indian languages. They have gone into Louisiana, whole parishes of which State are without any evangelical church. Even New Hampshire has become so polyglot that the word has been scattered there in thirteen languages. Large numbers of copies have gone to the Spanish-speaking population of New Mexico. The agents of the society have met two hundred and forty-two thousand immigrants at New York, the eastern gate of the nation, and placed over fifty-six thousand volumes in their hands, in English, Welsh, French, Danish, Swedish, Finnish, Italian, Spanish, German, Dutch, Russian, Bulgarian, Hungarian, Bohemian, Polish, Slavic, Arabic, Greek, Armenian, Hebrew, and Portuguese. In Pennsylvania the copies distributed have been in thirty-five languages, including such unusual ones as Icelandic, Lithuanian, Tamil, Hawaiian, Turkish, and Slovak.

Abroad, the story of the circulation of the Scriptures is abundantly interesting. In Mexico one old woman, on receiving a Bible, said, "I am eighty-seven years old, but I have never heard before such words as you read from your Bible." "Have you not heard the Gospel during a life of eighty-seven years?" was asked. "I do not know what the Gospel may be, but I like what you read," was her reply; "continue." Priestly

antagonism is constant, and many a colporteur has been stoned for circulating the Scriptures. Mr. Penzotti, a Methodist, who was imprisoned for many months in a vile dungeon in Peru for evangelical teaching, has extended his influence within the year more or less over the five republics of Central America. In Guatemala the people are but partially clad and are morally degraded, but they welcome the colporteur. In Quezaltenango, with its population of thirty thousand, two thirds of whom are Indians, the supply was generous, though the priests got hold of many of the copies and destroyed them. Even the Caribs, speaking a mixed dialect of Spanish, French, English, and African, and almost without any religion at all, have received the Scriptures. Honduras, now poverty-stricken and almost without religion, was the first of the Central American republics to declare for the separation of Church and State; and its half million of people have been tendered the only literature which can start them on a higher plane. Far up the valley of the Orinoco, though welcomed with showers of stones, have penetrated the sturdy-hearted distributers of the word. In Argentina, the greatest republic south of the United States, the colporteur has long worked; but now women have taken up the work and are carrying the Scriptures into the *conventillas*, or large tenement houses. In Chile Bible distribution is carried on among the nitrate workers at Tarapaca. In Peru Roman Catholic women have organized to oppose the circulation of the Scriptures, but the good work goes on. Fifty-seven per cent of the population speak Quichua, a language without a literature, in use by three million domesticated Indians scattered through four separate South American republics; and the Quichua is being used to spread the truth. In Brazil within the year the agents of the society have spoken personally to one hundred and fifty thousand people about the teachings of the Bible.

We regret that our space precludes the continuance of this rapid sketch of the work of this noble society through foreign parts. The publication of the Bible in the sacred and literary language (Krapar) of the poor, distracted, and well-nigh destroyed Armenians, following the text used from the beginning of their Christian history, "comes at a momentous epoch in Armenian history." The publication of the Bulgarian pocket reference Bible and of the Koordish translation of Mark for the wildest, most desperate, and barbarous people of western Asia, who have probably murdered the three men who made the translation, shows the wide-reaching force of this great missionary agency.

THE DEVELOPMENTS IN AFRICA.

Bishop Hartzell comes to the work in Africa at an interesting juncture in the development of that continent. Thirty years ago the map of Africa was scarcely changed for the better from that of the Jesuits of several centuries ago; and even the map of thirty years ago was not recognized as authoritative for the remoter parts of the country. The whole continent has within that period been practically remapped. This is said

without reference to the political invasion of Europe, the most marked manifestation of earth-hunger, perhaps, in the annals of human history. Within the past ten years, and mainly within the first four years of the decade, ten millions out of the nearly twelve millions of square miles embraced in the continent have been partitioned, on paper, among the several nations of Europe. Within the last forty years even southern Africa was scarcely held to be worth claiming by any power in Europe. It was left to the travels of David Livingstone, seeking for the freer operations of his missionary work, to show to the civilized world what were the possibilities of this great region, and the influence of those travels is not yet within range of practical measurement. A competent authority, alluding to one result of the partition of Africa among European nations, has significantly said, "No such stupendous partition of the earth's surface by such means and in so short time has ever taken place before." The opposition to the vast slave traffic followed, as a necessary concomitant, the advances of Great Britain from the south along the great missionary's lines of exploration. Thirty-five years ago one might wait for months for a vessel to go east from Cape Colony to any point on the south tip of the continent, where now four lines of steamers ply constantly, unless the Portuguese has been borne down by competition with British and German vessels. Within that same period travel up the Shiré by canoe has been followed by travel on the fifteen steamers plying on that river and the lake system with which it is related. Tangled wilderness paths have given way to good roads lined with coffee plantations and telegraph poles as far into the interior as Blantyre.

Missionary work has been correspondingly developed. In Central Africa the broad continent, from ocean to ocean, was a region of undisturbed heathendom. In this same territory the Livingstonia mission and the Universities' mission have grown within twenty years to well-developed and stable Christian establishments; the London Missionary Society is as firmly fixed about Lake Tanganyika, and the Church of England mission as thoroughly rooted further north. On the west coast, in the region of the Kongo, are the English Baptist, the American Baptist, the American Presbyterian, and the Methodist Episcopal missions.

While it is true that the Kongo region attracted the attention of some of the most statesmanlike minds of the Methodist Episcopal Church at a time when the Kongo River was not explored more than a hundred miles or so from the seaboard, at the time when Stanley was supposed to be lost in the wilds of the interior, and when Bishop Janes asked Bishop Haven, in his visit to Africa, to make inquiry as to the feasibility of the extension of our missions to that region, it is equally true that it was the movements of Bishop Taylor that ultimately precipitated the Methodist Church into this territory. It cannot now withdraw from the picket line he has established. This does not imply that it shall limit its operations to any methods initiated by Bishop Taylor, but it does imply that the Church shall face the whole question of its responsibility to other portions of Africa than Liberia.

OUR METHODIST WORK IN INDIA AS SEEN BY A "CHURCHMAN."

It is a little strange to still meet with Methodists who take with grains of salt the accounts of the great work which, in the order of God's providence, the Methodist Episcopal Church has been enabled to do in India, and of the far greater work which lies within our reach if the same peculiar providence which has thus far guided us shall continue to guide us in the future. The further prosecution of the work seems just now to depend chiefly upon whether the necessary financial support shall be forthcoming.

Our first duty is to seek to dispel the ignorance of those not informed of the situation and of the thoroughness and realty of the work already accomplished. To aid in the task we quote the following from the *Indian Christian Messenger*, a periodical of the Church of England published at Allahabad, India: "The stupendous results achieved by the Methodist mission are staggering to the skeptic. The mission claims twenty per cent of all Protestant Indian Christians in India, and five per cent of all Christians in the country. . . . Confining our attention to North India, we find that there were last year over eight thousand baptisms of adults, excluding those of over six thousand children. There are some minds that do not find themselves prepared to comprehend these performances; but an unprejudiced investigator cannot come to a conclusion other than creditable to these earnest workers full of go and faith. . . . The whole of Rohilkund has been dotted over with Christians and Christian associations—churches, parsonages, red-ribbon brigades, leagues, schools, and colleges. The fact is clear that the Methodist workers are not given to dreaming. They fully believe that there is no difference in the value of the soul of a tanner and of the soul of one whose feet are ensconced in morocco slippers. The Methodist missionaries don't talk grandiloquently and declare, 'We do not care to manufacture Christians.' They open Goucher schools in villages and collect the waifs and strays as well for the boarding schools. The fragrant stench of the slums of the refuse of the towns and villages does not deter them from pursuing the lost sheep of the Lord in the humble ranks of humanity. And it will be madness to deny them their meed of praise for the glorious results of their exertions. . . . But we do not mean to imply that the Methodist mission is devoid of the so-called high-caste converts. They have a fair proportion of these, and their mission alone in North India can point to a live rajah among their own converts. The fruits of their labors have passed university and theological examinations and nowadays figure in courts, telegraph offices, and in educational institutions. . . . In North India at this moment, out of sixteen presiding elders, five are Indians invested with full financial and administrative powers. . . . The number of Indians, Conference members, is almost three times that of the Americans. These Indians have the same voice in managing the mission, and even in annually passing on the character of all agents, American or Indian. The result is that the cause of the Lord is furthered by the prevalent feeling of fellowship."

FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

Otto Ritschl. Since the death of Albrecht Ritschl his son Otto has been his truest representative in the domain of theology. True, the son does not accept without question all his father's theological opinions, but he comes nearer to maintaining the elder Ritschl's beliefs unchanged than any other representative of the Ritschl school. In a recently published work entitled *Ueber Werthurtheile*, an expression almost impossible of translation into English, he defines and defends his father's position with reference to one of the peculiar features of the Ritschlian theology. *Werthurtheile*, literally, "worth judgments," are judgments (in the logical sense) which are formed, not as the result of the use of the judgment, but by listening to the emotions. They express our interests, not our opinions. Since we have so many interests which lie outside the realm of scientific verification, it is necessary to have *Werthurtheile* by which to express our faith in reference to matters which cannot be reached by *theoretische Urtheile* ("theoretical judgments") or scientific thought. Among these is the whole realm of the religious. When we affirm the existence of God we do not depend upon our judgment so much as upon our sense of interest. We cannot know there is a God, but we can believe it. The belief in the existence of God is not the product of a train of reasoning, but springs from a necessity of the human soul. Because it is not the result of a ratiocinative process it can never be overthrown by science or philosophy. Because it so perfectly satisfies our hearts the reality of God is more certainly attested than any fact of external nature. It will be seen that the idea of *Werthurtheile*—including all religious truth—is well adapted to the needs of the apologist, who, in adopting it, snaps his fingers at the scientist and says, "I have a method of knowing which is unknown to you. By it I attain a greater certainty in a given sphere than you can attain in the sphere of science. These two methods of knowing which you and I represent do not lie in the same plane, nor do their planes bisect each other. Therefore there can be no clash between them. All the conflict between science and faith hitherto has arisen from an attempt to bring both to the test of the former. We give up the scientific certainty of our faith and place it upon a surer foundation. Henceforth there must be no conflict between the man of faith and the man of science."

Joseph Hollweck. There are few Roman Catholics who doubt or ever have doubted that the Roman see is the divinely appointed seat of the vicar of Christ on earth, the pope, and that if the papal seat were transferred to another city it would cease to be the papal seat. Hollweck is not of the small number who have doubted these things; on the other hand, he has recently attempted (*Der apostolische Stuhl und Rom*, Mainz,

Kirchheim) to set the question forever at rest so far as argument can accomplish the task. In doing so he cannot appeal to an utterance of the Church on the subject, for officially the doctrine of the inseparableness of the papacy from the Roman see has been rather assumed than asserted. The bulls *Unam Sanctam* and the *Vaticanum* of 1870, as well as the councils of Lyons and Florence, establish the fact of the succession of the Roman pontiff in the primacy, but do not assert the necessity. Believing that in order to establish the necessary connection of the two for all time either an express utterance of our Lord beforehand or an express sanction after the connection had been formed is demanded, he confesses that he has searched in vain for either in a direct form. Nevertheless he finds the sanction after the fact (*voluntate consequente*) abundantly attested for all purposes of faith. His investigations lead him to the conclusion that the fathers looked upon the union as inseparable; the popes have shared this opinion; the councils have so expressed themselves as to leave the impression that they assumed it so fully that its assertion was deemed unnecessary; with almost perfect unanimity the schools have taught the same; while the faithful have no doubt on the matter. Those who have questioned it have been men whose attitude toward the papacy was not without suspicion. The author closes with a few very remarkable sentences. He says: "Christ not only wills the freedom of the Church and its head in general, but its full freedom, limited by no obstacle. But this freedom in the fullest sense includes the temporal sovereignty of the pope as a necessary condition. Hence the divine providence ordered that in the course of time this sovereignty was bestowed on the pope. Since then he has been *jure divino* king of Rome." The meaning of such language is not difficult to discern.

Paul Grünberg. Not so much as a leader of thought as in the capacity of a master in the art of theological-biographical writing should he be mentioned. To few men, relatively, has it been given to accomplish as much as Spener. If he was not exactly original he was at least a leader of those like-minded with himself. The significance of the man is seen in this, as also in the opposition he excited and in the permanent results which followed his labors. In one sense of the word Grünberg's *Phillipp Jakob Spener* (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1893) is rather a philosophical-historical study of a great theological and religious leader than a biography. This may be seen in the arrangement of the material, which is as follows: "The Times of Spener," "The Life of Spener," "The Theology of Spener," "Spener as a Church Reformer." Not only is this arrangement thoroughly logical, it is executed in its details with a master hand. None other could have put himself so completely in possession of the vast material for the study. Note the variety of phases considered in the first chapter: the Church constitution, the clergy, schools and universities, church doctrine, public worship and church life, the religious and ethical life, relation of the Lutheran Church to other confessions. A second chapter takes up the reaction against the prevailing tendencies of

the time under four phases—a mystical, a practical, a theological, and that of a living, as contradistinguished from a dead, orthodoxy. Under the first phase alone he treats of thirty-three different personages, giving their views and estimating their influence. With similar particularity does he treat every portion of his subject. And yet each detail is brought into such vital relations to the entire theme that nowhere is the treatment dreary or unduly prolonged. Not only has Grünberg preserved the impression of a forward movement throughout, he has been able to maintain toward Spener himself, as toward all his predecessors and contemporaries, a judicial, yet sympathetic, attitude. The faults of the Church of Spener's time are pointed out, but not too bitterly condemned. Spener himself was so great as to tempt one to unstinted eulogy. But Grünberg has both a heart for his merits and an eye for the limitations and defects both of the personality and the theologian. The work should be immediately translated into English or its English counterpart produced.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

"Zur Characteristik des religiösen Standpunkt des Erasmus" (Characterization of the Religious Standpoint of Erasmus). By Friedrich Lezius. Gütersloh, Bertelsmann, 1895. Our author points out the fact that, while some have found Erasmus to be a man of weak character and somewhat lax morals, others regard him as strong and constant and of higher morality than Luther and Zwingli. Nor does he think this remarkable, since the life of Erasmus was so full of contradictions. "He prepared the way of the Reformation only to oppose it later. He broke with Luther and rejoiced in Zwingli's tragic death, and nevertheless died in Basel without the final offices of the Roman Catholic Church and was buried by Protestants in a Protestant church." But, passing all these by, he takes up the side of Erasmus's life mentioned in the title of his little work. On the whole it is not a flattering conclusion he draws. Our chief interest in the entire question is that that which was true of Erasmus was true, on the whole, of all the humanists. In studying the religious side of Erasmus's nature we study the religious side of humanism generally. Lezius regards as the key to the religious life of Erasmus the fact that he was at the same time a moralist and a biblicist. Through the former he was made the enemy of the externality and superstition of the papal religion; through the latter he was rendered capable of independence of the decrees of popes, the doctrine of the Church, and the teachings of scholasticism. But being a moralist and a biblicist only gave outward form to his faith. This only sufficed to produce the negative features of his religion. He lacked the earnestness necessary to become a Protestant. In this respect Lezius compares him most unfavorably with Zwingli, who, whatever his faults, had the earnestness to strive for what he believed to be true, while Erasmus was so opposed to everything which might engender tumult or strife that he would sacrifice truth and right themselves for quiet. It is evident that the beliefs of such a man are not worthy to

be dignified by the name of convictions, but must be regarded as opinions merely. And this same love of ease it was which caused him to enter into strife with Luther, since he preferred a break with him rather than a break with Rome. This in turn proves that all the while his sympathies remained Roman Catholic, whatever his judgment might say.

"Dogmatique chrétienne" (Christian Dogmatics). By Jules Bovon. Lausanne, Georges Bridel et Cie., 1895. We cannot pretend to more than a brief mention of some of the principal points in this work. The first pertains to his method. Instead of treating the doctrine of the Trinity as a phase of the general doctrine of the Deity, as is usual, thereby detaching it from Christology and soteriology, he maintains that the knowledge of the triune God can be gained and that knowledge formulated only on the basis of the saving work of Christ and the influence of the Holy Spirit. Hence he would place the discussion of the Trinity at the close of the system. As to the Christian doctrine of God, he claims that it is only to be developed in accordance with the knowledge of God which we gain through Christ; in other words, the Christian doctrine of God is the doctrine of the God of revealed salvation. Had he limited himself to this principle he would have been more consistent. But in fact he appears not to be thoroughly permeated with his own ideas, but to hold theoretically to one opinion, while in practice he acts, at least in part, according to another. He is aware that the certainty of faith arises from the experience of one who subjects himself to the practical requirements of the Gospel; yet he makes so much use of the so-called natural religion as to leave the impression that the religion of the Christian revelation is not sufficient for him. He rejects every proof of the existence of God which is founded in nature, and yet he speaks of God's holiness and God's love in such a manner as wholly to disconnect these attributes from the facts of sin and redemption. His treatment of the important doctrine of divine providence is extremely brief, comprising but a page, compared with other less important doctrines. Although he quotes a number of Scripture passages in proof of the doctrine, it appeals to him rather as a postulate of natural, than of Christian, theology. Valuable and interesting is his treatment of the doctrine of sin. He discusses various theories, but establishes the fact from psychology and religion. With reference to the miracles of the New Testament he takes practically the position held by the German mediating school, which admits the possibility of the miracles, but reserves the right to determine by criticism which shall be held as historically verifiable or probable.

"Der Exorcismus im Herzogtum Braunschweig seit den Tagen der Reformation" (The Practice of Exorcism in the Duchy of Brunswick since the Days of the Reformation). By Friedrich Koldewey. Wolfenbüttel, Zwissler, 1893. The work would be both more interesting and more valuable did it extend beyond the narrow boundaries of a duchy. But as the book is small it is excusable to treat a limited theme; and as a matter of fact the

history of exorcism in Brunswick is essentially what it was in other German Lutheran territories. It may surprise many to learn that Luther retained the formula by which the priest exorcised the candidate for baptism in the Roman Catholic Church. Put into English, the directions which Luther, following the Roman ritual, gave the Protestant clergy were as follows: After an address to the persons responsible for the child's training, the minister said, "Depart, thou unclean spirit, and make room for the Holy Spirit." He then made the sign of the cross on the forehead and breast of the candidate, and said, "Receive the sign of the cross on both forehead and breast." After a couple of prayers the minister said, "I adjure thee, thou unclean spirit, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, that thou depart and leave this servant of Jesus Christ. Amen." Then followed, among other things, the substance of our baptismal covenant, which in the case of the child must be taken for him by his elders, who renounced for him the devil and all his works. In the adjuration the minister was to make the sign of the cross after the name of each of the persons of the Trinity. The renunciation of the devil implied that the person about to be baptized was the property of the devil, whose ownership was now renounced. The language addressed to the unclean spirit reminds one forcibly of that employed by our Lord in the expulsion of the spirits from the possessed. An excellent illustration is thus afforded of the marked change which has come over the thought of the Christian world, robbing it of that vivid realization of the nearness and influence of the powers of darkness which our fathers experienced. The Calvinists opposed this practice of exorcism as a gross superstition, and the intensity of the struggle between the Calvinistic and Lutheran systems caused the adherents of the latter to reject any attempts looking toward a removal of the rite of exorcism from the baptismal ceremony. Luther translated the baptismal ceremony into German in 1523, and the rite of exorcism maintained itself therein in Brunswick in spite of much opposition until 1709, nearly two hundred years.

"Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten" (History of the Early Christian Literature in the First Three Centuries). By Gustav Krüger. Freiburg (Baden), and Leipzig, J. C. B. Mohr, 1895. The work must be carefully distinguished from ordinary works on patristics, which give much valuable information relative to authors and their works, but which do not attempt a literary history. Krüger has followed the principles laid down by Nitzsch and Overbeck to the effect that under patrology we must understand, not only the works of the early Church fathers, but any work of an early Christian author; and furthermore, that the handling of these works must be in accordance with the laws of historical writing, and not merely a concatenation of chronological and biographical notices. He does not pretend to any great amount of originality; but, as a matter of fact, he gives us the first complete, though brief, treatise of the kind, modestly referring

his readers to the expected great work of Professor Harnack in the same line. His standpoint may be seen in what he says concerning the Pauline documents of the New Testament: "In the New Testament fourteen documents supposed to have been written by Paul have found a place. They do not all have the same claim to recognition as genuine products of his pen. True, a criticism which finds its pleasure in the destruction of the little light which is vouchsafed to us in the investigation of the problems of primitive Christianity can reject all, or nearly all, these letters as forgeries, and thereby banish from history the personality of the great apostle, which is incomprehensible to little minds. But against the genuineness of 1 Thessalonians (composed 54, 55), Galatians (55–57), the two letters to the Corinthians (56–58 and 58–60), Romans (59, 60), Philippians (62–64), and Philemon (written about the same time as Philippians) no sufficient arguments have been produced. The doubts against Colossians can be overcome. The spuriousness of 2 Thessalonians and of Ephesians may be asserted with good reason, but not strictly demonstrated. Hebrews is the work of a Paulinizing Christian of Alexandrian training. The pastoral letters were unknown to Marcion, and the situation they portray cannot be explained in accord with what we know of the life of Paul, while the language and the thought were impossible to him. Their relation to Gnosticism appears to forbid their composition during the first century; though it is possible that their author possessed fragments of actual letters addressed to Timothy and Titus."

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

Biblical Criticism and the Task of the Preacher. From a consideration of this difficult problem arises much of the objection felt by those in the practical work of the Church to the so-called higher criticism. When books which were once attributed to Moses come to be attributed to an unknown author the preacher is placed in an awkward dilemma with reference to choosing texts therefrom. He hesitates to speak of these texts as the words of the great lawgiver when he is convinced they are not; and yet he feels that to explain his views on this subject to his auditors would distract attention from the religious message he has to bring them. Just so, when portions of the Bible which were once regarded as historically trustworthy come to be looked upon as untrustworthy, they seem to the preacher to lose their value for homiletical purposes. Those who have fallen into this difficulty employ two methods of escape. The first is to ignore texts of the kind described. This is based on the idea that the Bible contains so much well-authenticated material not touched by criticism that he can well do without the doubtful portions. He thereby attests his faith in certain other portions of the Bible, thereby severing it in twain. Such a course is not contemplated with favor by the better class of higher critics. They do not believe in this mutilation of the book, all of which to them is the word of God; for

to the critic historical trustworthiness is not the test by which he determines the validity of revelation. A myth or an historical error may as truly convey a revelation as the record of real fact. He looks deeper than the outward form. He cares not for the historical or scientific, but for the religious and moral, teachings. This furnishes the clew to his method of treating texts in the pulpit which he handles very differently as a critic. He does not neglect them if they fall in his way, and the average listener would never detect from his use of them that he denied their historical value. From a work entitled *Kritisch angefochtene Predigttexte und ihre Homiletische Behandlung* (Sermonic Texts Assaulted by Criticism and How to Treat Them Homiletically), by R. Eibach (Berlin, Reuther & Reichard, 1895), we take a number of examples: Luke i, 26–38—the birth and infancy of Jesus. The first thing for the preacher to remember is that the angel Gabriel and the converse which he held with the mother of our Lord are not the principal thing. It is rather the simplicity and purity of the virgin heart which the conversation lays bare. Again, the preacher must remember that it is not important to demonstrate the dogma of the virgin birth. In the stories of Jupiter human lust is attributed to the deity. In this, on the contrary, divine purity is attributed to a human being. Thus looked at, the text gives us a view of the invisible world and of the possibilities of human nature. The story, Eibach thinks, is so glorious and so opens the eyes to a new world of purity that, did we not have it in the Bible, it must have been sooner or later invented, and the homilete has no occasion for avoiding it. Again, in Luke ii, 1–14. There is no text more central, and yet more vigorously assailed, than this. Everything it contains is doubtful except the fact that Jesus first saw the light of this world under Cæsar Augustus. The history of his birth, and even Bethlehem as his birthplace, are veiled in darkness so far as history is concerned; and yet there is no text that the preacher so much needs at Christmas as this. For if the preacher really believes that Jesus is the Christ this text offers him better opportunities than any other for the Christmas festival. Here, above all things, is history, not in the small sense of the questions of human science, but in this sense—that He from whom all salvation springs really did see the light of this world; and in this—that his appearance is too great to be made dependent upon the year or the accidental place of his birth. The evidence for him is not a chronicle of time, but his work, which is present with us; his Spirit, which lives among us; himself, who is present with us. Faith in him has better supports than can be afforded by human science. And this faith lives in the text. Even the plans of the secular rulers, so differently intended, are compelled to serve him. The city and house of David remind us of the fulfillment of the desire of all nations. It is the "yea" and "amen" of the Old Testament and, what is more significant for us, the deepest longing of the human heart. . . . The poverty of the manger is exactly that which corresponds to Golgotha—it shows the way of redemption through lowliness. The Gospel which the angels first preached to the poor—the shepherds—has ever since then been preached first to the

poor. But all these are small matters. The important thing is the message, which no man can give to another, but which God alone can give: "Unto you is born this day in the city of David a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord." There terror before God must cease; peace comes into the heart, and great joy for all people begins. And this message is accompanied by a blessed assurance, for this Gospel has for us to-day better and clearer tokens than the manger and swaddling clothes. And with the birth of Christ begins at last a new world, into which we are invited to enter and in which we find forgiveness, life, and salvation. A few words with reference to the sermonic use of miracles may be valuable. The critic, as a rule, no longer denies, but asserts, the reality of the miracles of Jesus. But he holds that these miracles are recorded to show not only the power of our Lord and the condition of the souls of those upon whom he wrought his miracles, but rather to portray Christ before human eyes that men may be drawn to him. Looked at from this standpoint, the individual miracle stories may, or may not, be strictly correct historically. Whether they are so or not, the preacher's business is to recommend Christ to human hearts and human needs; and in this task the miracles give him extremely important aid. The resurrection and ascension of Jesus are not to be demonstrated by the literal utterance of the gospels, but by the experience of those who commune with him. Thus, alongside of the fact of science that soul and body die together is placed the fact that the soul and body of Jesus live together. He who came from heaven must of necessity return to heaven. He who brought the kingdom of God belongs at the right hand of God. It will be seen that, though there is little emphasis upon external phases of the record, the kernel is maintained. Whether the method appeals to our readers is not with us the question. Our business is to record the facts.

The Christian Socialist Party of Germany. The Christian socialists of Germany recently met at Frankfurt-am-Main, being represented by about two hundred delegates from all parts of the Fatherland, under the presidency of Dr. Stöcker. The following declaration of principles was adopted: "We justify the separation of Dr. Stöcker from the conservative party, which under the circumstances was unavoidable. By ourselves we form a party of Christian socialists. We shall continue to oppose every conservative tendency which makes concessions to the policy of the middle party or represents purely material interests. We desire to secure a greater equality between rich and poor for the future, and legal assistance to the efforts of the weak to obtain a livelihood; but we repudiate all radical doctrines which teach the unconditional equality of all. In the same manner we are opposed to growth of power on the part of the extremely wealthy, so far as this endangers the freedom of the State or the welfare of the people. We regard the combatants under the banner of true, living Christianity as those alone who can gain the victory over the powers of destruction, against which we shall wage a warfare with all our powers."

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

"The Early Ages of the Human Race" is the opening article in the *London Quarterly Review* for July. It gives a summary of our present knowledge of prehistoric man. Speaking of a clay image found in a gravel bed of the pliocene or pleistocene age in Idaho, and which "shows the high intellectual character of primitive man," it says: "Like the Calaveras skull, it throws a heavy weight into the scale against the idea that the earliest members of the human race were sunk in the lowest depths of mental and moral degradation." In reference to a quotation from Mr. John Fiske's *Man's Destiny* it makes this comment: "This is pure romance. In man's earliest days there was no need whatever for this endless fighting, simply because the causes for hostility did not exist. Food was everywhere abundant. Game of all kinds existed in such vast numbers as to be easily captured, and all the rivers swarmed with fish. Men were few, and immense uninhabited tracts separated the earliest human wanderers. If collisions did occur—which must have been rare—the beaten party simply moved off to distant regions where man had not yet penetrated and where their safety was complete. Instead of the earliest ages of man's existence being days of incessant warfare, they must have been times of profound peace." The second article, "Profit Sharing and Gain Sharing," contrasts these methods of solving the labor problem with those advocated by the trades unions. In the third article, "Clive and Hastings," occurs this sentence, which is one of many indications that in these days there is none so poor as to do Macaulay reverence: "Macaulay's portraits of Clive and Warren Hastings, and, in association with the latter, of the much-aspersed Sir Elijah Impey, are caricatures indeed; but the glowing color and the magical chiaroscuro of the great word-painter so disguise the wild incorrectness of his drawing that the magnificent caricatures have been accepted as living, faithful resemblances; and two heroes of English history have been wronged of the fair renown to which lives of unswerving, patriot devotion had justly entitled them." The fourth article is "Ritschl's Theology;" the fifth, "Keats's Letters;" the sixth, "The Bible as Literature;" the seventh and eighth, "Recent Researches among the Annelids" and "A Naturalist in Mid-Africa."

Professor Moses Coit Tyler, the author of those two exasperating volumes of a *History of American Literature*—exasperating because, published eighteen years ago and dealing only with early colonial literature, they have not since been followed by other volumes treating of our later and really important literary development—contributes "The Declaration of Independence in the Light of Modern Criticism" to the July number of the *North American Review*. Russia, that overgrown and naughty child

of modern Europe which will come to manhood by and by and exert a potent influence upon human history, is, of course, the subject of Karl Blind's "After the Coronation at Moscow." The prospect grows "less and less hopeful," he says, "as to the new ruler having any really liberal measures in view." "Father" Clark, of the Christian Endeavor movement, writes pleasantly on "Some International Delusions." "The chief source of these delusions," he says, "is the daily newspaper on both sides of the Atlantic and Pacific. . . . Even the most respectable papers seem to find room in their foreign columns chiefly for startling crimes or awful accidents. . . . Many an English and Australian friend has said to me: 'I should think you would be afraid to travel in America; you always seem to be having such dreadful railway accidents.' . . . When I informed him that I had traveled many tens of thousands of miles without meeting a serious mishap or ever being held up by highwaymen it almost passed his comprehension, and he made up his mind that either the papers which he habitually read or myself had been drawing a long bow." "But, again, it must be confessed that these popular delusions are due quite as much to our own exceedingly sensational newspapers as to anything that is printed in the lands across the seas." John Gilmer Speed discusses "The Right of Privacy" from a legal standpoint. The late General Gibbon, of the United States Army, concludes his argument, "Why Women Should Have the Ballot," with these words: "That the day for the enfranchisement of women in this country is coming cannot be doubted by anyone capable of reading the very apparent signs which have been shown for some years past;" but the only sign specified is "the desperate struggle those opposed to woman suffrage are making to prevent its accomplishment." Incidentally, we believe that women should have the ballot. Max O'Rell's tirade on "Petticoat Government" in the United States is admirably answered by Mrs. Harriet Prescott Spofford and Mrs. Margaret Bottome. Other articles are: "The Stepchild of the Republic," a paper on "the seventeen splendid States and Territories" of our "arid" West, by W. E. Smythe; "A Common Coinage for All Nations," by the Hon. C. W. Stone; "The Teacher's Duty to the Pupil," by Cardinal Gibbons; "Criminal Jurisprudence, Roman and Anglo-Saxon," by M. Romero, Mexican minister to the United States; and "Sound Money the Safeguard of Labor," by the Hon. R. B. Mahany.

THE *Edinburgh Review* for July might easily monopolize the five short pages allotted to this summary. To prove this we need only submit a table of its contents: 1. "Manning and the Catholic Reaction of our Times;" 2. "The New Scottish Novelists;" 3. "Sheridan;" 4. "The Universities of the Middle Ages;" 5. "The Countess Krasinska's Diary;" 6. "The Paget Papers;" 7. "Gardens and Garden Craft;" 8. "The Government of France since 1870;" 9. "History and the National Portrait Gallery;" 10. "Egypt." The first of these is inspired by the recent publication of Purcell's *Life of Manning*—a book that has

aroused profound interest and no end of controversy, and is characterized by the *Catholic World* as "the recent sad spectacle of a clumsy, narrow-visioned biographer's attempt to belittle the fame of the great Cardinal-Archbishop of Westminster by means of his private correspondence, a performance which Cardinal Vaughan has branded in a recent magazine as 'almost a crime.'" The book certainly makes some interesting revelations *ex cathedra;* and we hardly wonder at the ire of our Catholic contemporary. The second article will appeal to all lovers of the new Scotch school of fiction. Says this Scotch review, voicing the acclaim of multitudes of non-Scotch readers, "We hail the revival of the rural Scottish novel as a welcome sign of healthy reaction." Of Barrie's *Window in Thrums* the reviewer says: "There is the Shakespearean subtlety of humor, which, as it seeks its subjects in eternal types of humanity, is bound to survive. The Scotch is perhaps unnecessarily broad; possibly there is too much of it for purposes of effective art, although the extraordinary popularity of the book in the South appears to dispose of that criticism as captious. All the greater is the tribute to the analytical genius which has triumphed over obstacles of its own creation. . . . It is a story we should be sorry to read, were we inclined to homesickness, on the sun-baked plains of Australia or the waterless Karoo of South Africa. We should yearn to exchange the cloudless skies for the dripping heavens and driving mists of Glen Quharity." And further: "An exquisite tenderness of sympathy underlies the book, so that it is difficult to distinguish the pathos from the drollery"—a saying which applies equally well to the writings of "Ian Maclaren." This of Mr. Crockett: "Comparing him with himself, the *Stickit Minister* and the *Raiders*, in their respective manners, stand far above his other productions." The notice of the *Bonnie Brier Bush* is nothing if not appreciative. It is "a sparkling book;" "there is no cleverer chapter than that on 'The Cunning Speech of Drumtochty;'" "'Ian Maclaren' probes the infinite depths of pathos in those simple, sequestered lives;" no sympathy can induce the "rough, almost brutal" Dr. Maclure "to palliate the truth," yet "no fashionable physician from Harley Street or Saville Row can surpass him in natural delicacy;" "The Transformation of Lachlan Campbell" is "the most touching of the tales."

We cannot even mention all of the fifteen articles that fill the pages of *The Nineteenth Century* for July. The first article, "Russia, Persia, and England," is by Sir Lepel Griffin. George W. E. Russell discusses the question of Church unity under the title "Reformation and Reunion," and concludes, "After all, we must remember that the Master promised, not one fold, but one flock and one Shepherd, even himself." "The Bab and Babism," by J. D. Rees, describes a religious sect of Persia, an offshoot from Mohammedanism, which arose about the middle of the present century. The Bab "represented himself as an emanation from the Divinity itself, and then assumed the title of 'highness,' by which also

Jesus, the Son of Mary, or Miriam, is habitually known amongst Muhammadans." The adherents of the sect abound, "and chiefly among the richer and more educated classes." Walter Alison Phillips writes of Walter von der Vogelweide, "the greatest of the Minnesingers," whose name has been made familiar to us by Longfellow. Edward B. Tylor has an article on "The Matriarchal Family System," a system which has prevailed among our American Indian tribes and among some Oriental peoples, and by which inheritance descends, not through the male side of the family, but through the female. "The Woman Movement in Germany" is sketched by Alys Russell. Alvar Nuñez, better known to us as Cabeça de Vaca, the companion of Narvaez and the discoverer of those famous cities of Cibola which have so unaccountably eluded all further discovery, a man whose remarkable story contains so much of the romantic and the impossible, is the subject of a paper by R. B. Cunninghame Graham dealing chiefly with his adventures on the La Plata in South America. "The Story of the Manitoba Schools Question," by T. C. Down, is a study of an important factor in the Canadian problem. "New Letters of Edward Gibbon," by Rowland E. Prothero, and "The Federation Movement in Australasia," by Sir Edward Braddon, premier of Tasmania, are interesting papers and conclude an interesting number.

THE following is the list of contents of the *Methodist Review* of the Church, South, for July–August: 1. "The Problem of Divine Foreknowledge," by Professor Henry C. Sheldon, of the chair of systematic theology at Boston University; 2. "John Boanerges," by Rev. G. B. Winton, M.A.; 3. "Oxford High Anglicanism," by Rev. W. Harrison; 4. "A Literary Knapsack," by Maurice Thompson; 5. "The Culture Problem in Southern Towns," by Professor J. S. Bassett, of Trinity College; 6. "The Position of the Church in France," by Professor J. F. Crowell, of Columbia College; 7. "Vergil's Preeminence among the Christian Fathers and in the Mediæval Church," by Professor E. W. Bowen, of Randolph-Macon College; 8. "Macbeth and Hamlet," by Rev. J. W. Hill; 9. "Good Roads," by Professor H. H. Stone, of Emory College; 10. "The Making of Methodism" (seventh paper), by the editor, Dr. Tigert. The first objection raised by Dr. Sheldon to the doctrine of divine nescience is "that it postulates a limitation upon God that intrinsically is not agreeable to the thought of his infinite perfection." The "most formidable obstacle," however, "is the veto which it encounters from the side of revelation." In addition to "the testimony of a prophetical consciousness, whose central representative was no less than the Son of God," we have "specific predictions on matters bound up with the free agency of men," which have been not only "confidently uttered," but "fulfilled in a way which argues the legitimacy of the prophetical faith in divine foreknowledge." The seventh article will interest readers of Dante as well as of Vergil. From indications in the fourth eclogue and the sixth book of the "Æneid" Professor Bowen concludes that "there is clearly

a possibility, not to say a strong probability, that Vergil had at least an indirect knowledge of the Hebrew Scriptures," possibly "through the Sibylline books and oracles," or "through the Alexandrine literature, with which we have seen he was quite familiar."

THE *New World* for June contains: 1. "Cardinal Manning," by St. George Mivart; 2. "International Arbitration," by J. B. Moore, of Columbia College; 3. "The Limits of Evolution," by G. H. Howison; 4. "Matthew Arnold's Letters," by Milton Reed; 5. "New England Trinitarianism," by L. L. Paine, of the Bangor Theological Seminary; 6. "The Relation of the Preacher to Social Subjects," by J. W. Day; 7. "Las Casas and Democracy," by C. C. Starbuck; 8. "Mr. Balfour and his Critics," by T. R. Slicer; 9. "The Will to Believe," by William James. From the sixth article we take the following suggestive sentences: "The demand for sermons that are not theological disquisitions or philosophical essays is likewise a demand for sermons that are not studies in sociology." "Mr. John Graham Brooks made precisely the distinction which it has been the purpose of this article to emphasize, in saying, 'I have always admired the way in which Phillips Brooks did not preach upon social subjects.' This did not mean that the great preacher neglected the actual interests of society, for everyone knows how often he flashed upon his hearers the light of duty as to social relations. No influence went further than his into the social life of his city, because none went deeper. . . . It was the way in which he did *not* preach upon social subjects that made an enthusiastic sociological expert admire him."

THE July *Bibliotheca Sacra* has the following articles: 1. "Misapprehensions concerning Calvin," by O. T. Lanphear; 2. "The Divine Origin of the Religion of the Bible," by James Monroe; 3. "Studies in Christology," by F. H. Foster; 4. "Origen and the Return to Greek Theology," by J. W. Falconer; 5. "Gladstone's Edition of Bishop Butler's Works," by Jacob Cooper; 6. "The Hebrew Cosmogony Again," by C. B. Warring; 7. "Individualism and Societism," by Z. S. Holbrook; 8. "The Restriction of Immigration," by E. W. Bemis. The author of the first article thus comments on the doctrine of foreordination: "Another Methodist divine, Dr. Whedon, accepting foreknowledge, but denying foreordination, as though there were succession in the divine mind, concludes that foreordination, according to Calvin, implies that 'God is the author of sin.' The error here consists in failing to observe that foreknowledge and foreordination involve certainty, but not necessity. Thus, Dr. Whedon is logically bound to reject even foreknowledge, as well as foreordination, which is really the Arminian position." Is not the author's logic a little confused? "From Calvin's view of foreordination and decrees," he continues, "fatalism does not follow, for foreordination maintains the true causality of the creature and the free self-determination of men and of angels."

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

The Mind of the Master. By JOHN WATSON, D.D. (Ian Maclaren). 12mo, pp. 338. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

This volume is sure of a wide reading. Its author's day is probably at noon. Ten years ago Henry Drummond was the new man, holding public attention as a fresh and fascinating writer with spiritual insight illuminating the higher regions of man's life. To-day the author of *Beside the Bonnie Brier Bush*, *The Days of Auld Lang Syne*, and *The Upper Room* has the popular vogue for his books and lectures and sermons. He comes to America this summer booked for thirty thousand dollars' worth of lectures in various parts of the land. He is a proof that the pulpit is a prime point of vantage for getting acquainted with reality. No man on earth has equal chance with the earnest and strenuous minister for knowing the central facts of human nature and life. None other is so able to analyze, describe, and explain the experiences of men; no other sees so clearly into the deep places of the soul; no other is so aware of the perils and pains and noble possibilities of our nature; no other can lay his hand with such intelligent mastery on all the sensibilities of mind and heart and conscience. The practical man in the pew who imagines the man in the pulpit to be a dreamer probably makes a mistake; for if the minister is a true pastor, as well as a biblical preacher, living in sympathetic contact with the lives of his people, he is the man who knows reality, knows things by their substance rather than their shows, deals with the essential rather than the factitious. He it is who gets an inside view of the human heart and is familiar with its agonies and ecstasies. No wonder he can tell true stories about it in a powerful and moving way, so that only a heart of stone can fail to be touched. In this volume, made up of sermons, we judge, with the texts left off and the probable text not easy to guess, we find the same grip on reality, the same direct drive at the essential, the same shrewd stroke into the heart of things that marked those strong and stirring stories in the *Bonnie Brier Bush* which first made Ian Maclaren known to the reading world. The humor of the stories is absent from the sermons, and there is no pathos of incident; but there is the same blending of sharp common sense and suffusing sympathy. Some of the chapters, like "Faith the Sixth Sense," "The Law of Spiritual Gravitation," and "Judgment according to Type," remind us slightly of Drummond. But John Watson is not an echo; his utterance is his own, and his voice has an individual and unborrowed quality. He is saying the substance of dear old truth in fresh form; he is rendering the mind of the Master with an accent which conveys new meanings, or old meanings turned a little so as to flash a brighter light. This is his charm and his usefulness. There are some who fear variations in form. They

are unintelligent. "All the forms are fugitive, but the substances survive." Many men of many minds, turning the truth about from side to side, holding it up in different lights, putting it in new arrangement, setting it in fresh relations, will in the end develop and expose to view its large range and richness. There is nothing sacred in antiquated phraseology. He who says a valuable old thing in a new and striking way rouses in us a fresh sense of its value, makes the truth not stale but refreshing, and renders a real service to mankind. Whoever should to-day preach in the style of John Howe or even Thomas Chalmers would be without hearers. He would practically be speaking in an unknown tongue. The same substance of doctrine on essentials, the same Christ and his Gospel, are given by modern men in other terms in the dialect of to-day; given, we believe, more purely, correctly, and fully; given, certainly, with increased intelligibility and convincingness. John Watson is a contemporary, living in his own time and speaking with it face to face, in language it can understand, about things of perennial and transcendent interest, feeling its heartstrings with his thrilling fingers. He makes the impression that his own mind is clear, his own footing solid. Sticklers for the sanctity of accustomed forms and phrases may quarrel with him over some of his variations of statement. A certain inflexible, mechanical type of mind, in bondage to forms and dull to comprehend substance, is overready to charge that an abandonment of some old way of putting a truth is abandonment of the truth itself. Every venture at restatement must be vigilantly and devoutly cautious not to lose a particle of the precious substance. Nevertheless, by careful and reverent ingenuity the eternal truth goes on from age to age, getting itself more fully and clearly revealed to men through successive and progressive restatements. No generation or individual really owns a truth until he can take it out of the language of books and authors and state it in his own terms. No author can be fairly judged by fragments out of their setting; yet brief extracts may give his style and quality. "Perhaps there has been no long period without some voice summoning Christians to break away from the tyranny of tradition and return to the liberty of Jesus. This has been the work of all reformers, from Tauler to Luther, from Luther to Wesley—to unearth the evangel of Jesus from the mass of dogmas and rites which have overlaid it. Two parties have been in recurring conflict—the traditionalists, who insist, 'This is what our fathers have said and what you must believe;' and the evangelists, who declare, 'This is what Jesus has said, and this only will we believe.'" "It must surely strike any one passing from the gospels into the epistles, and comparing the words of Jesus with the writings of St. Paul, that the apostle is less than his Master. . . . St. Paul's devotion to the person of Christ, his grasp of his Master's teaching, his power in working it up into impressive dogma, his skill in applying Jesus's principle to the conduct of life, his unaffected love for man are so evident and so exacting that one shrinks from suggesting that the apostle as a teacher is less than the greatest. It seems almost profanity to criticise St. Paul; but one may not make him equal to Jesus without

removing Jesus from his judgment seat and destroying the proportion of Holy Scripture. If one may be pardoned his presumption in hinting at any imperfections in the apostle of the Gentiles, is not his style at times overwrought by feeling? Are not some of his illustrations forced? Is not his doctrine often rabbinical, rather than Christian? Does not one feel his treatment of certain subjects—say marriage and asceticism—as somewhat wanting in sweetness? One only makes this rebate from the apostle's excellency in order to magnify the divinity of Jesus's evangel, which is never local, never narrow, never unintelligible, which is ever calm, convincing, human. . . . Ought we to read St. Paul in the light of Jesus, or Jesus in the light of St. Paul?" "Many persons seem to believe that the operations of Jesus's Spirit closed with the apostolic period, and would not hold that the modern Church is under the same divine influence as the Church of Judea. But this surely is an untenable and, if one go into it, an unbelieving, position. No doubt the Council of Jerusalem, which had to decide whether Christianity was to be a Jewish sect or a world-wide religion, had a critical duty to discharge, but no more serious than the Council of Nice, which affirmed Christ's deity; and if the former council was justified in saying, 'It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us,' the latter had as much right to use the same preface. If the Church at Antioch was moved by the Holy Ghost to send forth Barnabas and Paul on the first foreign mission, surely it was by the inspiration of the same Spirit that half a dozen faithful men met in an English town and sent Carey to India. Why should we question that the Spirit of Jesus was in the Council of Trent and the Westminster Assembly? It was disappointing that Trent did not give relief from the tyranny of the priesthood, yet it did reform the discipline of the Roman Church; that Westminster ignored the evangelization of the world, yet it conceived a very majestic idea of God. One does not forget the blazing mistakes of Church councils, from that which ordered the celibacy of the clergy to the one which declared the infallibility of the pope, from the Swiss Synod which asserted the inspiration of the vowel points in Hebrew to the Scottish Assembly which cast out as a heretic McLeod Campbell. This does not mean that the Spirit of Jesus has forsaken his disciples; it only means that he is constantly hindered by his instruments. It is not wonderful that the Church has erred; it is wonderful that, in spite of many a blundering and weakening influence, she has so fully entered into the truth of Jesus." From the chapter on "The Sovereignty of Character" the following: "When Jesus grounds his religion on character he gives radiant proof of his sanity, and wins at once the suffrages of reasonable men. There is nothing on which we differ so hopelessly as creed, nothing on which we agree so utterly as character. Impanel twelve men of clean conscience and average intelligence and ask them to try some person by his opinions, and they may as well be discharged at once; they will not agree till the Greek Kalends. Ask them to take the standard of conduct, and they will bring in a verdict in five minutes. They have agreed in anticipation. Just as he approximates to the beatitudes they will pronounce the man good; just as he diverges

they will declare him less than good. . . . According to the consistent teaching of Jesus a Christian is one of the same likeness as himself; and nothing will more certainly debauch the religious sense than any shifting of labels, so that one who keeps Jesus's commandment is denied his name, and one in whom there is no resemblance to Jesus receives it on grounds of correct opinion." In the chapter on "Sin an Act of Self-will" we find the following: "Before and since Jesus's day people have been invited to hold an inquest on the sin of Adam, and have discharged this function with keen intellectual interest. It was Jesus who made sin of even date and invited every hearer to see the tragedy of Eden in his own experience. . . . Jesus cast his whole doctrine into the drama of the Prodigal Son, and commands our adherence by its absolute fidelity to life. The parable moves between the two poles of ideal and real human life—home, where the sons of God live in moral harmony with their Father, which is liberty; and exile, where they live in riotous disobedience, which is license. He fixes on his representative sinner and traces his career with great care and various subtle touches. His father does not compel him to stay at home; he has free will. The son claims his portion; he has individuality. He flings himself out of his father's house; he makes a mischoice. He plays the fool in the far country; this is the fulfilling of his bent. He is sent out to feed swine; this is the punishment of sin. He awakes to a bitter contrast; this is repentance. He returns to obedience; this is salvation. Salvation is the restoration of spiritual order—the close of a bitter experience. It is the return of the race from its 'wander year.'" In "The Culture of the Cross" is this: "There are three steps in the *santa scala* which the race is slowly and painfully climbing—barbarism, where men cultivate; the body civilization, where they cultivate the intellect; holiness, where they cultivate the soul. There is for the whole race, for each nation, for every individual, the age of Homer, the age of Socrates, the age of Jesus. Beyond the age of Jesus nothing can be desired or imagined, for it runs on those lofty table-lands where the soul lives with God." Under the "Law of Spiritual Gravitation" these bits: "Progress in the moral world is ever from complexity to simplicity. First, one hundred duties; afterward, they are gathered into ten commandments; then, they are reduced to two, love of God and love of man; and, finally, Jesus says his last word: 'This is my commandment, That ye love one another, as I have loved you.' . . . Jesus was not an agreeable sentimentalist who imagined he could cleanse the world by rose water; he was the only thinker who grasped the whole situation root and branch. He did not propose to make sin illegal; that had been done without conspicuous benefit. He proposed to make sin impossible by replacing it with love. If sin be an act of self-will, each person making himself the center, then love is the destruction of sin, because love connects instead of isolating. No one can be envious, avaricious, hard-hearted, no one can be gross, sensual, unclean, if he loves. Love is the death of all bitter and unholy moods of the soul, because love lifts the man out of himself and teaches him to live in another." We end quotation with the saying of Angélique, the Abbess

of Port Royal, "I belong to the order of all the saints, and all the saints belong to my order." In twenty places the author quotes apt bits of poetry, nearly all from Browning. A new maxim might be, "A man is known by the poetry he prefers."

The New Life in Christ. A Study in Personal Religion. By JOSEPH AGAR BEET, D.D. 12mo, pp. 347. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, $1.50.

Interest in this, and in other books by the same distinguished author, is stimulated by his presence at this time in this country, preaching in our pulpits, addressing various assemblies, and delivering courses of lectures at Chautauqua, at Chicago University, and at the Ocean Grove Summer School of Theology, where his subjects are: "Religion and Theology," "The Universal Revelation in Nature," "The Historical Revelation in Christ," "The Gospel of Pardon," "The Superhuman Claims of Christ," "The Supernatural Outward Attestation," "The Inward Attestation," and "Results Attained, their Relation to the Bible, to the Church, and to the Christian Life." This volume, like the earlier one, *Through Christ to God*, to which this is a sequel, is marked by solidity, clearness, sound scholarship, and sanity. It is as little mystical as the subject will permit, and is most harmonious with the best past and adapted to the present. These thirty-seven chapters are the elaborate and finished product of the lifework of an earnest and careful student investigating religion and theology according to the principles of scientific research; of a scholar who is a master in his department; and of an instructor who is skilled in the lucid and constructive presentation of truth. Its style and method are those of a teacher; and by reiteration, recapitulation, and review the coherence and symmetry are impressed upon the reader's mind and the parts stand together in rational unity. Other volumes are to follow in due time to complete the statement of truth which this English professor of systematic theology offers to his time. In the former volume the historical basis of the Christian faith and hope was set forth; this one deals with inward spiritual experience and practical life—in a word, personal religion. The need, possibility, and nature of moral resurrection into a new life is the subject. Part I considers THE RUIN: Man as Created, Flesh and Spirit; Man under Probation; Sin and Bondage; The First Fall and its Results; Man Unsaved. Part II surveys THE RESTORATION: Repentance, Faith, Justification, Adoption; The Spirit of Adoption; Assurance of Salvation; The New Birth. Part III traces THE WAY OF HOLINESS: The Holiness of Christ: The Holiness of the Servants of Christ; The New Life of Devotion to Christ; The New Life in the Spirit of God; The New Life of Faith: The New Life in its Further Relation to Christ; The New Life in its Relation to Sin; The New Life in its Relation to the Law; The New Life in its Relation to Things Around; The Christian Conflict; Perseverance in the New Life; Spiritual Growth; The Means of Grace. Part IV discusses THE DIVINE AND HUMAN IN THE CHRISTIAN LIFE. Part V treats of THE NEW LIFE IN CHRIST AS A REVELATION OF GOD. The author's study

of the Old and New Testaments gives him the following conception of "holiness as understood by the writers of the Bible:" "The adjective 'holy' describes in the Old Testament various objects which God claimed to be specially his own; the verb 'sanctify' denotes the action of God in reserving them for himself, and the action of man in devoting them to his service. In the New Testament the word 'holy' is a frequent title of church members generally, thus teaching that God claims for himself and his service all those whom he receives as his children in Christ. It is used occasionally to describe the new life he would have them live. That this is a life of unreserved loyalty to God we learn from other teaching of the New Testament. And that this is the meaning of the word 'holy' when used to describe the new life in Christ is proved by its use throughout the Bible." On page 119 subjective holiness is described as follows: "Although, as claimed by God, all the children of God are holy, it is evident that the full idea of holiness is realized in them only so far as they yield to God the devotion he claims. To bear the name of saint and yet be animated, in part, by a worldly spirit is evidently a contradiction. Consequently, in a few passages, the word 'holy' denotes actual and absolute devotion to God. And holiness is set before the people of God as a standard for their attainment. So 1 Cor. vii, 34, 'That she may be holy both in body and spirit'—parallel with 'how she may please the Lord;' Eph. i, 4, 'That we may be holy and blameless;' chap. v, 27; Col. i, 22; 1 Thess. v, 23, 'May the God of peace sanctify you;' Heb. xii, 14, 'Follow after holiness;' 1 Peter i, 15, 'Be yourselves holy in all behavior.' In these passages the word 'holy' denotes a realization in man of God's purpose that he live a life of which God is the one and only aim. In other words, that man is holy who looks upon himself and all his possessions as belonging to God, and uses all his time, powers, and opportunities to work out the purposes of God, that is, to advance the kingdom of Christ. This is the subjective holiness to which God calls his people." One of the chief merits of this volume seems to be that it goes straight to the Scriptures for its truth, and is a piece of original research therein rather than a rehash of borrowed opinions. From the closing paragraph of the book we take the following: "At the beginning of my earlier volume I spoke of religion as '*such a conception of the Unseen as makes for righteousness.*' We can now supplement this general definition of all religion by a specific description of the religion taught by Christ. This last may be summed up as loyalty to Christ and to his kingdom. For such loyalty to him implies a definite conception of Christ and God, whom we have never seen; and this conception, more than any other known to us, makes for righteousness. The transition from the general definition given before and the specific description now given has been brought about, in part by the revelation of God in nature, but chiefly by the historic revelations given under the Old Covenant, and especially in Christ. By these means our conception of the Unseen has become knowledge of a Father in heaven, the intelligent and righteous Creator and Ruler of the universe and of man, who so loved us that he gave his

eternal Son to become Man, to die for man, and to rise from the dead, in order to rescue man from ruin and to build up the rescued ones into an eternal and glorious kingdom of God; and who now day by day sends forth his Spirit to be in them the animating principle of a life like that of Christ. We have found by actual and abundant experience that this conception of One whom we have never seen makes for righteousness. For it both gives clearness and authority to our moral sense and prompts and enables us to do what it commands. As a conception of the Unseen resting upon abundant and decisive evidence, and as a stimulus to right-doing the most effective we can conceive, it is the highest form of religion known to man. And, as we have seen, the nations which profess this religion have a practical monopoly of all that is best on earth. Many indications attest that, before two or three generations have passed, whatever religion there is in the world . . . will be associated with homage to Christ." The later volumes promised by Dr. Beet will be awaited with interest.

An Introduction to Dogmatic Theology. By REVERE FRANKLIN WEIDNER, D.D., LL.D. Second edition, revised. 12mo, pp. 287. New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, $1.

The author calls this small handbook a door and vestibule to the science of dogmatics. Special attention is given to the literature of this subject. The work is based on Luthardt's *Compendium der Dogmatik*, now more than twenty years old, the outlines of which are here closely followed. Use has also been made of the manuscript lectures of Dr. C. P. Krauth, late professor of dogmatic theology in the Evangelical Lutheran Theological Seminary in Philadelphia. No attempt is made to present a system of Christian theology, but only an introduction to such a system. The author shows that biblical theology is a scientific necessity and in harmony with a genuine philosophy. He sets forth the relation of dogmatics to ethics and to other branches of theology. Under "The Contents of Dogmatics" he treats of religion as a universal fact, its origin and essential character, its actuality and truth; also, of Christianity as the one true religion, and its relation to heathenism and Judaism; also of the antithetic difference between Romanism and Protestantism; and also, as is natural for a Lutheran professor, of Lutheran Protestantism, contrasting it with Reformed Protestantism. In Part III the discussion is upon the proper method for the formation of a dogmatic system, with the Scriptures as the normative factor, the churchly character of dogmatics, Church confessions of faith, and the subjective consciousness of faith. Part IV, on the history of Dogmatics, occupies more space than any other. Beginning with the ancient dogmatics of the apostolic fathers, the Oriental Church, and the Western Church, it passes to the dogmatics of the Middle Ages, scholasticism, mysticism, the humanists, and pre-Reformation theology; then presents the dogmatics of the century of the Reformation, especially of Melanchthon and his school; then the orthodox dogmatics of the seventeenth century, with the characteristics, tendencies, and dogmaticisms of that period; then the period of transition,

with the dogmatics of pietism, the biblical tendency, the historical tendency, the philosophical tendency, and dogmatics outside of Germany; then the dogmatics of rationalism and supernaturalism; and finally the dogmatics of the most recent time, dwelling on the renewal of religious faith, the philosophy of the period, the emotional theology of the period, the dogmatics of the "Mediating Theology," and confessional dogmatics. Largely the book is made up of a list of authorities on the different topics, with a statement of their teachings, position, and character. In a table of select literature of dogmatics, the Methodist authors named are Miley, Pope, Raymond, and Watson. Then follow twelve pages of "Examination Questions," useful for conducting a review of the book; then an index, and thirty-two blank pages for making notes. The book is designed and well fitted for the class room of a Lutheran seminary, but also of interest to all students of dogmatic theology.

Persecution and Tolerance. By M. CREIGHTON, D.D., Lord Bishop of Peterborough, late Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Cambridge. 12mo, pp. 140. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. Price, cloth, $1.25.

These are the Hulsean Lectures delivered before the University of Cambridge in 1893–94. The subject is not a pleasant one. The history of persecution is humiliating and horrible. The progress of Christendom toward the Christianity of Christ has been painfully and shamefully slow. The notion that one may please and glorify God by hounding, burning, butchering his brother was born in the lowest hell; and how the devil ever duped anybody bearing the Christian name into entertaining that infernal notion is one of the abysmal mysteries of human nature and the bottomless pit. The author modestly calls his book a trivial contribution to the investigation of a large subject. He states the main conclusions set forth in its pages thus: Persecution, or the infliction of punishment for erroneous opinions, (1) was contrary to the express teaching of Christ and alien to the spirit of Christianity; (2) was adopted by the Church from the system of the world when the Church accepted the responsibility of maintaining order in the community; (3) was really exercised for political rather than religious ends; (4) was always condemned by the Christian conscience; (5) was felt by those who used it to land them in contradictions; (6) neither originated in any misunderstanding of the Scriptures nor was removed by the progress of intellectual enlightenment; but (7) disappeared because the State became conscious that there was an adequate basis for the maintenance of political society in those principles of right and wrong which were universally recognized by its citizens, apart from their position or beliefs as members of any religious organization. Bishop Creighton rejects Lecky's view of the origin of persecution (which is the current view), which finds that origin in the overwhelming claim which Christianity makes on its adherents; the reasoning which led to persecution being that, as Christianity regards man's life on earth as but the beginning of an eternal destiny, and as it was believed that eternity could bring happiness to those only who are within the fold of the Church, therefore the maintenance of right opinion about religious

matters was regarded as a point of such primary importance for eternal happiness that it ought, in the interests of mankind, to be enforced even at the cost of immediate suffering to obdurate and misguided individuals. This author draws a line of distinction between the motives which really prompted to persecution and the arguments by which it was defended when once undertaken. His chapters treat of "The Persecuting Spirit," "The Intolerance of the New Testament," "The Church in Relation to Persecution," "The Evolution of Tolerance," and "The Nature of Tolerance." Showing how persecution was fostered by expediency and thirst for power, he says: "Leo X was tolerant of the philosophic doubts of Pomponazzo concerning the immortality of the soul, because such speculations were not likely to affect the position of the papacy; but he could not allow Luther to discuss the dubious and complicated question of indulgences, because it might have disastrous effects upon the system of papal finance." Alas for the blindness of fanaticism and the fierceness of passion! A poor appearance many of the great ones make in the light of a true Christianity. Luther, rising against tyranny, soon began himself to clamor for the blood of his opposers, and cried: "Let there be no pity; it is the time of wrath, and not of mercy. So wondrous are the times that princes can merit heaven better by bloodshed than by prayers. Therefore, dear lords, let him who can, stab, smite, destroy." And when "Calvin, without a shred of claim to jurisdiction, condemned Servetus to the flames," Melanchthon, the mild and retiring student, wrote to congratulate him on his firmness in these words: "The Church, both now and in all generations, owes, and will owe, you a debt of gratitude. I entirely assent to your judgment. And I say that your magistrates did right in that, after solemn trial, they put the blasphemer to death." The book is an awful warning against tolerating in ourselves the spirit of intolerance.

The Gospel of Experience. The Boyle Lectures for 1895. By Rev. W. C. E. NEWBOLT, M.A., Canon and Chancellor of St. Paul's Cathedral. 12mo, pp. 206. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

The subject is the witness of human life to the truth of revelation. "We know what revelation says of human life; let us see what human life says of revelation." As the archæologist digs up proof of Scripture from buried history, so Canon Newbolt excavates from the depths of the soul's experience other strong confirmations of Holy Writ. The first lecture is on "The Sense of a Personal God;" the second on "The Traces of a Fall—Within;" the third on "The Traces of a Fall—Without;" the fourth on "The Phenomena of Sin;" the fifth on "The Phenomena of Temptation;" the sixth on "The Phenomena of the Punishment of Sin;" the seventh on "The Phenomena of Redemption;" the eighth on "The Phenomena of the Atonement and Grace." The author investigates, not the average man in whom are only faint and fitful vestiges of religion, but the religious consciousness on high levels of spirituality and in connection with the truest and noblest Christian living. The thing most to be criticised in the book is its sacramentarianism, which, however, occasions no surprise. A sample of the style is this from the opening chapter:

"Looking out widely over the history of religion, we find generally that men have approached a Being outside themselves, whom they call God, in three ways: They felt out after a great Presence outside them; the untroubled and sacred sky was to them the unquestioned abode of God, as the earth was of man, and it opened straight through its gates of cloud into the awfulness of the unseen world. And they declared that this God was worthy, and *they worshiped.* Or they felt within that strong, irrepressible sense of guilt, of remorse, of an eternal principle of right and wrong, and of God, who administers the laws of the universe in accordance with that principle, and *they sacrificed and did acts of reparation and penitence.* Or they pondered and mused over the mysteries of life, its joys and sorrows, and they found, even if they did not know the alphabet of communion, that prayer was the means of connection with a great Being above them, and with more or less imperfection *they prayed.* Follow up any one of these three roads in spiritually developed lives, and we find that human experience has discovered the very same God that revelation made known to us as the object of religion." The author refers to a society in Paris called the Luciferians, whose object is to establish the worship of Lucifer. "Already two temples have been dedicated to Satan in Paris, and there is a sect of devil worshipers, with their motto, '*Voluptas Peccati.*'" This reminds us that the theosophists have given to the periodical which appears as the organ of their sect the name of *Lucifer.*

The Modern Reader's Bible. Edited by R. G. MOULTON, M.A., Ph.D. 18mo. Successive volumes. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, cloth, 50 cents per volume.

There is only one book the study and sale of which increase every year and every century, steadily permeating the intelligence of the world. Professor Moulton's work in presenting the books of the Bible in modern literary form is already widely known. His impressive rendering of the Book of Job as a dramatic poem embodying various solutions of the mystery of life, as some men recite Shakespeare, has been heard with interest and wonder by many assemblies. In this series of small volumes his method of modern arrangement is applied, not only to Job, but to other books as well. The text used is that of the Revised Version, with a preference for the marginal renderings. Six volumes are already published. The first, entitled *Biblical Idyls,* contains Solomon's Song, Ruth, Esther, and the Book of Tobit from the Apocrypha; the second, Proverbs; the third, Ecclesiasticus; the fourth, Ecclesiastes and Wisdom of Solomon; the fifth, Job; the sixth, Deuteronomy. The aim of the series is to facilitate the study of the Bible as a part of the world's literature. Those who have not seen the Holy Scriptures in this form will be surprised at the new impressiveness given to familiar books. The arrangement in modern literary form includes the distinction between prose and verse; in verse passages, the indication to the eye of different metrical forms; the insertion of the names of speakers in dialogue; the assignment of titles to such compositions as discourses and essays. Each volume has an extensive and illuminating introduction by Professor Moulton.

Christianity Vindicated by its Enemies. By DANIEL DORCHESTER, D.D. 12mo, pp. 180. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, 75 cents.

This excellent little book contains many testimonies, concessions, and proofs, all furnished by enemies of Christianity, or at least by men not committed to it. Its compactness and small price should secure it a large sale. It is adapted to be helpful to minds brought in contact with skepticism in its various forms. It is a good book to put into the hands of young people who have become perplexed by finding the truths of religion called in question. Out of the mouths of skeptics Christ is vindicated. The testimony of the doubters is grouped around God and Immortality, The Genuine Historic Basis of Christianity, The Transcendent Character of Christianity as a Religious System, The Divinity of Christianity, Four Leading Vital Doctrines (The Deity of Christ, The Expiatory Atonement, Experimental Religion, and Future Rewards and Punishments). The final chapter is a summing up of the points established by the foes of Christianity in its favor. The book is like a knapsack packed with forty rounds of ammunition—the bullets in the last chapter, the powder to drive them home in the previous chapters. Pastors will find it a useful book to lend to inquiring young men when needed; and Sunday school libraries might well have it for adult Bible class scholars.

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

Regeneration. A Reply to Max Nordau. 8vo, pp. 311. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Price, cloth, $2.

The authorship of this book is unknown. English reviewers have guessed Herbert Spencer and James Bryce. The latter is a possibility, the former is not. This large and elaborate reply is the most important answer called forth by that much-discussed volume, Max Nordau's *Degeneration*, in which a free-thinking German Jew, learned in science in a secondhand way, undertakes to show that modern civilization is rotting the race, and that this earth is fast becoming, as Voltaire said, the madhouse of the universe. Nordau deserves the scorching he receives in this "reply," which is a justifiable retaliation. His book, while correct in some of its facts, was coarse, offensive, dismal, and unwholesome. Professor N. M. Butler, of Columbia College, who writes the introduction to *Regeneration*, justly says that Nordau "is himself an abnormality and a pathological type. Every large hospital for the insane knows his representative—the one sane man in a world of lunatics." Against Nordau the author of this book holds that "there are a host of indications in all civilized countries pointing to an increase of intellectual power, moral strength, and æsthetic refinement." It is pointed out that even the enjoyments of society present hopeful symptoms; there is increasing taste for healthy games and sport, for travel, for the amateur practice of the arts for recreation's sake; there is increasing interest in science, especially social science; there is an improved tone in social gatherings and a marked decrease in convivial drunkenness. It is noted that even the higher social

classes of Europe, whose life looks luxurious and frivolous, manifest considerable moral earnestness in subscriptions to hospitals, orphanages, and institutes of every description; that ladies of high rank and wealth give their personal services in sick-nursing establishments and in various efforts to relieve the suffering and uplift the degraded; and that many make sacrifices of time and comfort in the endeavor to brighten the lives of the poor, to save fallen women, to assist released prisoners, to protect children and even animals from cruelty. And beyond this is all the immense charitable work done directly by the Churches. The author points out that religion has more friends than are generally reckoned; that injustice has been done to many men of intellectual power in classing them as infidels, atheists, anti-religionists, because they were at variance with dogmas, established sects, and superstitions, although religion is a matter independent of these; and that it is conceded that almost all men in the past and present deservedly called great have been religionists. This is an English book. Its judgments and prejudices are strongly English. Of the present French Republic it has this to say: "When the Third Republic was launched it had a strongly atheistic character, and the working classes in all the cities, the sincere freethinkers, patriots, and philanthropists, hoped that under a republican form of government the scientific religion of humanity would at last have a fair trial. But they were destined to bitter disappointment. The new republic turned out to be *bourgeois* in the worst sense of the word. Politics passed into a profession. Politicians and administrators became corrupt. Scandals multiplied. Even the press was unable to show clean hands. Wealth became all-powerful, and the plutocrats did not hesitate to use their enormous influence to their own advantage. Speculators and adventurers pulled the strings of the home policy, and especially of the colonial policy, and in order to further private interests the indebtedness of the State was carried to such a point as to threaten the most gigantic financial catastrophe the world has ever witnessed. . . . While penury invaded the homes of the working and lower middle class of a nation which has only partially realized the happy and healthy influence flowing from decent and moral homes, scientific atheism took possession of the minds of the people, especially of the men. It urged them to make the most of the present life and enticed them into a whirlpool of dissipation." Of the prospects of the German empire the author gives this opinion: "Everything in Germany points to a coming catastrophe. Even if we consider only one of the directions from which the first alarm may come—that is, the finance department—it seems impossible that the system can last much longer. The heavy taxation unfortunately undermines its own basis, namely, the ability of the people to pay; and the much-strained credit of the State is likely to collapse at the very moment it will be most needed. It is therefore not premature to consider what will happen in that country at about the end of this century, when the financial resources, the patience of the people, and the confidence of the army may be exhausted." Here is the Englishman's view of the position of his own

nation: "No nation holds a higher responsibility than the English. Its vast possessions all over the globe, its financial and commercial supremacy, its ethical influence over all the English-speaking countries mark it out as the standard bearer of civilization. Nothing great can happen among us without reechoing in the remotest corners of the earth, and any step onward taken by us will send a thrill throughout humanity. Degenerate Englishmen may still wish meekly to follow other nations; but our mission is to be the practical, energetic, daring pioneers heading the march of progress. By using its great power and influence the British nation can render invaluable service to humanity in the present crisis. On England must therefore rest our hopes for the practical solution of the grave questions on which progress and retrogression depend. From England alone can proceed that electrifying impulse of which the bewildered nations stand in need." This volume shows signs of being hastily and impulsively written by some man of vigorous mind careless of English style. As for Nordau's *Degeneration*, we easily made up a sufficient opinion on discovering that he regards a belief in an intelligent Providence and in the existence of a spiritual life independent of the body as a sign of mental degeneracy. He thinks man merely an organic mechanism, for which death ends all. The book we are now noticing recalls the opinion of John Stuart Mill, that the fact that we find in nature—especially in human and animal bodies—physical and mechanical problems solved in the same way as engineers had solved them long before they knew of such solutions in nature points not only to the existence of an intelligent Creator, but to a similarity of his intelligence to that of human beings.

Critical Kit-Kats. By EDMUND GOSSE. 12mo, pp. 302. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

These graphic and lively sketches are a combination of literary criticism and biography, treating of Mrs. Browning's "Sonnets from the Portuguese," Keats, Thomas Lovell Beddoes, Edward FitzGerald, Walt Whitman, Count Lyof Tolstoi, Christina Rossetti, Lord De Tabley, Toru Dutt, José Maria de Heredia, Walter Pater, and Robert Louis Stevenson. They are piquant, fragrant, and delightful essays, studies in letters and life as breezy, racy, dainty, and discerning as can be found anywhere in current literature. We reckon them much more valuable than Richard Le Gallienne's *Retrospective Reviews*, the latter being thin and frothy by comparison. In the last line of page 6 are the mysterious words "over tost." That is what the typesetter made of "strove to" in the author's manuscript, and the proof reader failed to detect it. The first essay says, "The keynote of Elizabeth Barrett was sincerity;" "Critics are beginning to see now, and sorrowfully to admit, that what is causing the noble figure of Elizabeth Barrett to recede gradually from that front place in which Tennyson, for instance, and Keats hold their preeminence is her turbidity. The best poetry may roll down violent places, but it remains as limpid as a trout stream; what is unfortunate about Mrs. Browning's is that it is constantly stained and clouded." Nevertheless, Mr. Gosse's

praise of the "Sonnets from the Portuguese" is pitched in a high key, uses superlatives. His address delivered at Hampstead at the unveiling of the monument reared by Americans to the memory of Keats, July 16, 1894, contains these statements: "Tennyson was more than once heard to assert that Keats, had his life been prolonged, would have been our greatest poet since Milton;" and Gosse says, "I sometimes fancy that we lost in Keats the most masterful capacity for poetic expression which the world has ever seen." The third essay is about Beddoes, the author of that strange production, *Death's Jest-book*, a half-insane sort of man, one feels. His poetry is grim, abnormal, ghastly, with here and there wild flights of humor and occasional exquisite verses. The fourth is on Edward FitzGerald, from whom is quoted this bit in 1838: "I am very heavy indeed with a kind of influenza, which has blocked up most of my senses and put a wet blanket over my brains. This state of head has not been improved by trying to get through a new book much in fashion—Carlyle's *French Revolution* —written in a German style. An Englishman writes of French revolutions in a German style! People say the book is very deep; but it appears to me that the meaning *seems* deep from lying under mystical language. There is no repose, no equable movement in it; all cut up into short sentences, half reflective, half narrative; so that one labors through it as vessels do through a chop sea—small, contrary-going waves caused by shallows and straits and meeting tides. I like to sail before the wind over the surface of an even-rolling eloquence, like that of Bacon or the Opium Eater. There is also pleasant fresh-water sailing with such writers as Addison. Is there any *pond*-sailing in literature?—that is, drowsy, slow, and of small compass? Perhaps we may say, some sermons. But this is only conjecture. Certainly Jeremy Taylor rolls along as majestically as any of them. We have had Alfred Tennyson here, very droll and very wayward, and much sitting up of nights till two and three in the morning, with pipes in our mouths; at which good hour we would get Alfred to give us some of his magic music, which he does between growling and smoking, and go to bed." Of the captain of a Lowestoft lugger, an auburn-haired and blue-eyed giant, FitzGerald says, "He was a grand, tender soul, lodged in a suitable carcase, altogether the greatest man I have known." Of FitzGerald's feats in English prose and verse Gosse writes: "When much contemporary clamor has died out forever the clear note of the nightingale of Woodbridge will still be heard from the alleys of his Persian garden." Of the one American writer discussed in this volume the author says: "Whitman is mere *bathybius;* he is literature in the condition of protoplasm;" and then he speaks of his brutality, his toleration of the ugly and the forbidden, his terrible laxity of thought and fatuity of judgment. Writing of Christina Rossetti, a great writer who was also a great saint, it is said that the influence over her of her elder sister Maria Francesca seemed "like that of Newton upon Cowper, a species of police surveillance exercised by a hard, convinced mind over a softer and more fanciful one." The most striking thing in Lord De Tabley's poetry is "its brocaded magnificence." He was such a bibliophile

that Gosse says, "He was one of those who think nothing of hanging about a bookshop at six in the morning, waiting for the shutters to be taken down." He was so morbidly sensitive that it is written: "The epidermis of his nature was so excessively thin that the merest trifle pained him; he was like those unfortunate persons who are born without a scarf-skin, on whom the pressure of a twig or the grip of a hand brings blood. This sensitiveness was pitiable, and the results of it even a little blameworthy, since, if they entailed wretchedness on himself, they caused needless pain to those who truly loved him. I doubt if any friend, however tactful in self-abnegation, got through many years of Lord De Tabley's intimacy without an electric storm. His imagination aided his ingenuity in self-torture, and conjured up monsters of malignity, specters that strode across the path of friendship and rendered it impassable." His appearance is thus described by Mr. A. C. Benson: "There was something archaic, almost, one might say, hierarchical, about his head, with its long, rippled, gray hair, the transparent pallor of complexion, the piercing eye. He dressed with severity, and . . . there was about him *a certain monastic stateliness of air which one sees most frequently in those who combine worldly position with the possession of a tranquillizing faith.*" He was baptized in infancy in water brought for the purpose from the river Jordan by his godfather, Lord Zouche; and, dying in his sixty-first year, earth from the Holy Land was sprinkled over his body in Little Peover churchyard in Cheshire, where he wished to lie, and where, if any purifying virtue be in external applications, his flesh should rest in the odor of sanctity, like a disused garment laid up in lavender upon a shelf of the wardrobe of the world. Toru Dutt was a pure-blooded, high-caste Hindu girl, born in Calcutta, who wrote surprising poetry in French and English, and died aged twenty-one. Her story and a study of her writings are in this volume. Mr. Gosse agrees with many others in calling Robert Louis Stevenson "the most exquisite English writer of his generation."

Wages and Capital. An Examination of the Wages Fund Doctrine. By F. W. Taussig, Professor of Political Economy in Harvard University. 12mo, pp. 329. New York: D. Appleton & Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

Fortunately, the wages fund doctrine is rather academic than practical. The inferences which make it of high social importance are not drawn with precision; and they cannot be, if for no other reason than for this one—that the doctrine itself has always lacked precision in its conception. Professor Taussig's book presents nothing more clearly and forcibly than the lack of precise accuracy in all attempts to formulate the doctrine and to draw inferences from it. In recent discussion the fighting line is drawn between the proposition, as old as Adam Smith, that wages are paid from capital, and the more modern theory that they are paid from product. The corollaries of the old theory, that the wages fund is a fixed amount and that the rate of wages—whether high or low—is fixed by this fixed amount of the fund, are not now regarded as necessarily drawn from the simple doctrine that wages are paid from capital. In the five chapters constituting Part I of the present volume, Professor

Taussig elaborates his own view of the interesting problems presented by the wages fund doctrine. His views are thus stated at the end of chapter v: "The old doctrine of the wages fund had a solid basis in its conception, incomplete, yet in essentials just, of *the payment of present labor from past product.* The new theories which disregard this fundamental fact, and seek to explain distribution by considering labor as paid directly from its own present product, begin with a false premise and distort the facts of the actual world. . . . The wages fund theory—if that name can be given to the form in which it has here been set forth—shows the steps by which wages get into the laborer's hands, and so points to the nearest and most obvious causes which affect them." All this, however, the author believes, "describes the machinery of production and distribution, not the forces which move the machinery and cause its parts to shift and change." This confining of the play of the wage fund to the actual external fact, and the throwing farther back of the inquiries which must uncover the real forces, is rather disappointing; and one might say that the advocates of the opposite theory will concede all that Professor Taussig claims. It is certainly a literal fact that the workman must get his wages out of things already in existence, as food, housing, and clothing—for these are his real wages. But our author goes a step further on page 321, where he says that hired workmen's "money received is derived from what the capitalists find it profitable to turn over to them." In the second and larger part of his work our author presents a very valuable and interesting history of the wages fund doctrine, with a criticism acute and searching of the writers who have expounded or attacked the doctrine. It is this part of the book which the general reader will find most useful. It is a lesson in economic thinking and reasoning. The reader will get a clear view of the breadth of economic problems, of the difficulties they present for thought and expression, of the great need of two things—first, of the minutest and widest study of a complex system of industrial society; second, of a gift and skill in analysis of the concrete order of things in our industries. A single criticism of Professor Taussig seems to us a duty. He refers disparagingly to the stress laid by Adam Smith upon parsimony. There is something more than academic theory concerned. A hundred and twenty years ago Adam Smith in England and Benjamin Franklin in America set in motion a moral machine of wealth-making by advocating parsimonious living. The force may have been too strenuous; it is always our human danger to fall into excess. But our generation has gone to the other extreme, and is rearing a new generation on the plan of the most profuse possible expenditure. This queer generation is in danger of falling into the grasp of a theory that what is necessary for them is not to *save* from what they earn, but to *take* what others possess. It is obviously true that Adam Smith was broadly right. His teaching has made England rich by making it a nation of money-getters and money-savers. Franklin did a like service for us. Our largest social need is to recover ground lost in this field of patient thrift. These remarks present only a very partial view of a solid contribution to

contemporary economic discussion. The novice will not understand the book, but all who have made some progress in economic study will find it exceedingly helpful to the study, not of the wage fund only, but of all economic theory.

Moral Law and Civil Law Parts of the Same Thing. By ELI F. RITTER. 12mo, pp. 212. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, 90 cents.

This essay is a timely one, because it restates in an original and forcible way the sound doctrine that law exists to enforce and maintain moral principles in human conduct. Setting out with illustrations of the principle that public necessity justifies the setting aside of every so-called "personal right"—that the public welfare is the object of government, and that individual liberty must be surrendered to this object—Mr. Ritter proceeds to identify morality and the civil law by the most careful analysis and ample quotation from constitutions and from works on jurisprudence. Perhaps his most forcible illustration is a list of the acts which are forbidden by the laws of Indiana. Three hundred and twenty kinds of acts are forbidden in that commonwealth, and every reader of the list will recognize every one of these forbidden acts as immoral. After such a test hardly anything is left to be said. The laws of Indiana are seen to be in harmony with the common moral consciousness. The same results would be found by examining the original laws of other States. Our State legislatures forbid only those acts which all citizens feel to be wrong acts —contrary to moral law. The same conclusion is reached by examining the statutes of the United States; they forbid only wrong conduct. In the States some laws are habitually broken; those, for example, which forbid foul tongues. No men whose conscience is worth considering believe that profanity is right. The statute books are better than the practice of citizens who violate, or permit others to violate, the laws in restraint of profanity. It is, in fact, a common law crime; and the only purpose of a statute is to fix a penalty for this crime. The tenth chapter of this book, entitled "No Privileges for Evil," is an unanswerable argument for the suppression of the saloon. The State forbids wrong acts; it ought to forbid all wrong acts; to do this it must suppress the saloon, which exists to commit wrong acts. It is a privileged American institution, privileged to defy moral principles. "The settled rule of law is that if the general character and effect of any business is against public morals it cannot have a legal standing." No one will dispute this statement; and no men of sound morals will deny that the American saloon exists in flagrant opposition to this rule. Mr. Ritter writes in a singularly clear style, simple, dispassionate, and convincing.

My Brother and I. Selected Papers on Social Topics. 12mo, pp. 203. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, 90 cents.

These papers discuss a variety of subjects from a Christian point of view. The compiler, Rev. William Ingraham Haven, hopes that the book may stimulate the young people of our churches to take up the study of these great and pressing problems. Here is the list of topics and authors: "Am I My Brother's Keeper?" by F. W. Farrar; "Christ

the Greatest of Social Reformers," by Hugh Price Hughes; "The Church of the World," by Richard T. Ely; "The Negro Question," by George W. Cable; "The World's Drink Problem," by Axel Gustafson; "Is Labor a Commodity?" by Washington Gladden; "The Pauline Doctrine of the Sword," by A. J. F. Behrends; "Gambling," by Hugh Price Hughes; "The Problem of the Children," by Jacob A. Riis; "The Redemption of the Slums," by H. G. Mitchell. With his eye evidently on the Salvation Army, Farrar speaks thus to the Church: "We have not quite done our duty to the world of the wretched when we have proved, to our own satisfaction, that men whose passionate love for their fellow-men has reclaimed thousands of the Arabs of our streets and preached the Gospel to the lowest of the poor are contemptible fanatics. Is it indeed the case that, as we loll in our luxurious armchairs, we not only need give nothing to help such efforts, but can even afford to look down from the whole height of our paltry conventionalism on workers who have more of the love of God and man in their little fingers than any ordinary thousand of us have in our whole loins? I esteem far higher the burning desire to help their fellow-men, the strenuous effort to carry that desire into effect, which actuates men who are the common sneer of worldlings and of religious newspapers than I estimate the thin respectability and smug decorum of thousands of commonplace churchmen. These lovers of their brethren have not criticised and sneered—they have rescued the perishing, they have cared for the dying, they have healed the broken-hearted, they have wrought, and fought, and toiled, and prayed, and suffered. James Russell Lowell was a poet, a statesman, a man of the world. You know his poem, 'A Parable:'

> 'Said Christ our Lord, "I will go and see
> How the men, my brethren, believe in me?"'

The chief priests and rulers welcomed him with state and pompous services:

> 'Great organs surged through arches dim
> Their jubilant floods in praise of him;
> And in church, and palace, and judgment hall
> He saw his own image high over all.
> But still, wherever his steps they led,
> The Lord in sorrow bent down his head;
> And from under the heavy foundation stones
> The Son of Mary heard bitter groans.
> . . . . . .
> "Have ye founded your thrones and altars, then,
> On the bodies and souls of living men?
> And think ye that building shall endure
> Which shelters the noble and crushes the poor?"'

In vain they pleaded their customs and their religious rites:

> 'Then Christ sought out an artisan,
> A low-browed, stunted, haggard man,
> And a motherless girl, whose fingers thin
> Pushed from her faintly want and sin.
> These led he in the midst of them,
> And as they drew back their garments-hem
> For fear of defilement, "Lo! here," said he,
> "The images ye have made of me!"'

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

Bayard Taylor. By ALBERT H. SMYTH. 16mo, pp. 320. New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $1.25.

The hero of this charming biography was no ordinary American. One of the certain and vivid impressions which follows the reading of his life story is that we are standing in the presence of an engaging personality. As a traveler alone, had he never struck the poet's lyre, he would have been noteworthy. George Macdonald's representation of a desire, on the part of one of his characters, to climb the highest hills and the tallest steeples had its parallel in Taylor's disposition. "In looking back to my childhood," he once wrote, "I can recall the intensest desire to climb upward, so that without shifting the circle of my horizon I could yet extend it and take in a far wider sweep of vision. I envied every bird that sat swinging upon the topmost bough of the great century-old cherry tree; the weather-cock on our barn seemed to me to whirl in a higher region of the air; and to rise from the earth in a balloon was a bliss which I would have almost given my life to enjoy." When fourteen years of age a phrenological lecturer said of Taylor to his father: "You will never make a farmer of him to any great extent; you will never keep him home; that boy will ramble around the world; and, furthermore, he has all the marks of a poet." True to the prophecy of the phrenologist, Taylor, we read, sailed for Europe when nineteen, with scanty and hard-gathered resources. The story of his enforced frugality, as it is told by Mr. Smyth, includes his living in Germany on thirty-three cents a day, and his subsistence sometimes on "bread, figs, and roasted chestnuts." At Marseilles, on his return from Italy, his fund had diminished to fifteen francs; and at Lyons he "lay in pawn" with his two companions until an expected remittance should come from Paris. At London the case was no better. "I stood," he afterward writes, "upon London bridge, in the raw mist and the falling twilight, with a franc and a half in my pocket, and deliberated what I should do. Weak from seasickness, hungry, chilled, and without a single acquaintance in the great city, my situation was about as hopeless as it is possible to conceive." In 1852, while on his journey in the Orient, so thoroughly had he taken on the coloring of his environment that his very nationality was mistaken. He writes of himself to James T. Fields, while in Constantinople: "I wear the tarboosh, smoke the Persian pipe, and drop crosslegged on the floor with the ease of any tailor whatever. When I went into my bankers' they addressed me in Turkish. The other day, at Brousa, my fellow-Mussulmen indignantly denounced me as damned, because I broke the fast of the Ramazan by taking a drink of water in the bazaar. I have gone into the holiest mosques in Asia Minor with perfect impunity. I determined to taste the Orient as it was in reality, not as a mere outside looker-on, and so picked up the Arabic tongue, put on the wide trousers, and adopted as many Eastern customs as was becoming to a good Christian." And thenceforward until 1878, when he, who had first sailed, a callow youth, in the second cabin of the *Oxford*, "fitted with

temporary berths of rough planks," last crossed to Germany with the honors of the United States minister to Berlin, he never dropped, except for short intervals, the tourist's staff. Norway, India, Greece, Russia, and Japan in turn gave him welcome. He was an untiring, all-seeing, insatiable traveler, as this biography shows. His descriptions are breezy, unconventional, rich; and the world will not cease to be thankful that the old-time prophecy of phrenology regarding him came true, whatever other failures may be charged up against the science. But as a man of letters Bayard Taylor was even greater than as a traveler. Through the choice pages of Mr. Smyth we wander in hopeless bewilderment, as we seek to quote the descriptions of Taylor's intellectual force. He was born for literature. As a lad "his verbal memory and his facility in rhymes were chiefly noticeable." His vocabulary was large and chaste. On his first visit to the Continent, before a half year had ended, "he was not only fluent in conversation, but had written rhyming German verse." Greek he studied at fifty. His acquaintance with Old World literature was exhaustive; and it is doubtful if any foreigner ever obtained more complete mastery than Bayard Taylor of the German language. His knowledge of "men and affairs" was great. "He was once surprised at Cedarcroft," says his biographer, "with an order from the *Tribune* to prepare a sketch of Louis Napoleon 'to be used in the event of the emperor's abdication.' Drawing almost entirely from the stores of his memory, Taylor wrote in three days an entire page of the *Tribune*." But it was as a poet, rather than a prose writer, that Taylor preferred to go down to the future. His first poem, left anonymously at the door of the *Saturday Evening Post*, was published when he was sixteen. "If the sinking sun had wheeled about and gone up the western sky," he afterward wrote, "or the budding trees had snapped into full leaf in five minutes, I don't believe it would have astonished me." His way led past a little brick building, with a lawyer's tin sign on the shutter. "As I caught a glimpse of his head, silhouetted against the back window, I found myself, nevertheless, rather inclined to pity him for being unconscious that the author of 'The Unknown Bard' was at that moment passing his door." His place among the poets of America is thus assigned him by Mr. Smyth: "When the extraordinary range of his interests and efforts is considered, and his variety and cosmopolitanism weighed, it appears that other poets of America have surpassed him in parts, but that no one has equaled him in all." He had fellowship with such men as Greeley, Whittier, and Lowell. Emerson, Curtis, Stedman, and Aldrich were his guests at Cedarcroft. Stoddard, Boker, and others were his friends. He was one of the choice spirits of his age, who went away too soon from his company and his work. In his funeral address Auerbach said of him that he was born in the New World, but ripened in the Old. There is, therefore, the flavor of European liberality in his verses, as there was in his personal life; and whoever understands him must realize first of all his cosmopolitanism. The lives of few American men of letters have come to fuller fruitage in the generation; and we turn away from the

witchery of his presence as from a landscape on which the darkness has too soon settled down.

Lord John Russell. By STUART J. REID. 12mo, pp. 381. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $1.

Mr. Reid is the editor of "a series of political biographies" entitled *The Queen's Prime Ministers*, of which his monograph, as he himself modestly calls it, is the ninth and the last published volume. We have read only one other volume of the series, that on the Earl of Aberdeen; but if the remaining seven volumes are as interesting as these two the series amply justifies its appearance. Lord John Russell was the third son of the fourth Duke of Bedford. He began his parliamentary career of over half a century in 1813, at the age of twenty-one, when his father procured for him the election for Tavistock, in Devonshire. This was nearly twenty years before the era of reform. "Parliament was little more than an assembly of delegates sent by the large landowners. Ninety members were returned by forty-six places, in which there were less than fifty electors; and seventy members were returned by thirty-five places containing scarcely any electors at all. Places such as Old Sarum—consisting of a mound and a few ruins—returned two members; whilst Manchester, Leeds, and Birmingham, in spite of their great populations, and in spite, too, of keen political intelligence and far-reaching commercial activity, were not yet judged worthy of the least voice in affairs." It was an age of unblushing bribery. "An election for Northampton cost the two candidates £30,000 each; whilst Lord Milton and Mr. Lascelles, in 1807, spent between them £200,000 at a contested election for the county of York." The most corrupt violations of the franchise were openly practiced. A candidate in Ireland marched a whole regiment of soldiers to the polls, had them sworn in as electors, and was, of course, triumphantly returned. "The statute book was disfigured by excessive penalties. . . . Forgers, robbers, incendiaries, poachers, and mutilators of cattle were sent to the gallows." "Yet, though the Church of England had no vision of the needs of the people and no voice for their wrongs, the great wave of religious life which had followed the preaching of Whitefield [misspelled 'Whitfield'] and Wesley had not spent its force, nor was it designed to do so before it had awakened in the multitude a spirit of quickened intelligence and self-respect, which made them restive under political servitude and in the presence of acknowledged, but unredressed, grievances." Lord John first openly espoused the cause of parliamentary reform after the "Peterloo Massacre" in Manchester in 1819, and that of Catholic emancipation in 1826. Two years later he moved the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. These had been enacted at the time of the Restoration, and were designed to cripple the political power of the Nonconformists. They required that all public officials should partake of the communion according to the rites of the Church of England, and, while they "excluded conscientious men" among the Dissenters, "proved no barrier to unprincipled hypocrites." After a long debate, to the no small surprise of both Lord Russell and

the Nonconformists, "the cause of religious freedom triumphed, and on May 9, 1828, the Test and Corporation Acts were finally repealed." The Tory government, anticipating Lord Russell, who was about to introduce the question of Catholic emancipation in the House, itself adopted the measure in self-defense, and it was carried in 1829. In the following year, on the accession of William IV, the Duke of Wellington declared in the House of Lords that his government would oppose all further measures of reform. The reaction caused by this announcement hastened the overthrow of the Wellington administration, and brought into power Lord Grey and the Whigs. Lord John Russell was selected by the new administration for the honor of introducing into the House of Commons the first bill for parliamentary reform. On the first of March, 1831, he unfolded his measure in a speech lasting two hours and a quarter. "It was ludicrous to see the faces of the members for those places doomed to disfranchisement, as they were severally announced." Were a foreigner to come to England to study her institutions, would he not be astonished, asked Lord Russell, "if he were taken to a green mound and informed that it sent two members to the British Parliament; if he were shown a stone wall and told that it also sent two members to the British Parliament; or if he walked into a park without the vestige of a dwelling and was told that it, too, sent two members to the British Parliament? But if he were surprised at this, how much more would he be astonished if he were carried into the north of England, where he would see large, flourishing towns, full of trade, activity, and intelligence, vast magazines of wealth and manufactures, and were told that these places sent no representatives to Parliament?" The king defeated the measure for the time by abruptly dissolving Parliament. The appeal to the country, however, returned the Whigs with a largely increased majority. A second bill, also introduced by Lord John, was carried in the Commons, and thrown out in the Lords; but a third bill was finally accepted on the threat of the government to create new peers in order to insure its passage. From this point we can sketch Lord John's career only briefly. He became the Whig leader in the Commons in 1834; home secretary in 1835; thereafter held various portfolios, including those of the war and colonial offices, the treasury, and foreign affairs; and was twice prime minister of England—from 1846 to 1852, and after Palmerston's death, from October, 1865, to June, 1866. He was secretary of state for foreign affairs during both the Crimean and our own civil war, and represented England at the Congress of Vienna. An intelligible account of the causes of the struggle in the Crimea and a condensed statement of the British side of the Trent and Alabama controversies will be found in these pages. Lord John was created Earl Russell in 1861. In 1866 he retired from active public life. He died in 1878. Works such as this necessarily throw their heroes with undue prominence into the history of their times; but they atone for doing so in large measure by making us, as it were, personally acquainted with the actors in great national events; for history, after

all, is only a grand aggregation of individual interest and personal motive.

Adoniram Judson Gordon. A Biography, with letters and illustrative extracts drawn from unpublished or uncollected sermons and addresses. By his son, ERNEST B. GORDON. 8vo, pp. 386. New York: F. H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, $1.50.

Among men of high rank, intellectually and oratorically, the number who have a genius for goodness and give themselves to God with an absolute devotion is not large. But however small the circle be made, A. J. Gordon takes his place therein by a clear title. He was truly great, according to the Saviour's own standard: "Whosoever will be great among you, shall be your minister: and whosoever of you will be the chiefest, shall be servant of all." There was no class of the community at whose feet he did not lay himself in ministration. He gave his life in the ransom of a vast multitude. This may be understood literally. For it is one of the extremely few charges that can, even tentatively, be brought against the perfection of this pattern man that he did not take rest enough, that he wore himself out ten good years before his time, and thereby robbed the world to that extent. The strain on him in his busy Boston pastorate, where the clang of the door bell knew scarce any intermission, day or night, was intense. He labored seven days in the week. Monday was even more crowded than other days with special addresses and important committee meetings, often to the number of half a dozen. And the summer brought little or no cessation. He carried on services continually at his country home and evangelized all the neighborhoods round about. He had large numbers of the neglected city children up to enjoy the invigorating New Hampshire air, and laid himself out for their advantage. He wrote scores and hundreds of long letters to all such in his parish as needed comfort or counsel. He threw himself into the Northfield meetings with immense enthusiasm and efficiency. If on the ocean, he holds services in the steerage and labors arduously for the neglected there. If on the other side of the sea, it is not for sight-seeing, but for missionary addresses, helping Mr. McAll in Paris, undertaking a campaign in Scotland, thrilling great meetings in London. To every part of our own wide country he was imperatively summoned, and he knew not how to repose. He could never be induced to stop while strength remained. His system was thus depleted and prepared for the disease which finished his career when only fifty-eight years old. The wonder is that, even with his magnificent constitution, he stood it so long. It could with strict accuracy be said of him, "The zeal of thine house hath eaten me up." The simple outline of his life may be given in few words: Born at New Hampton, N. H., April 19, 1836; his father, John Calvin Gordon, a hyper-Calvinist, whose whole soul was bound up in the five points of the Genevan system; his mother, a Susannah Wesley woman, of the rarest, most unselfish piety, the beneficent spirit of the entire village as well as of her own large family; soundly converted in his fifteenth year, and within a twelvemonth fixed in his purpose to be a minister; graduated at Brown University in 1860, after many pecuniary struggles, and at Newton Theological Seminary in

1863, he was immediately installed at Jamaica Plain, in the suburbs of Boston, and after six years was transferred to Clarendon Street, in the city itself, where he remained in his most laborious and magnificent pastorate of a quarter of a century. The transformation which he wrought in that church and the power for world-wide usefulness into which he turned it were something wonderful. From being a sort of "saints' everlasting rest" and "church of the bank presidents," with classical quartet music and high-toned exclusivism, it became a perfect hive of industry, where the whole congregation sang lustily the praises of God, where drunkards were converted and made welcome, and where the outside gifts of the church, chiefly to missions, without direct appeals, amounted in five years to nearly eighty-five thousand dollars. But it took a good while to accomplish this. His biographer says, "During fifteen years preconceived opinions and prejudices stood out against his patient efforts; then they gave way, to his great joy and to the general satisfaction." One can but ask what such a man would have done had he been compelled to move every two or three years, or even at the end of every five. It may as well be admitted that it is absolutely impossible under our present Methodist system to build up such churches as the Clarendon Street Baptist, or such pastors as A. J. Gordon. It is in other directions that we have now to look for the excellencies of the itinerancy and its compensating advantages. Dr. Gordon was a fountain of spiritual impulse to immense multitudes. The immensity and grandeur of his religious life, both in its private exercises and its public activities, stand forth unquestioned. He had a radiant soul. There seemed no limits to his patience, humility, and self-denial. In devotion to Jesus intense, in faith preeminent, in love unsurpassed, a most Christlike man. But it may well be noted, as a striking object lesson, how far all this close walk with God was from procuring for him any infallible correctness in matters of opinion and belief. He was a strong Calvinist, a most pronounced Baptist, a prominent faith healer, and a very zealous Premillennialist, on all which points his views were diametrically opposed to those held by the readers of this *Review* and by the Christian Church in general. Although a disciple of the Holy Ghost, if ever there was one, he was not led into the truth on these matters, so far as we have any criterion for distinguishing the truth. On two of the points especially his failure may even be said to have been demonstrated. "No Christian of the early Church," says his son, "ever looked with more assurance for the manifestation of the Lord in the clouds. Hardly a sermon was preached without some allusion to the glorious appearing." He confidently expected to be "caught up to meet the Lord; no winding-sheet for me, or house of sod." But, like all the rest who have, through the centuries, shared in this pitiful delusion, his body rests beneath the ground; and in this case there is the singularly inappropriate inscription above it, "Until he come." Also, although an ardent believer in and practicer of faith healing, he was swept off by disease long before the allotted period of human life. How clearly all this shows that errors of judgment in matters of doctrine are perfectly compatible with the most single-eyed

consecration of life and the most earnest search after truth. Too much cannot be said of the excellent taste with which the son has performed his difficult task in preparing this biography. The style is singularly clear and beautiful, and the whole work is admirably done. Few fathers are so favored.

Sunset Memories. By Rev. NICHOLAS VANSANT. Introduction by General JAMES F. RUSLING. 12mo, pp. 271. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, $1.

The writer of this life story, a venerated and highly esteemed member of the Newark Conference, is not new to authorship, being known by several previous books, as well as by contributions to the *Methodist Review*, *Christian Advocate*, and other periodicals. This record of his ministry of over half a century brings to view much of the history of Methodism in that time, especially in the territory of the Philadelphia, New Jersey, and Newark Conferences, giving glimpses of some six hundred persons, lay and clerical, who helped to make that history. Many families in those regions, as well as elsewhere, will be interested in these narratives and references. Many years ago, in a parsonage known to us, two books were read, even by us children, with sensitive and critical interest; one was *The Shady Side*, and the other *The Sunny Side*. Every parsonage family found in them more or less the transcript of its own two-sided experience. The fresh and interesting book now before us shows both sides of itinerant ministerial labor, its trials and its triumphs, its pains and its blisses. The secret of a happy life is in it. Written in a bright, clear, serene, and cheerful old age, it contains, we think, between preface and conclusion, more "sweetness and light" than Matthew Arnold succeeded in producing. Simple, plain, matter-of-fact, and accurate, it breathes the spirit of perfect love and is touched with the beauty of holiness. Though pressed for space we make two extracts. The first describes the author's inward experience during a long and severe illness: "My whole emotional nature seemed under bonds. Joyless, griefless, tearless, I lay for weary weeks with cloudless mind, in the calm exercise of steady, restful faith. Had anyone asked, 'Do you *feel* happy?' the answer must have been, 'No, but I *am* happy, for, Blessed [happy] is he whose transgression is forgiven, whose sin is covered.' Or, 'Do you *feel* that you are a child of God and an heir of heaven?' 'No, but I am *sure* of it, for, The Spirit beareth witness with our spirit that we are the children of God: and if children, then heirs.' Or, 'Do you *feel* that, should you die, you would go to Jesus?' 'No, but I *know* it, for, We know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.'" The second extract is the closing part of the author's address to his Conference on retiring from his over fifty years of active service: "With your indulgence I now pass from the 'effective' to the 'supernumerary' ranks. This I do uncomplainingly, cheerfully, and with a grateful appreciation of the kindness and confidence of my ministerial brethren and of the churches and districts which I have served. If in my necessary seclusion

you sometimes call me to mind, please think of me forgivingly, charitably, prayerfully. Think not of me as repining over any suspected or fancied neglect, but as quietly confiding for needed succor and care in the supreme goodness of God and the ready beneficence of the Church I have so long endeavored to serve. Think not of me as idle or unemployed, with time hanging heavily on my hands, but as still diligent in study and ever busy with voice and pen, according to strength and opportunity, in trying to make the world better. Think not of me as gloomy or sour or morose, but as rejoicing evermore, continuing instant in prayer, and in everything giving thanks. And at last, when I am gone, O think of me as having swept through the gates, washed in the blood of the Lamb!" Closing these *Memories*, the venerable author seems to say,

> Sunset and evening star,
> And one clear call for me;
> But there will be no moaning of the bar
> When I put out to sea.

Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc. By the Sieur LOUIS DE CONTE, her Page and Secretary. Freely translated out of the ancient French into modern English from the original unpublished manuscript in the national archives of France, by JEAN FRANÇOIS ALDEN. Illustrated from original drawings by F. V. DU MOND, and from reproductions of old paintings and statues. Crown 8vo, pp. 461. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $2.50.

In other words, this is a modern historical novel by Mr. S. L. Clemens, known to the majority of us as Mark Twain. Not a word in the book indicates its real authorship, or even the true nature of the work, unless it be certain marks of internal evidence which would arrest the attention of a careful critic or arouse the suspicion of one versed in the manners and habits of thought and speech that were current in the world of the fifteenth century. It is provided with a veritable "Translator's Preface" in true canonical form; and probably few of those who read it as it appeared in successive numbers of *Harper's Magazine* were aware that it was otherwise than what it purported to be—a genuine memoir of Joan by the page who faithfully attended her through prosperity and adversities. Yet, though his name nowhere occurs on its pages, Mr. Twain, if we may call him so, has no reason to be ashamed of his work. Those of us who are familiar with his inimitable *Prince and the Pauper*, as well as one or two of his other works, have long known that he was capable of better things than *The Innocents Abroad*, as good as that is of its kind—that he was something more than a delightful maker of mere horse merriment. Of course there are anachronisms in the present volume; these are inevitable, for no modern writer can so project himself into a former century and a foreign people as to produce a work that shall be true to the life it describes in all its details. But Mr. Clemens has made as diligent and successful a study of the original authorities as if he had indeed been writing a biography. Under the disguise of history the book is a romance; yet under the romance there is the truth of history, and one may get as accurate an idea of Joan's story and personality from Mr. Clemens as from Mr. Lowell's excellent *Life of Joan of Arc*, which we noticed some

months ago. The book is, perhaps, too serious in its tone. One grows somewhat aweary of the incessant eulogy, and a dash of judicious humor here and there would have been a relief. Human nature, like the human body, requires more than one sort of diet. Shakespeare knew that laughter and tears are never far apart, and introduces flashes of the keenest wit and intervals of exquisite and irresistible humor into some of his darkest tragedies; and he knew that both the tragedy and the comedy were enhanced by the juxtaposition. But these are minor blemishes in a work for which we sincerely thank the author. He has written a book that is well worthy of being read, and that will be read with deep and tender interest; for it is hardly too much to say of Joan, as the author, in his character of a surviving and reminiscent contemporary, says, that hers was "the most noble life that was ever born into this world save only One."

History of Prussia under Frederic the Great—1756, 1757. By HERBERT TUTTLE, late Professor in Cornell University. With a Biographical Sketch of the Author, by HERBERT B. ADAMS. Crown 8vo, pp. xlvi, 159. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

At the time of his death, two years ago, Professor Tuttle had completed three chapters of the fourth volume of his *History of Prussia*. The first volume, published in 1883, had brought that history down to the ascension of the great Frederic; the second and third, published five years later, had extended it as far as the opening of the Seven Years' War. These three chapters now appear as the last installment of a work to which he had given many years of his life, and to which it may be truthfully said he died a martyr. "He told his wife that the wars of Frederic would kill him," says Mr. Adams. For a year he was the Paris correspondent of the *Boston Advertiser;* he reported the proceedings of the Court of Alabama Claims at Geneva for the *New York Tribune;* and a long residence in Germany as the Berlin correspondent of the London *Daily News* and the *Tribune* brought him into contact with the leaders of German politics and thought, acquainted him with the workings of German governmental methods, and gave him "the best opportunities for observation in the Prussian capital, for travel and study in Germany, Belgium, Austria, Russia, and the Danube Provinces." Laborious years were given to patient research among the original sources of Prussian history, and the result was a work, now terminated by death, that is distinctively a study of political and constitutional development. It is not a history of the people of Prussia in the sense that Mr. Green's work is a history of the English people. The people are, of course, implied, but are considered in the abstract rather than as concrete realities of actual life. Thus, from the very limitations of his method, Dr. Tuttle was precluded from that picturesque treatment of his material, that vivid portrayal of event and painting of character, which lend such fascination to the European histories of his countrymen, Prescott and Motley. In a work of this extent we might, indeed, justly expect more of local coloring, as in the description of the manœuvers about Pirna, in that region known as the Saxon Switzerland, from the wild and romantic beauty of its scenery, where a

few graphic sentences as to the rugged and mountainous nature of the ground would have enabled us to follow the military evolutions more closely and intelligently. But if the work has not the brilliancy of a Macaulay, neither has it his strong bias of partisanship or the insidious prejudices with which, in the guise of history, he traduced the character of men and measures distasteful to himself. Dr. Tuttle is thoroughly conscientious, scholarly, impartial, safe; and his style, while without conscious rhetorical adornment, is clear, forcible, direct. There is no superfluous wording, no striving for effect. When his authorities are so confused or so flatly contradictory that it is impossible to arrive at the exact verity of any transaction he frankly states that this is so and gives the probability most in accord, in his opinion, with known and related facts. And he does succeed in making us positively acquainted with the personages of his history. We understand the real Frederic better, perhaps, than if we had known him in life with all the superficial glamour of his personality obscuring the essential character of the man within. This volume opens with the preparations for the occupation of Saxony in 1756, and ends with the close of the campaign of 1757. It includes the very climax of Frederic's military career. In chapter iii, which has for its title "A Year of Battles," we have an account of what are probably the four greatest battles he ever fought. The victory of Prague, May 6, 1757, "was one of the most sanguinary battles of modern times." Kollin, June 18, was "Frederic's first defeat." "Eight successful battles, nearly all fought against superior numbers, had spread abroad a general belief in the invincibility of the Prussian troops; . . . and this useful superstition was now forever shattered." Rossbach, November 4, fought at an odds of twenty thousand against thirty-six thousand of the allies, retrieved the glory of the Prussian arms; and Leuthen, December 5, was the most famous battle "of all that Frederic fought," won with thirty thousand men against an Austrian army of eighty thousand, and pronounced by Napoleon "a masterpiece in the history of war." In conclusion, we cannot refrain from quoting the account of the battle of Hastenbeck, July 26: "As the French had seventy thousand men, with seventy heavy guns, while the other side was only half as strong, the issue seemed hardly doubtful; but the fight was badly conducted on both sides, and as its fortunes changed each commander in turn gave the word to retreat, so that the curious spectacle was offered of two armies running away from each other before the battle was over. But the duke had the start in the race, and D'Estrées, finally yielding to his officers, returned to occupy the field as victor."

MISCELLANEOUS.

Extraordinary Cases. By HENRY LAUREN CLINTON. 8vo, pp. 403. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $2.50.

The author, a distinguished lawyer, after forty years of active practice in the city of New York, during which he was engaged in many

celebrated cases where life and liberty were at stake and in litigation involving amounts ranging from one hundred dollars to one hundred millions, has here sketched some of the most interesting and famous cases. The cases of Henri Carnal and Otto Grunzig give an account of the desperate fights of counsel for their clients' lives. Others show extraordinarily fertile ingenuity of defense. The book is sprinkled with anecdotes of judges, lawyers, journalists, and other well-known men. Here is an account of the Forrest divorce case, the Lemmon slave case, and the Jumel will case, besides various murder and other criminal cases, one of the strangest being that of Henri Carnal, tried in New York in 1851 for the murder of Charles M. Rosseau, in Dey Street—a case filled with startling and thrilling incidents from the beginning to the end of the legal proceedings, which lasted several years. Narrating the "Curious Case of a Clergyman," the author comments thus: "How true it is that clergymen have but little opportunity to know the world and its ways as understood by other people! They have but little intercourse with business men *as such*. They are brought in contact mostly with women and children. In their associations with men they do not see them as others do. Men in the company of clergymen do not talk altogether as they would in their absence. Every allowance is made for their unfamiliarity with business and worldly matters outside their clerical duties. Clergymen see men of affairs and public men at great disadvantage. . . . It is a calamity to clergymen that, before entering upon the active duties of their sacred profession, they do not have the practical education which comes of actual contact with the world."

Uncle Ben, and Other Poems, with an Essay on Poetry and Religion. By JAMES STEPHENSON, D.D. 12mo, pp. 160. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. New York: Eaton & Mains. Price, cloth, $1.

The author says that the verses of this volume are the product of the restful and recreative hours of a busy ministerial life, plain verses which men and women of common education and ordinary intelligence can comprehend at a glance. If their fate shall be an early oblivion their author will conclude "that they died because they were born either too early or too late in the history of poetical literature." They furnish pleasant reading, with elevated sentiment and considerable felicity of expression, on such themes as "The Life Beyond," "The Ascension of Elijah," "My Bird Teachers," "Sympathy," "Resignation," "Heroes of the Future," "Rutherford B. Hayes," "Tenebrious Poetry," "The Music of the Future," "My Catbird," "U. S. Grant," "John A. Logan." On page 104 is a noble and fitting tribute to that veteran emancipator and educator, Dr. R. S. Rust. The book closes with a dozen poems called "Blue Monday Recreations," which show the tone and tendency of one minister's mind in the reaction from the strain of Sunday's work. For a man's own happiness and for the delight of those around him it is no small blessing to have a fountain of music bubbling up from the depths of one's soul and flowing, like water brooks, clear and sweet down all the slopes and vales of life, in sunshine and in shade.

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French Traits.

By W. C. BROWNELL. 12mo, cloth, 316 pp., $1.00.

A collection of charming essays, valuable alike for their subject matter and their literary quality. The author, a cultivated American, was for several years a resident of France.

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METHODIST REVIEW.

(BIMONTHLY.)

WILLIAM V. KELLEY, D.D., Editor.

CONTENTS.

PAGE

I. When this World is Not. *Bishop H. W. Warren, D.D., LL.D., University Park, Colo.* 849

II. Socialism and the New Testament. *D. H. Wheeler, LL.D., Meadville, Pa.* 865

III. The Educational Functions of Ancient Coins. *F. M. Bristol, D.D., Evanston, Ill.* 874

IV. The Three Great Epochs of World Evolution. *Professor H. W. Conn, Ph.D., Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.* 885

V. The Necessity of Church Membership. *Rev. W. W. Lance, M.A., Bowling Green, O.* 903

VI. Studies in Recent Fiction. *Rev. F. S. Townsend, M.A., Milford, Conn.* 911

VII. Chinese Literati in Peking University. *M. L. Taft, D.D., Dean Wiley Theological School, Peking, China.* 921

VIII. Liturgical Developments of New Testament Times. *Rev. J. L. Reeder, Lynn, Mass.* 926

IX. Language as a Fine Art. *Rev. F. B. Cowgill, M.A., Hamline, Minn.* 940

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS:

Notes and Discussions 947
Diplomatic Storm Centers, 947; The Bible as a Strain of Music, 948.

The Arena 962
The Mormon Problem: A Reply from the Utah Mission, 962; "Knowledge and Feeling in Spirituality," 963: A Reply to Drs. Wheeler and Steele, 966: A Reply to My Critic, 967; "Did Paul Preach on Mars' Hill?" 969; Subjective Theology, 970.

The Itinerants' Club 971
The Ministry as a Conservative Force, 971; Exegesis—Heb. vi. 4-6, 973; How to Study the Bible Continued, 974.

Archæology and Biblical Research 976
Israel and the Egyptian Monuments, 976.

Missionary Review 980
The South American Opportunity, 980; Debts of Missionary Societies, 981; The Congo Free State, 982.

Foreign Outlook 984

Summary of the Reviews and Magazines 992

Book Notices 998

Index 1017

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CONTENTS.

PAGE

WHEN THIS WORLD IS NOT 849
Bishop H. W. WARREN, D.D., LL.D., University Park, Colo.

SOCIALISM AND THE NEW TESTAMENT 865
D. H. WHEELER, LL.D., Meadville, Pa.

THE EDUCATIONAL FUNCTIONS OF ANCIENT COINS 874
F. M. BRISTOL, D.D., Evanston, Ill.

THE THREE GREAT EPOCHS OF WORLD EVOLUTION 885
Professor H. W. CONN, Ph.D., Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.

THE NECESSITY OF CHURCH MEMBERSHIP 902
Rev. W. W. LANCE, M.A., Bowling Green, O.

STUDIES IN RECENT FICTION 911
Rev. F. S. TOWNSEND, M.A., Milford, Conn.

CHINESE LITERATI IN PEKING UNIVERSITY 921
M. L. TAFT, D.D., Dean Wiley Theological School, Peking, China.

LITURGICAL DEVELOPMENTS OF NEW TESTAMENT TIMES 926
Rev. J. L. REEDER, Lynn, Mass.

LANGUAGE AS A FINE ART 940
Rev. F. B. COWGILL, M.A., Hamline, Minn.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS:

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS 947
Diplomatic Storm Centers, 947; The Bible as a Strain of Music, 948.

THE ARENA 962
The Mormon Problem: A Reply from the Utah Mission, 962; "Knowledge and Feeling in Spirituality," 963; A Reply to Drs. Wheeler and Steele, 966; A Reply to My Critic, 967; "Did Paul Preach on Mars' Hill?" 969; Subjective Theology, 970.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB 971
The Ministry as a Conservative Force, 971; Exegesis—Heb. vi, 4-6, 973; How to Study the Bible (Continued), 974.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH 976
Israel and the Egyptian Monuments, 976.

MISSIONARY REVIEW 980
The South American Opportunity, 980; Debts of Missionary Societies, 981; The Congo Free State, 982.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK 984

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES 992

BOOK NOTICES 998
The Christian Democracy, 998; The Student's Life of Jesus, 1001; The Crisis of this World, 1003; An Ethical Movement, 1004; The Whence and Whither of Man, 1007; The Pith of Astronomy, without Mathematics, 1008; The Way of Faith Illustrated, 1008; English Lands, Letters, and Kings, 1013; Bringing the Sheaves, 1013; English Seamen in the Sixteenth Century, 1014; MISCELLANEOUS, 1015.

INDEX 1017

METHODIST REVIEW.

NOVEMBER, 1896.

ART. I.—WHEN THIS WORLD IS NOT.

"THE day of the Lord will come . . .; in the which the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat, the earth also and the works that are therein shall be burned up."

What is there after that?

To this question there are three answers:

I. There are left all of what may be called natural forces that there were before the world was created. They are not dependent on it. The sea is not lost when one bubble or a thousand break on the rocky shore. The world is not the main thing in the universe. It is only a temporary contrivance, a mere scaffolding for a special purpose. When that purpose is fulfilled it is natural that it should pass away. The time then comes when the voice that shook the earth should signify the removal of "those things that are shaken, as of things that are made, that those things which cannot be shaken may remain." We already have a kingdom that cannot be moved. "The things which are seen are temporal; but the things which are not seen are eternal."

It should not be supposed that the space away from the world is an empty desert. God is everywhere, and creative energy is omnipresent. Not merely is a millionth of space occupied where the worlds are, but all space is full of God and his manifestations of wisdom and power. David could think of no place of hiding from that presence. The first word of rev-

elation is, "In the beginning God created the heaven." And the great angel, standing on sea and land when time is to be no longer, swears by Him who "created heaven, and the things that therein are," in distinction from the earth and its things that are to be removed. What God created with things that are therein is not empty. Poets, the true seers, recognize this. When Longfellow died one of them, remembering the heart-breaking hunt of Gabriel for Evangeline, and their passing each other on opposite sides of an island in the Mississippi, makes him say of his wife long since gone before:

> And now I shall seek her once more,
> On some Mississippi's vast tide
> That flows the whole universe through,
> Than earth's widest rivers more wide.
>
> Evangeline I shall not miss
> Though we wander the dim starry sheen,
> On opposite sides of rivers so vast
> That islands of worlds intervene.

But what is there in space? There is the great ceaseless force of gravitation. Though the weakest of natural forces, yet when displayed in world-masses its might is measureless by man's arithmetic. Tie an apple or a stone to one end of a string, and taking the other end whirl it around your finger, noting its pull. That depends on the weight of the whirling ball, the length of the string, and the swiftness of the whirl. The stone let loose from David's finger flies crashing into the head of Goliath. But suppose the stone is eight thousand miles in diameter, the string ninety-two million five hundred thousand miles long, and the swiftness one thousand miles a minute, what needs be the tensile strength of the string? If we covered the whole side of the earth next the sun, from pole to pole and from side to side, with steel wires attaching the earth to the sun, thus representing the tension of gravitation, the wires would need to be so many that a mouse could not run around among them.

There swings the moon above us. Its best service is not its light, though lovers prize that highly. Its gravitative work is its best. It lifts the sea and pours it into every river and fiord of the coast. Our universal tugboat is in the sky. It saves millions of dollars in towage to London alone every year. And

this world would not be habitable without the moon to wash out every festering swamp and deposit of sewage along the shore.

Gravitation reaches every place, whether worlds be there or not. This force is universally present and effective. In the possibilities of a no-world condition a spirit may be able to so relate itself to matter that gravitation would impart its incredible swiftness of transference to a soul thus temporarily relating itself to matter. What gravitation does in the absence of the kind of matter we know it is difficult to assert. But as will be seen in our second division there is still ample room for its exercise when worlds as such have ceased to be.

In space empty of worlds there is light. It flies or runs one hundred and eighty-six thousand miles a second. There must be somewhat on which its wing-beat shall fall, stepping stones for its hurrying feet. We call it ether, not knowing what we mean. But in this space is the play of intensest force and quickest activity. There are hundreds of millions of millions of wing-beats or footfalls in a second. Mathematical necessities surpass mental conceptions. In a cubic mile of space there are demonstrably seventy millions of foot tons of power. Steam and lightning have nothing comparable to the activity and power of the celestial ether. Sir William Thompson thinks he has proved that a cubic mile of celestial ether may have as little as one billionth of a pound of ponderable matter. It is too fine for our experimentation, too strong for our measurement. We must get rid of our thumby fingers first.

What is light doing in space? That has greatly puzzled all philosophers. Without question there is inexpressible power. It is seen in velocity. But what is it doing? The law of conservation of force forbids the thought that it can be wasted. On the earth its power long ages ago was turned into coal. The power was reservoired in mountains ready for man. It is so great that a piece of coal that weighs the same as a silver dollar carries a ton's weight a mile at sea. But what is the thousand million times more light than ever struck the earth doing in space? That is among the things we want to find out when we get there. There will be ample opportunity, space, time, and light enough.

It is biblically asserted and scientifically demonstrable that space is full of causes of sound. To any one capable of turning

these causes to effects this sound is not dull and monotonous, but richly varied into songful music. Light makes its impression of color by its different number of vibrations. So music sounds its keys. We know the number of vibrations necessary for the note C of the soprano scale, and the number that runs the pitch up to inaudibility. We know the number of vibrations of light necessary to give us a sensation of red or violet. These, apprehended by a sufficiently sensitive ear, pour not only light to one organ, but tuneful harmonies to another. The morning stars do sing together, and when worlds are gone, and heavy ears of clay laid down, we may be able to hear them

> "Singing as they shine,
> "The hand that made us is divine."

There are places where this music is so fine that the soft and soul-like sounds of a zephyr in the pines would be like a storm in comparison, and places where the fierce intensity of light in a congeries of suns would make it seem as if all the stops of being from piccolo to sub-bass had been drawn. No angel flying interstellar spaces, no soul fallen overboard and left behind by a swift sailing world, need fear being left in awful silences.

There seems to be good evidence that electrical disturbances in the sun are almost instantly reported and effective on the earth. It is evident that the destructive force in cyclones is not wind, but electricity. It is altogether likely that it is generated in the sun, and that all the space between it and us thrills with this unknown power.* All astronomers except Faye admit the connection between sun spots and the condition of the earth's magnetic elements. The parallelism between auroral and sun-spot frequency is almost perfect. That between sun spots and cyclones is as confidently asserted but not quite so demonstrable. Enough proof exists to make this clear, that space may be full of higher Andes and Alps, rivers broader than Gulf Streams, skies brighter than the Milky Way, more beautiful than the rainbow. Occasionally some scoffer who thinks he is smart and does not know that he is mistaken asks with an air of a Socrates putting his last question, "You say that 'heaven is above us.' But if one dies at noon and another at midnight, one goes toward Orion and the other toward Hercules; or an

* The action that drives off the material of a comet's tail proves that other forces besides gravitation are operative in the interplanetary space.—*The Sun*, C. A. Young, p. 156.

Eskimo goes toward Polaris and a Patagonian toward the coal-black hole in the sky near the south pole. Where is your heaven anyhow?" O sapient, sap-ient questioner! Heaven is above us, you especially; but going in different directions from such a little world as this is no more than a bee's leaving different sides of a bruised pear exuding honey. Up or down he is in the same fragrant garden, warm, light, redolent of roses, tremulous with bird song, amid a thousand caves of honeysuckles, "illuminate seclusions swung in air" to which his open sesame gives entrance at will.

II. But there will be in space what the world has become. It is nowhere intimated that matter had been annihilated. Worlds shall perish as worlds. They shall wax old as doth a garment. They will be folded up as a vesture, and they "shall be changed." The motto with which this article began says heavens pass away, elements melt, earth and its works are burned up. But always after the heaven and earth pass away we are to look for "new heavens and a new earth." On all that God has made he has stamped the great principle of progress, refinement, development—rock to soil, soil to vegetable life, to insect, bird, and man. Each dies as to what it is, that it may have resurrection or may feed something higher. So in the light of revelation earth is not lost. Science comes, after ages of creeping, up to the same position. It too asserts that matter is indestructible. Burn a candle in a great jar hermetically sealed. The weight of jar and contents is just the same after the burning as before. A burned-up candle as big as the world will not be annihilated. It will be "changed."

It is necessary for us to get familiar with some of the protean metamorphoses of matter. Up at New Almaden, above the writer, is a vast mass of porous lava rock into which has been infiltrated a great deal of mercury. How shall we get it out? You can jar out numberless minute globules by hand. This metal, be it remembered, is liquid, and so heavy that solid iron floats in it as cork does in water. Now, to get it out of the rock we apply fire, and the mercury exhales away in the smoke. The real task of scientific painstaking is to get that heavy stuff out of the smoke again. It is changed, volatilized, and it likes that state so well that it is very difficult to persuade it to come back to heaviness again.

Take a great mass of marble. It was not always a mountain. It floated invisibly in the sea. Invisible animals took it up particle by particle to build a testudo, a traveling house, for themselves. The ephemeral life departing, there was a rain of dead shells to make limestone masses at the bottom of the sea. It will not always remain rock. Air and water disintegrate it once more. Little rootlets seize upon it, and it goes coursing in the veins of plants. It becomes fiber to the tree, color to the rose, and fragrance to the violet. But whether floating invisibly in the water, shell of infusoria in the seas, marble asleep in the Pentelican hills, constituting the sparkle and fizz of soda water, claiming the world's admiration as the Venus de Milo, or giving beauty and meaning to the most fitting symbol that goes between lovers, it is still the same matter. It may be diffused as gas or concentrated as a world, but it is still the same matter.

Matter is worthy of God's creation. Astronomy is awe-full; microscopy is no less so. Astronomy means immensity, bulk; atoms mean individuality. The essence of matter seems to be spirit, personality. It seems to be able to count, or at least to be cognizant of certain exact quantities. An atom of bromine will combine with one of hydrogen; one of oxygen with two of hydrogen; one of nitrogen with three of hydrogen; one of silicon with four of hydrogen, etc. They marry without thought of divorce. A group of atoms married by affinity is called a molecule. Two atoms of hydrogen joined to one of oxygen make water. They are like three marbles laid near together on the ground, not close together; for we well know that water does not fill all the space it occupies. We can put eight or ten similar bulks of other substances into a glass of water without greatly increasing its bulk, some actually diminishing it. Water molecules are like a mass of shot, with large interstices between. Drive the atoms of water apart by heat till the water becomes steam, till they are as three marbles a larger distance apart, yet the molecule is not destroyed, the union is still indissoluble. One physicist has declared that the atoms of oxygen and hydrogen are probably not nearer to each other in water than one hundred and fifty men would be if scattered over the surface of England—one man for each four hundred square miles.* What must the distance be in steam?

* See *Recreations in Astronomy*, p. 257.

what the greater distance in the more extreme rarefactions? It is asserted that millions of cubic miles of some comets' tails would not make a cubic inch of matter solid as iron. Now, when earth and oceans are "changed" to this sort of tenuity creations will be more easy. We shall not be obliged to hew out our material with broadaxes, nor blast it out with dynamite. Let us not fear that these creations will not be permanent; they will be enough so for our purpose. We can then afford to waste more worlds in a day than dull stupidity can count in a lifetime.

We are getting used to this sort of work already. When we reduce common air in a bulb to one one-thousandth of its normal density at the sea, we get the possibility of continuous incandescent electric light by the vibration of platinum wire. When we reduce it to a tenuity of one millionth of the normal density, we get the possibility of the X rays by vibrations of itself without any platinum wire. The greater the tenuity the greater the creative results. For example, water in freezing exerts an expansive, thrusting force of thirty thousand pounds to the square inch, over two thousand tons to the square foot; an incomprehensible force, but applicable in nature to little besides splitting rocks. On the other hand, when water is rarefied into steam its power is vastly more versatile, tractable, and serviceable in a thousand ways. Take a bit of metal called zinc. It is heavy, subject to gravitation, solid, subject to cohesion. But cause it to be burned, to pass away, and be changed. To do this we use fire, not the ordinary kind, but liquid that we keep in a bottle and call acid. The zinc is burned up. What becomes of it? It becomes electricity. How changed! It is no longer solid, but is a live fire that rings bells in our houses, picks up our thought and pours it into the ear of a friend miles away by the telephone, or thousands of miles away by the telegraph. Burning up is only the means of a new and higher life. Ah, delicate Ariel, tricksy sprite, the only way to get you is to burn up the solid body.

The possibility of rare creation depends on rare material, on spiritlike tenuity. And that is what the world goes into. There is a substance called nitrite of amyl, known to many as a medicine for heart disease. It is applied by inhaling its odor—

a style of very much rarefied application. Fill a tube with its vapor. It is invisible as ordinary air in daylight. But pour a beam of direct sunlight from end to end along its major axis. A dense cloud forms along the path of the sunbeam; creation is going on. What the sun may do in the thinner vapors the world goes into when burned up will be for us to find out when we get there. Standing on Popocatepetl we have seen a sea of clouds below, white as the light of transfiguration, tossed into waves a mile high by the touch of the sunbeam. Creative ordering was observed in actual process. It is done under our eyes to show us how easy it is. Would it be any less glorious if there were no Popocatepetl? A thrush among vines outside is just now showing us how easy it is to create an ecstasy of music out of silence. She has only to open her mouth and the innate aptitudes of air rush in to actualize her creative wish. Not only is it easy for the bird, but she is even provoked to this love and good works by the creation of a rainbow on the retreating blackness of a storm yonder. Thunder is the sub-bass nature furnishes her, and thus invites her to add the complementary notes.

Some one may think that all this tenuity is as vaporous as the stuff that dreams are made of, and call for solid rocks for foundations. Perhaps we may so call while we have material bodies of two hundred pounds weight. Yet even these bodies are delicate enough to be valuable to us solely because they have the utmost chemical instability. We are burning up their substance with every breath, in order to have delicacy of feeling and thought. What were a wooden body worth? Substances are valuable to us according to their fineness and facility of change. Even iron is mobile in all its particles. We call it solid, but it is not. We lift our eyes from this writing and behold the tumbling surf of the great Pacific sea. Line after line of its billows are charging on the shore and tumbling in utmost confusion and roar of advancing and refluent waves. So the iron of the telephone wire. You often hold the receiver to your ear listening, not to the voice of business or friendship of men, but to the gentle hum of the rolling surf in the wire's own substance. And in order that we may know the essential stability of things that are fine we are told that the city which hath enduring foundations is in the spirit world, not this kind

of material. The whole new Jerusalem, to come down "out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband," is as movable as a train of cars is movable here. There may still be rainbows and rivers of life if there are no more rocks. There is a real realm of "scientific imagination." But all our imaginings fall far short of realities. Some men do not desire this realm, and demand solid rocks to walk on. But a bird does not. He oars himself along the upper fields and rides on air. So does a bicyclist and balloonist. Some men have a sort of contempt for aeronauts and workers at flying machines. That feeling is a testimony to their depravity and groveling tendencies. Aeronautics and nautics are an effort toward angelhood. Men can walk water who are willing to take a boat for an overshoe. So we may air when we get the right shoe. Browning gives us a delicious sense of being amphibian as we swim. And the butterfly, that winged rather than rooted flower, looking down upon us as we float, begets in us a great longing to be polyphibian. We have innate tendencies toward a life of finer surroundings, and we shall take to them with zest, if we are not too much of the earth earthy. We were designed for this finer life. We do take to it even now in the days of our deterioration, not to say depravity. The great marvels of the world are not so much in matter as in man. We were meant to be more sensitive to finer influences than we are. We are far more so than we think. Take your child into the street. Another child coughs at a window on the other side, and your child has three months of terrific whooping-cough. All such diseases are taken by homeopathic doses of the millionth dilution. Many people feel "in their bones" the coming of storms days before their arrival. We knew a man who ate honey with delight till he was twenty-five years old, and then could do so no more. This peculiarity he inherited from his father. One man has an insatiable desire for drink, because some ancestor of his, back in the third or fourth generation, bequeathed him that curse. In the South you can go a mile in the face of the wind and find that peerless blossom of a magnolia by following the drift of its far-reaching odor. Who has not received a letter and knew before opening it that it had violets within? It had atmosphered itself with rich perfume, and something far richer, for three thousand miles. The first

influences which came over the Atlantic cable were so feeble that a sleeping infant's breath were a whirlwind in comparison. But they were read. It is no wonder that the old astrologers thought that men's whole lives were influenced by the stars. Every vegetable life, from the meanest flower that blows to the largest tree, has its whole existence shaped by the sun. Doubtless man's body was meant to be an Æolian (how the vowels and liquids flow into the very name!) harp of a thousand strings over which a thousand delicate influences might breathe. His soul was meant to be sensitive to the influences of the spirit. This capability has been somewhat lost in our deterioration. To recover these finer faculties men are required to die. And for the field of exercising them the world must be changed. Paul understood this. He associated some sort of perfection with the resurrection, with the redemption, or buying back, of the powers of the body. And the whole creation waiteth for the apocalypse of the full-sized sons of God.

Does one fear the change from gross to fine, from force of freezing to the winged energy of steam, from solid zinc to lightning?

Our whole desire for education is a desire for refining influences. We know there is a higher love of country than that begotten by the fanfare of the Fourth of July. There is a smile of joy at our country's education and purity finer than the guffaws provoked by hearing the howls of a dog and the explosions of firecrackers when the two are inextricably mixed. There is a flame of religious love when the heart sacrifices itself in humble realization of the joy of its adorable love purer than the fierce fire of the hating heart that applies the torch to the martyr's pyre. We give our lives to seeking these higher refinements because they are stronger and more like God.

Does one fear to leave bodily appetites and passions for spiritual aptitudes fitted to finer surroundings? He should not. Man has had two modes of life already—one, slightly conscious, closely confined, peculiarly nourished, in the dark, without the possible exercise of any one of the five senses. That is prenatal. He comes into the next life. At once he breathes, often vociferously, looks about with eyes of wonder, nourishes himself with avidity, is fitted to his new surroundings, his immensely wider life, and finds his superior companions and surroundings

fitted to him, even to his finest need for love. Why hesitate for a third mode of life? He loses modes of nourishment; so he has before. He loses relations to former life; so he has before. He comes into new companionships and surroundings; so he has before. But each time and in every respect his powers, possibilities, and field have been immensely enlarged.

O the hour when this material
  Shall have vanished like a cloud,
When amid the wide ethereal
  All the invisible shall crowd.
In that sudden, strange transition,
  By what new and finer sense
Shall we grasp the mighty vision,
  And receive the influence?

Knowledge of the third state of man is not so difficult to attain in the second as knowledge of the second was in the first. If a fit intelligence should study a specimen of man about to emerge from its first stage of existence, it could judge much of the conditions of the second. Feet suggest solid land; lungs suggest liquid air; eyes, light; hands, acquisitiveness, and hence dominion; tongue, talk, and hence companions, etc. What foregleams have we of the future life? They are from two sources —revelation and present aptitudes not yet realized. What feet have we for undiscovered continents, what wings for wider and finer airs, what eyes for diviner light? Everything tells us that such aptitudes have fit field for development. The water fowl flies through night and storm, lone wandering but not lost, straight to the south, with an instinct for mild airs, food, and a nest among the rushes. It is not disappointed.

Man has an instinct for dominion that cannot be gratified here. He weeps for more worlds to conquer. He is only a boy yet, getting a grip on the hilt of the sword of conquest, feeling for some Prospero's wand that is able to command the tempest. When he gets the proper pitch of power, take away his body, and he is, as Richter says, no more afraid, and he is also free from the binding effect of gravitation. Then there are worlds enough, and every one a lighthouse to guide him to its harbor. They all seek a Columbus with more allurements than America did hers. Dominion over ten cities is the reward for faithfulness in the use of a single talent merely.

Man has an instinct for travel and speed. To travel a couple

of months is a sufficient reward for a thousand toilful days. He earnestly desires speed, develops race horses and bicycles to surpass them, yachts, and engines. Not satisfied with this he harnesses lightning that takes his mind, his thought, to the ends of the earth in a twinkling. But he is stopped there. How he yearns to go to the moon, the sun, and stars! But he could not take his present body through the temperatures of space three or four hundred degrees below zero. So he must find a way of disembodying and of attachment to some force swift as lightning, of which there are plenty in the spaces when the world has ceased to be a world. It is all provided for by death.

Man has an instinct for knowledge not gratified nor gratifiable in the present narrow bounds that hedge him in like walls of hewn stone. A thousand questions he cannot solve about himself, his relations to others and to the world about him, beset him here. There he shall know even as he is known by perfect intelligence.

Here he has an instinct for love that is unsunderable. But the wails of separation have filled the air since Eve shrieked over Abel. Husbands and fathers are ever crying:

> Immortal? I feel it and know it.
> Who doubts of such as she?
> But that's the pang's very essence,
> Immortal away from me.

But there, in finer realms, shall be a knitting of severed friendships up to be sundered no more forever.

Specially has man sought in this stage of being to know God. Job in his pain and loss, assailed by the cruel rebukes of his friends and desolate by the desertion of his wife, says, "O that I knew where I might find him." David cries out while his tears are flowing day and night, "As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God. My soul thirsteth for God, for the living God: when shall I come and appear before God?" Moses, in the broadest of visions, material, historic, prophetic, says to God, "Show me thy glory." And common men have always turned the high places of earth to altar piles, and blackened the heavens with the smoke of their sacrifices. But the means of knowing God are to be increased. The very essence of life eternal is to know the true God, and Jesus Christ whom he has sent. Great pains have

been taken to manifest forth God to dull senses and to oxlike thoughts here; greater pains, with better results, shall be taken there. Every reader of the Apocalypse notices with joy, if not rapture, that when the book that was sealed with seven seals, which no man in heaven, nor earth, was able to reveal, nor open, nor even look upon, was finally opened by the Lamb, and its marvelous panoramas, charades, and symbolic significances had to be carefully explained to John, the man best able of any to understand them—we observe with rapture that the regular inhabitants of that hitherto unseen world understood all at once, and broke into shouts like the sound of these many waters in a storm. Above all these superior manifestations in finer realms the pure in heart shall *see* God.

III. But there is in space what there was before the world began. Philosophy asserts that the invisible universe is a perfect fluid in which not even atoms exist, and atoms are produced therefrom by the First Great Cause by creation, not by development. This conception is full of difficulties to thought. We cannot even agree whether creation was in time or eternity. But all agree in this, that the invisible is rapidly absorbing all the force at least of the visible universe, and that when force is gone the corpse will not remain unburied. Indeed, when the range of seeing puts the size of an atom at less than one two hundred and twenty-four thousandth of an inch, and when the range of thinking puts it at less than one six millionth of an inch, many prefer to consider an atom as a center of force and not as a material entity at all. But, amid uncertainties, this is certain, that the forces of the visible worlds are extraneous. They come out of the invisible. They are all also returning to the invisible; that is what light is doing in space, previously referred to. This incredibly high-class energy is not banking up coal in the celestial ether as it did on the earth, but is returning to the quick, mobile forces of the invisible worlds. One thing more is certain, that the origin of all the forces of the invisible is in personality; for the atom, it is agreed, bears all the marks of being a manufactured article. Different-sized shot could not have greater uniformity of structure and constitution. And their whole behavior shows that they are controlled by an admirable wisdom past finding out.

That these forces exist and are necessarily active there are

three proofs: Worlds have been made, not of things and forces that do appear. They were abundantly displayed in the physical miracles of Christ and others; and these forces, independently of the physical miracles at various times, have continuously helped men.

(1) Concerning the first fact, that worlds have been made, nothing need be said except that these forces, being personal, cannot be supposed to be exhausted, and hence creations can go on continuously. We are assured that they do. And the personal element more and more relates itself to personalities. "I go to prepare a place for *you*," to fit up a mansion according to tastes, needs, and enjoyments of the future occupant.

(2) This is the place to assert, not to prove, that this visible world has always been subject to the forces of the invisible world. It does not matter whether these forces are personal or personally directed. Its waters divide, gravitation at that point being overcome; they harden for a path, or bodies are levitated; they burn by a fire as fierce as that which plays between two electric poles. These forces are not the ordinary endowments of matter; they step out of the realm of the greater invisible, execute their mission, and, like an angel's sudden appearance, disappear. Who knows how frequently they come? We, for whose sake all nature stands "and stars their courses move," may need more frequent motherly attentions than the infant knows of. They will not be lacking, even if not sufficiently evident to the infant to be cried for. "Your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things."

(3) It is here designed to be asserted that the forces of the invisible seek to be continually in full play on the intellectual and moral natures of man. Our unique Christian Scriptures have this thought for their whole significance. It begins with God's walking with Adam in the garden, and goes on till it is said, "Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you," in the invisible, and by the invisible, from before the foundation of the visible world. It includes all time and opportunity between and after; we need specify only to intensify the conception of the fact. Paul says, "Having therefore obtained help of God, I continue unto this day," when otherwise oppressive circumstances and hate of men seeking to kill him would have prevented his continuing in life.

It is possible for all who believe to be given power, out of the invisible, to become sons of God. It has been said that there is power and continuousness enough in the tides, winds, rotating and revolving worlds for man to make a machine for perpetual motion. The only difficulty is to belt on. The great object of life in the visible should be to belt on to the invisible. Our great Example who did this made his ordinary doing better than common men's best, his parentheses of thought richer than other men's paragraphs and volumes. And he left on record for us promises of greater works than these, at which we stagger through unbelief. We should not; for men who have lived by the evidence of things not seen, and sought a city that received Jesus out of sight, have found that "God is not ashamed to be called their God." They have wrought marvels that men tell over like a rosary of what is possible to men. It is beyond the belief of all who have not been touched by the power of an endless life. But what they do is chiefly valuable as evidence of what they are. It is little that men quench the violence of fire and receive their dead raised to life again. It is great that they are able to do it. That they hold the hand that holds the world is something. But that they have eyes to see, a wisdom to choose, and will to execute the best, is more. Fire may kindle again and the resurrected die, but the great personality survives.

These forces are not discontinuous, connected with this temporary world, and liable to cease when it fails. They belong to the permanent, invisible order of things. Suppose one loses his body. Then there is no force whereby earth can hold its child any longer to its breast. It flies on at terrific speed, dwindling to a speck in unknown distances, and leaving the man amid infinitudes alone. But there are other attractions. There was One uplifted on a cross to draw all men unto him. Love has finer attraction for souls than gravitation has for bodies.

> Then all his being thrills with joy. And past
> The comets' sweep, the choral stars above,
> With multiplying raptures drawn more swift
> He flies into the very heart of love.

It is hoped that the object of this writing is accomplished, to widen our view of the great principle of continuity in the uni-

verse. It is not sought to dwarf the earth, but to fit it rightly into its place as a part of a great whole. It is better for a state to be a part of a glorious union than to be independent; better for a man to belong to the entirety of creation than to be Robinson Crusoe on his island. We belong to more than this earth. It is not of the greatest importance whether we lose it or it lose itself. We look for a "new heavens and a new earth." We are, or should be, used to their forces, and at home among their personalities. This universe is a unity. It is not made up of separate, catastrophic movements, but it all flows on like the sweetly blended notes of a psalm. "Therefore will not we fear, though the earth be removed, and though the mountains be carried into the midst of the sea;" though the heavens be "rolled together as a scroll," the stars fall, "even as a fig tree casteth her untimely figs," when it is shaken with the wind, and though our bodies are whelmed in the removal of things that can be shaken. For even then we may find the calm force that shakes the earth, the force that is from everlasting to everlasting, may find that it is personal and loving. It says, "Lo, it is I; be not afraid."

Henry W. Warren

Art. II.—SOCIALISM AND THE NEW TESTAMENT.

Perhaps the time has come to make some carefully considered answers to the excellent people calling themselves Christian socialists, who make very serious accusations against the existing economic order of society, and do not spare the Christian Church in their denunciations. The main indictment runs to the effect that the economic order is unchristian, and that the Church maintains that order and subsists upon it. The second part of the charge is true, and even a little more is true; and the omitted truth is that the very Christian socialist subsists upon that order. If money be "soiled," which is the fruit of our economic system, then the admission fees to the lectures of the Christian socialist, and the dollars paid for his books are "soiled." If we are all verily guilty in this matter, the accusers of the brethren are sharers in the guilt, and they share it with their eyes open.

I. The socialist who calls himself a Christian is in strange company; for most of his associates are not Christians to their knowledge. The essential thing in their doctrine is that private ownership is robbery, and that, therefore, the whole fabric of our industrial and commercial life is built upon a monstrous crime. Words come upon strange destinies. Robbery should mean a breaking of the commandment, "Thou shalt not steal;" and another commandment reads, "Thou shalt not covet." The two seem to be standing guard over property. But if property is itself theft, our human intelligence is put to a serious strain in the effort to comprehend the moral sanction surrounding these two commandments. Theft, robbery, spoliation, covetousness, and a large number of other words could have no meaning in a socialistic state.

It is true that some of our Christian socialists are pleased to limit their great principles to a part of property—to that which is employed in production, to "the instruments of production." But, since all property is actually or potentially an instrument of production—down to a carpenter's jackknife and dinner-pail—the distinction does not distinguish, and no lines can be drawn between the things sinfully owned and those whose possession is righteous. The expediency of state ownership of

some instruments of production, such as all lands and railroads, may be debated. It is an open question in this sense, that no moral defects are exhibited by a man who takes either side of the question. But when we are told that private ownership is a sin we may reasonably ask for such a clear account of the matter as will enable us to escape the guilt involved in ownership; and we naturally look to our new guides for the righteous example we are to follow. It is unsatisfactory, not to say bewildering, to be told that one may innocently own some things, while it is a deadly sin to own others.

We have suggested that one fifth of the moral law would have no application in a socialistic state. One may go further and say that in such a state the very teachings of Christ, which we are accused of disregarding, would be unintelligible. Who could "lend, hoping for nothing again?" How would it be possible to sell fields, and lay the money "at the apostles' feet?" What meaning would attach to Christ's denunciation of certain rich men? Who could understand the parables in which "capitalists" represent God? What nonsense would be made of the parable of the talents with its trading, its varying rewards, its "mine own with usury!" The economic order based upon property is so woven into the New Testament that the fading of that order out of the world would make Jesus the founder of a temporary dispensation, a teacher whose lessons had so transformed society—to accept for a moment the socialistic theory—that the redeemed generations would not be able to understand him. A world in which one could not fall among thieves would get no lesson from the parable of the good Samaritan, and the lesson of the sad fate of the five foolish virgins would become a piece of archæological lumber in a socialistic society. We should find no meaning in the sweet goodness of the husbandman who gave to every man a penny though some toiled twelve hours and others only one hour; for the wage system with its capitalistic robbers would have disappeared. The wisest of teachers would have ceased to teach because he had cast his truth into perishing molds.

Worse still, what confidence could a socialist have in a teacher who had inclosed his lessons in unclean vessels, who had presented God in the dress of a capitalist with hired servants and a private estate which he divides? To such a world as social-

ism imagines the God of the New Testament would be as far from perfect as the gods of Olympus are, in our view. We can conceive the new preacher in that celestial dispensation noting for the edification of the new kind of saints the appropriateness of the betrayal for thirty pieces of silver of a teacher who advised men to "render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's," using one of Cæsar's coins for an object lesson. This is not fanciful. The Rev. Mr. Sprague, in his *Socialism*, tells us that our system enabled Judas to sell his Master, which quite takes away one's breath, but is, after all, true enough from Mr. Sprague's remarkable premises.

At the risk of seeming to deal in commonplaces, we must be clear in our thinking upon the fundamental principles. If we were considering what is expedient we might find some reason for permitting a poor man to own a cow while denying him the right to own a share in a mill, the share having the same value as the cow. But when we are told that the shareholding is contrary to the New Testament because the mill is a means of production, we are compelled to reply that the cow is also a means of production, and are forced to conclude that the poor man has no moral right to own a cow.

The insistence of socialists that they mean to limit their principles to some large things might be passed over with a smile and a comfortable feeling that their scheme has no chance of being adopted; but when Christian men set up a theory that to own one kind of property is a sin, while it is lawful to own another kind of property, we must protest that there is not the smallest trace or the faintest hint of the distinction in the New Testament or in the nature of things.

The fiction in question grew at first out of the definition of capital as only that part of one's savings which one devotes to future production. The economists who drew this line were concerned to explain some features of production in mills, especially the origin of wages. Strictly construed, only a small part of all property entered into the definition; indeed, one may doubt whether it covered any property; for the wage-fund theory must be explained as an account of the way—the only way—in which savings become property, that is, by employing labor to produce things. The socialists stretched the term capital to cover the lands and the mills, and stopped stretching at their

pleasure when they had covered the large implements concerned in manufacture and transportation. But just so soon as capital is identified with some property—say, some product of labor—the limitation has no value outside of bookkeeping. Last of all has it any moral validity as marking the boundary between right and wrong.

II. We must lay down or accept some theory of the primary cause of the evils which confront us in a moral survey of the world. Rousseau said that men are naturally good, but are made bad by their institutions. The socialist limits the cause of our evils to one set of institutions, those which concern property. This is not Christ's doctrine. The evil, according to the New Testament, is in our hearts. "Ye must be born again." Just how a Christian gets upon the opposite ground—that the institutions make us bad—presents a puzzling problem. That there are evils connected with property no one denies. For example, men covet and steal. If the institution of property must be destroyed to cure the evil, then our Saviour missed the mark when he warned us against covetousness. All our human institutions are soiled by sin. The newspapers too often report cases in which fathers abuse parental authority. There are a few socialists who would cure the evil by putting the State in the place of fathers and mothers. No one has yet said that Christians ought to destroy the home and make "our father" an unintelligible term to future generations.

Government shows us a mass of evils. Whether we look into Armenia or an American city council we are compelled to blush for shame. The anarchist has an easy way of removing all the evil. Abolish government, and we shall be misgoverned no longer. Still, we do not accept this simple remedy, for we believe that government is a divine institution because it is a necessary one. Property and its functions grasp our lives so comprehensively that we should expect our handling of it to be attended by a train of evils and sorrows. We do not hasten to abolish it, because we believe that it also is a divine institution, since it is a necessary one. There is not a hint in the New Testament that it is a wicked institution. "The love of money"—not money—"is the root of all evil." Rich men are condemned, but some rich men are commended; and the most important parables put rich men into noble relations. The in-

ference is that some rich men are bad and some good, which is our common human experience. The lesson in Luke xix would be lost if the rich owner were not entitled to interest upon his idle pound. The sweet charity which Jesus taught would be impossible in a world where individual men had nothing to "sell" and "give."

The case of the apostolic Church, in which the rich brethren sold their fields to feed the starving saints, is often cited to prove that socialism began with the day of Pentecost. The whole case is an example of charity. Peter made to Ananias an emphatic declaration of the latter's right of property in the field he sold and in the money he received for the land. But there is a melancholy sequel to this case. Years afterward we find Paul making collections, even from the poor Macedonians, to feed the saints at Jerusalem. It is as though Bishops Thoburn and Hartzell were making collections in Africa and India to feed starving Christians in the United States. A pauper church at Jerusalem is a good object lesson, but it does not encourage us to have "all things common." An economist perceives that when the rich sold their fields they deprived themselves of the power to further help their brethren.

"There must be some Christian remedy for this mass of evils connected with property." Yes, there is a remedy in "the God that answereth by fire." The Holy Ghost in men's hearts has abolished a vast amount of poverty. John Wesley led the poor to Christ and gave them such sound economic advice that they gradually became rich. Methodism in the United States has recruited its vast army among the poor, and yet these Methodists own to-day their *per capita* share of the wealth of the nation. It is a rule that the man whom Christ saves becomes an economic success. Cut off idleness, thriftlessness, drunkenness, and the vices they beget, and there is at once a mobilization of that productive force which makes a nation rich. Leave these views in full play, and no persons or people can escape poverty and degradation.

III. The Christian socialist indulges a good deal in general allegations. Many of these are wild conjectures, as that "a few will soon have all and the many nothing." Some construct tables to prove this awful prophecy. Now, unfortunately, we do not know how wealth is distributed, and these tables are as

conjectural as the prophecy they buttress. But it might be true that a tendency to collect wealth in few hands should exist, and yet true also that expediency measures would avert the tendency. Radicalism is the last issue to be tried, and the diagnosis must be far more thorough before we can intelligently decide that any other remedy than the grace of God in men's souls is needed in our economic society.

"We ought to live according to the golden rule." No doubt we ought; but, first of all, we cannot enforce the golden rule with a policeman's club or by an act of Congress. It is a rule for personal living, and its methods of working are through individuals. If a man feels moved to grasp the possessions of his neighbor it need not be regarded as an effect of the golden rule on his heart. Perhaps the common belief that the impulse is covetousness is nearer the truth. The golden rule is only a variation of the command to love our neighbor as ourselves; and that command is a part of, and personally consistent with, the forbidding of theft and covetousness.

"The spirit of our religion revolts at competition." Mr. Sprague does not see how any Christian can approve of competition. Well, if the abuses of a system constitute the system, then the family, the State, and about all the rest of our institutions must go. To many competition means only abuses having their root in human sinfulness. It is not proved that the evils cannot be removed by expediency legislation, that we must burn down the house to destroy some flies on the ceiling. We suspect that thousands do not know what competition really is. There is a saying that "he who makes two blades of grass grow where one grew before is a public benefactor." This man is a competitor; he mows a double crop of hay. His neighbors imitate him. It is so far a beneficence. The price of hay falls, and consumers save money on their hay bills. But—and this is what renders our Christian socialist frantic—the people who go on producing the one-blade crop of hay get only half as much as they formerly received. This little parable explains a large part of the so-called evil of competition.

The theory that the New Testament forbids a man to do better than his neighbor, to produce more wheat on an acre of land, or to spade his garden with fewer strokes, hardly needs refutation; and yet competition is merely making one's labor

more efficient, and getting a better return from it. If we are told that this gain ought to belong to us all, we may suggest, first, that the claim lacks proof of reasonableness, and, second, that in point of fact we do all receive the bulk of the gains arising from making a double crop of grass—for we are all consumers of the products for which in this parable the double crop stands; and we procure them at half the old prices. The one-blade producer is as well off as he was before; but he is relatively poorer because his more enterprising neighbors have made some small gains during a transition period.

It is too common to preach about the coarseness of the spirit of competition, as though only a man of a grasping spirit could succeed in this field. Our parable will help us to see that the coarseness or refinement of his nature has nothing to do with his success. He succeeds because he invents and combines and constructs the implements which double his grass crop. Private ownership gives him, first, a field on which to work unhindered; and, secondly, some means to risk in experiment. That "the State" would or could give him these things few of us can believe. And all industrial progress depends upon the power of the inventor, combiner, and mobilizer of industrial forces to use his liberty and take his risks.

There will be no disagreement about this successful man's duty to use his gains for the benefit of his fellows; no doubt that his wealth exposes him to peculiar temptations; no doubt that he may miss heaven through love of his goods; no doubt that it may come to be "a disgrace to die rich." Much more might be suggested, if our theme were the duties of wealth.

Our Lord taught directly no economic doctrine; no theory of government, not even of Church government. He gave us the hope and the means of salvation from sin, and the sound principles of personal conduct. But he used government and property to teach his spiritual truth, without conveying any hint that he was either an anarchist or a socialist. When he was asked to divide a disputed estate he refused, and added, "Beware of covetousness." The readers of the tenth commandment will not fail to perceive the weight of this warning.

IV. Some Christian socialists allege that the world is moving toward the nationalization of production, and that it would be a sad spectacle if the Church came in at the end of this

procession, its proper place being at the head of it. No such change is going on. There is only one place where governments produce for the public, and that is the penitentiary; nor is it a new thing in any sense. The convict has for many generations been a competitor of the free workman; nor do we regard the fact as of millennial significance. Many of the cases cited are merely forms of government control—as factory acts—which is bounded by principles of expediency. The governments sort and deliver letters, employing corporations to make stamps and mail pouches, and to transport the mails. Cities construct streets and bridges by contract with persons or corporations. More miles of railway were owned by States in 1870 than are now so owned; and, as a rule, the State property in transportation lines is managed by corporations. There is no procession for the Christian Church to lead toward socialism. The proper business of the Church in the twentieth century will be what it was in the first, to preach the Gospel of salvation from sin, and to foster the virtues which make social life on earth more wholesome as the generations pass. But let us look into the claim that the cause of collectivism is making rapid progress. Let us analyze the facts of the situation. Government—the collectivity, as our modern socialist describes it—has these distinct relations to property:

1. It owns public streets, parks, buildings, libraries, schools, and military equipments on land and sea, along with innumerable small things which it obtains by purchase from private producers. Sometimes it makes war ships and cannon; sometimes it buys them. No principle, except that of temporary expediency, regulates the practice. The rule, however, is that the government employs a contractor and not the workman. If, in a city, it should seem wise to build and operate a railway or a gas plant, this instance would not be modern or indicate any great revolution. We shall experiment in such ways with varying results; but the continuance of such experiments already old does not foreshadow a coming time when all workmen will be on government pay rolls.

2. Government exercises control over all private property. The limits of this control have never been defined. They may extend indefinitely beyond any lines marked out by experience. The concentration of industrial production has required an ex-

tension of these lines; and a good deal of new legislation is going upon record. There is no socialism involved; no new principle; such regulation is as old as human society. Nor is there any discoverable tendency of regulative measures to pass over into measures of confiscation. And yet every measure of a regulative nature is hailed as an advance toward collectivist socialism. We have been advancing in this way ever since the children of Israel made bricks in Egypt. Control and ownership are totally distinct things; and the two have no tendency to become one. Increase of control will be found in all history wherever men become massed; and the massing of men by our new industrial engines has required legislative regulation, and will continue to require it.

3. Government takes possession of property for public uses. The only modern note here is that governments are more scrupulously exact in paying for such property than they once were. The progress here is straight away from collectivism. To be sure, the state takes in the form of taxes the means for its own maintenance. Here, too, the large lesson is the evident purpose to be just, fair, and equal. And it is this purpose which animates some laws which have been too enthusiastically claimed as socialistic. No new principle appears in the school tax, an income tax, a tax on corporations, or a tax on inheritances. As they relate to private property they signify nothing which is not signified by the simplest and oldest tax in the world. The simplest tax means that the government takes its part absolutely, and decides for itself what is equitable and just.

In the three fields so hastily surveyed we for our part cannot discover the smallest sign of collectivism—of the passing of the instruments of production into the ownership of the state. In fact, the state produces relatively less than formerly. We are building war ships by contract, though we have navy yards. Fewer men, relatively to the whole population, are on public pay rolls than were on them in 1870. In the collectivist sense our progress is backward—away from the socialistic ideal.

David H. Wheeler

Art. III.—THE EDUCATIONAL FUNCTIONS OF ANCIENT COINS.

No form of art had a more perpetual and widespread educational influence on the Greek mind in developing taste and fostering the idea of beauty than the national and colonial coinage. There seemed to exist a desire on the part of the cities of Greece, Sicily, Asia Minor, and Magna Græcia to rival each other in the taste displayed on so common an article as their money. This desire, or ambition, resulted in the production of coins which reached the highest beauty and artistic merit, rivaling the engraved gems and even the best sculpture of their periods.

These coins are of singular interest, not only to the numismatist, but also to the archæologist, historian, and student of art. Ancient coins are most reliable witnesses of remote events, customs, and peoples. In many cases they are the only material evidences remaining of the former existence of an ancient city. The survival of these relics, or rather monuments, is easily accounted for. A single column, arch, or temple of wood or stone, erected to commemorate a great national event, is doomed in time to absolute destruction; but the coin celebrating that event is sent forth from the mint in multiplied thousands, and the chances are that a few at least will survive destruction to the latest ages of time. Even in our day pots of ancient money are now and then unearthed by the plowshare of the husbandman or the pick and shovel of the excavator, and many a hid treasure of silver or gold coins has remained where it was originally deposited in the earth from the days of Alexander the Great to the present time. When brought to view some of these coins are as perfect as when they came from the mint, and are in many cases beautiful with the impress of ancient art, which thus becomes a fascinating teacher of history. On the Roman coins we find preserved the very portraits of the Roman emperors, and superscriptions and emblems recording important events of their reigns. Nearly every collection of Roman coins can boast the possession of a "Vespasian," with the obverse bearing the image of that emperor and the reverse stamped with the

legend, *Judea Capta*, with the emblematical design of a woman seated and mourning under a palm tree, while the emperor as conqueror stands holding a spear in his hand. Here is a monument executed by the order of the Roman senate to commemorate the conquest of Judea by Vespasian and Titus. The superscription and in some cases the images of Philip, Alexander, Lysimachus, Antiochus, and other rulers are to be found on the Greek coins, and frequently some commemorative inscription or emblem giving to them an historical value. The names of certain ancient colonies live to-day in no other material form than such as is found on coins of their mints. Their temples, marts, and monuments have disappeared; their very sites are in question, if not absolutely unknown to the archæologist; their arts, sciences, and laws have passed away with every other vestige of their physical existence. But here is a coin which was struck by the mint of that city or colony five hundred years before Christ. It is the only remaining material evidence of the glory of the civilization by which it was produced, the only witness to its commercial importance, its intellectual refinement, and its ethical culture. As the ichthyologist will describe a fish from a single scale, or the botanist name a tree from a single leaf, so must the historian often construct a civilization from the suggestions given him by so small a relic as a piece of money. Thus the historiographic importance of a study of ancient coins is clearly evident.

Equally manifest to the student of ancient taste is the artistic importance of these coins, and more particularly of the Greek coins. The refinement and art-knowledge of those remote ages are displayed on their silver and gold pieces, which often rank with precious gems of art. It may not be too much to say that the public demand for the artistic and the beautiful is here proven, since the coin reflects the taste of the people. The citizens are not only in a condition to enjoy and appreciate art, but their æsthetic feeling demands it when their municipal authorities, be they democratic or despotic, find it necessary to employ artists in the production of beautiful designs for their coinage. As fine buildings, monuments, statuary, and galleries of paintings are created by the art-loving intellectualism dominating the age, and as they prove the existence of a popular demand, so that ancient money—often splendid with art more

valuable than the silver and gold which it adorned—plainly said, "The people demand the beautiful." Nay, more, those coins prove that the culture of the people had reached a high degree of perfection, and that in the smallest matters they had come to recognize the utility of beauty and the refining influence of art. This artistic coinage also means: Here is a medium for universal education in taste, a means of disseminating a universal and perpetual æsthetical enjoyment. Let the very money which the people handle daily in the common affairs of life, even in their constant trafficking, be a thing of beauty; and let this beauty, this art, have a daily ministry to the people, counteracting the world's sordidness, the grosser and less intellectual tendencies of life's drudgeries in commerce and physical labor. Let taste, art, beauty, intellectualism enter the shop and mart, and, in the form of an artistically executed coin in the hand of a trader, artisan, mechanic, laborer, soldier, or husbandman, let these refining influences be felt on the common mind and life. Moreover, the children and youth, by daily contact with art, even in the coins, shall acquire unconsciously a love for the beautiful and a taste for art which the schools cannot impart by direct instruction. This taste, this æstheticism shall finally come to pervade all the forms, movements, designs, and activities of life, and thus the idea of beauty in all things shall dominate the Greek character and civilization.

What the sculpture, painting, and architecture of many of these cities of Greek colonization may have been we can only surmise. It is quite certain that they never rose to the power and perfection in art-creation which distinguished Athens when she built the Parthenon and patronized Phidias and Praxiteles. But in the production of smaller objects of art, such as engraved gems and coins of the precious metals, wherein an Edmund Burke might have found all the elements of beauty to satisfy and support his philosophy of the beautiful, these cities often rivaled and even excelled proud Athens. If it be claimed that Athens was the pupil of other cities in the beautiful arts, one of the strongest arguments in support of the claim is to be found in the fact that the mint of Athens never equaled in her designs for money the perfection of the mints of Thurium, Rhodes, Metapontum, Agrigentum, Heraclea, Terina, and Syracuse. The influence of such artists as Phidias, Praxiteles,

Scopas, Kimon, Myron, Polycletus, and Lysippus was reflected with greater perfection in the coinage of the Greek colonies than in the money of Athens. There may have been conditions —political, commercial, and industrial—which were not particularly favorable to the highest development of sculpture and architecture in the Greek cities of Italy, Sicily, and Asia Minor. But Athens, as the intellectual center of Hellenic civilization, furnished the conditions for the development of all the modes and forms of art, and hence it led the world in sculpture, painting, and architecture. In its unapproachable excellency along these higher planes it seems to have treated the art of its coinage with comparative indifference, so that, during the most brilliant age of its history, its money was hardly worthy of the art of Phidias and of the Parthenon. Many of the Greek colonies, which were commercial and industrial centers, cultivated a taste for art which possessed the true Hellenic aspiration and refinement, though it expressed itself in a less ambitious form than the Athenian. We must ever keep in mind that the glory of Grecian civilization was derived from various elements, not alone Athenian. Of the great men whose names stand for ancient culture and whose intellectual power made the Greek name synonymous with all that is classical and immortal in ancient art and letters many were not natives of Athens. Hesiod and Pittacus, if not Homer, were Æolians; Pythagoras was a Dorian; Pindar and Epaminondas were Bœotians; Lycurgus was of Sparta; Thales, of Crete; Plato was of Ægina; Aristotle was born at Stagira; Archimedes, at Syracuse; Euripides, at Salamis; Herodotus, at Halicarnassus; Scopas was a native of Paros; Myron, of Eleutheræ in Bœotia; Polycletus and Lysippus, of Sicyon; Kimon, of Cleonæ; and Apelles, of Colophon. Thus the intellectualism of the Greeks was not confined to Attica. It is interesting to recall the fact that not one of the great schools of Hellenic architecture originated in Athens. These were Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian, showing that the most original and most creative genius and feeling were provincial and colonial. But æstheticism was as universal as Hellenism. Wherever the Greek mind held sway the idea of beauty became almost a dominating cult. To it Grecian civilization sacrificed itself. If this idea of beauty exalted Greece it also finally exhausted her. A wrong concep-

tion of the mission and ministry of the beautiful may result in an enervating use or misuse of art, and a people may become degenerate by devoting themselves to the mere æsthetical enjoyments, the sensuous cult, of beauty.

A very commendable civic pride was manifest in that ancient coinage. The emblem adopted by the city was often stamped on its money, and wherever the coin circulated it carried on its face some legend of which its people were justly proud, some device commemorating an event of importance in the city's history, or representing an industry, art, product, or traffic for which the city was renowned. The crab most perfectly and artistically engraved on the coins of Agrigentum, doubtless represents the abundance of crabs which abounded in the river on which the city was built. On the money of Metapontum is found engraved a head of wheat, an emblem of the fertility of the soil and possibly of the principal harvest. This is also said to refer to Demeter, "the giver of fertility and queen of corn fields." The coin of Rhodes bears on the reverse a beautifully engraved rose, the flower from which the city derived its name. Certain authorities claim that this flower is not a rose, but rather the pomegranate flower, which was used for dyeing purposes, and was a source of considerable income to the Rhodians. Again, there are authorities who tell us this was a "flower sacred to the sun god." The principal emblem on the reverse of the Athenian coin was the owl. The origin of this device is not known. Some have supposed it was inspired by an event of the naval battle of Salamis. The appearance of an owl was considered as an omen of victory, and the Athenians under Themistocles defeated the Persian fleet of Xerxes. For chronological reasons this could not have been the historical origin of the emblem. It is more likely that the owl represented the favor of Minerva, and as the head of the patron goddess of Athens was placed on the obverse of the coin this bird of good omen was for that reason engraved on the reverse. Similar traditions explain the devices on other coins, such as the Ox of Sybaris, the Lion of Rhegium, the Dolphin of Tarentum, the Tripod of Croton, and the Chariot of Syracuse. These emblems had a twofold influence, one artistic, the others patriotic; so that the idea of beauty and the thought of municipal patriotism were associated in the minds of the people from childhood.

In Grecian coinage beauty was also associated with reverence, art with religion—if we are disposed to see a religion in the Olympian mythology. There was a time indeed when it was considered sacrilegious to issue money without some recognition expressed on it of the supernatural influences known as the gods. With the money of Philip II and of Alexander the Great art entered on its most brilliant age in the decoration of gold and silver coins. On the tetradrachms of Philip we find a strong artistic head of Zeus, and on Alexander's coins are noble images of Hercules, with perhaps some resemblance to Alexander himself. On the reverse of these coins is the image of Zeus seated and holding an eagle in his outstretched hand. The coins of Athens bear the image of Pallas, to whom the Parthenon was dedicated and by whose favor the city was founded. By that image the Athenians said, "In Pallas we trust," as on some of our American coins we say in so many words, "In God we trust." Syracuse stamped the beautiful head of Persephone, or Kora, on her coins, as if to propitiate the goddess of the changing seasons and secure her favor and patronage. On the coins of Rhodes is found the head of Helios, the sun god, with rays of light radiating from his abundant and flowing locks. Thus, on the money of various cities will be found the images of Zeus, Apollo, Pallas, Cybele, Poseidon, Ceres, and other gods and goddesses of the Greek Pantheon. Undoubtedly their reverence for the gods suggested to the Greeks the highest art as the only fit and adequate method of honoring them and celebrating and inculcating their virtues.

The modern student must be profoundly impressed with the educational use to which the ancients put the idea of beauty in developing taste, patriotism, and worship. Take the silver tetradrachm of Rhodes. It is a coin of striking peculiarity and beauty. The head of the sun god is stamped on the obverse in nobly bold relief. This image is supposed by some to represent the head of the Colossus of Rhodes, one of the seven wonders of the world, but it is beyond question now admitted to be the head of the sun god, Helios. On the reverse is the finely executed rose or pomegranate flower. Above the flower is stamped the name of the city, "Rodion;" below the flower is the name of the magistrate of the city, or possibly the name of the very engraver of the coin, "A. Meineas." How suggestive

such a relic of antiquity must be to the modern student of art and history! Before his imagination towers the famous Colossus; beneath its huge feet passes the rich commerce of the Ægean to and from the busy ports and marts of Rhodes. Here the painters Protogenes and even Apelles have wrought. Here art and eloquence vie with trade and jurisprudence in conferring distinction upon the greatest city of the Dorian Hexapolis. To the archæologist, numismatist, historian, and student of art this single relic of all that vanished glory, this silver tetradrachm of Rhodes, says: "The Rhodians, with all their commercial instincts and enterprise, were a people of refinement and culture, who applied their wealth to the encouragement and production of art and to the enjoyment of the beautiful." With what an eloquence does this Athenian coin appeal to our imagination and our taste! It leads us back in thought to the splendid age of Pericles. It saw Phidias build the Parthenon; it may have been paid as wages to men who toiled on the monuments of the Acropolis; probably it was in the pocket of a soldier who fought at Marathon; it could have been in the wallet of a citizen the very day he stood in the Agora and heard Demosthenes deliver his first philippic; Paul may have flung it to a beggar on his way to Mars' Hill. Somewhat archaic, it has seen the rise of Grecian art; it has witnessed the development of the highest Hellenism in philosophy, literature, and civilization. That owl's eyes have looked into the faces of great men and upon the graces of Athenian beauty; they have scanned the battlefields, witnessed revolutions, conquests, national decadences, national births, the rise and fall of empires. That placid, cynical face of Pallas has looked ages out of countenance, and, without a smile or frown, but as serene and imperturbable as the Sphinx of the Egyptian plain, it has mingled with the faces of nearly seventy generations of the sons of men. To-day it looks as indifferently upon the virtuous reign of Victoria as it ever looked upon the corrupt social supremacy of Aspasia, while it seems to contemplate the rise of freedom in the land of Washington and Lincoln as stolidly and absent-mindedly as ever it considered the loss of Athenian democracy under Pisistratus the tyrant. In the development of Athenian art this archaic image of Pallas gradually gave way to a more and more artistic head, and at last to a copy of the statue of the goddess

which Phidias had produced for the Parthenon, a statue of ivory and gold.

The many, various coins of Alexander the Great, minted in both his European and Asiatic dominions, indicate a progress in the art of coinage, although his money never reached the excellence to be seen on the money of Rhodes, Heraclea, or Syracuse. Nor, indeed, can Alexander's coins be compared to the regal money of Demetrius, Lysimachus, or Antigonus. Nevertheless, the head of the young Hercules, bearing a supposed resemblance to the great conqueror, is often a powerful and handsome work, and on some of the coins may represent the influence, if it is not the real work, of Lysippus, the sculptor of Sicyon, to whom we are indebted for celebrated portraits of Alexander. The education of the Macedonian, it will be remembered, had received special attention. For several years he was the pupil of no less a master than Aristotle. Under the instruction of this philosopher, whose system of instruction included training in art, poetry, and music, Alexander must have developed a taste for letters and art which was never entirely sacrificed even to his military genius or his political ambition. It is further known, if the date be reliable, that Alexander patronized the arts and brought to his court such masters as Lysippus, Pergathocles, and Apelles. The story is that no one but Lysippus was allowed to represent him in sculpture, no one but Pergathocles was allowed to engrave his image on gems, and no one but the great Apelles had authority to paint his portrait. It was doubtless to disparage his finer qualities of mind that the anecdote was started in which he is represented as making some foolish remark about painting while in the studio of Apelles, when the great artist bade him to be silent if he did not wish the apprentices to laugh at his ignorance. But, if he was ignorant of the technicalities of art, he was evidently wise enough to leave the ornamentation of the regal money to the master artists, who certainly succeeded in producing coins which bear the impress of a bold, free, rugged art, quite in keeping with his character and achievements. They represent strength, force, aggressive ambition, and are quite sufficiently typical of the man.

The tetradrachms of Antigonus "Doson"—one of Alexander's generals, and later the ruler of Pamphylia, Lycia, and

Phrygia Major—are of remarkable beauty. The obverse bears the head of Poseidon, the supreme lord of the sea. This head is a work of extraordinary strength and character, the artistic representation of the hair and beard displaying taste and workmanship worthy of the best masters. The reverse of this coin has few if any rivals. The nude figure of Apollo is seated on a galley in a pose of consummate ease and grace, and, if it could be proven that either Lysippus or Phidias engraved the figure it would detract in no measure from the reputation of the great artist. One who is so fortunate as to own this coin in fine condition must regard it as something far higher and more valuable than a mere piece of money. It is in the highest sense a work of great art, as truly as is a painting by Raphael, a statue by Michael Angelo, or a jewel wrought by the hand of Benvenuto Cellini.

Another gem of art is the coin of Heraclea, the work, no doubt, of some recognized master. The obverse bears the helmeted head of Pallas most artistically rendered, while on the reverse is stamped the image of Hercules. Perhaps the most beautiful design is one representing Hercules in conflict with the Nemean lion. The lion has sprung upon the side of Hercules, the hero grasps it by the head and mane, while every muscle of body, arms, and legs swells with strength; grace, energy, power, agility, movement are all portrayed with wonderful skill. The famous Laocoön could not have been executed by a more skillful artist than the unknown genius who wrought on this rare and exquisite coin.

It was left for Syracuse, however, to bear away the palm for superiority in the production of beautiful money. This city, founded by the Corinthians 735 B. C. and destroyed by the Saracens in the ninth century of the Christian era, passed through many vicissitudes, but had its period of splendor, during which it rivaled both Athens and Carthage and successfully resisted their ambitious arms. The mixture of Grecian and Egyptian elements in the Sicilians and the Syracusans resulted in an art which revealed the characteristics of both civilizations. The head of Persephone, or Arethusa, found on the early coins, is unmistakably Egyptian and remains so for a long period, gradually changing into the more decidedly Greek type, until the age of the democracy following the dynasty of Gelon, when the

archaic and the Egyptian forms give way to the simple and artistic Greek engraving which comes to its perfection of exquisite beauty in the decadrachms of Dionysius. The head of Persephone, surrounded by dolphins, is here treated with a most artistic representation of sensuous beauty. The elegant, fascinating, almost bewitching arrangement of the hair, the sweet Greek brow, the perfect ideal features of female loveliness, the soft, graceful throat and neck all conspire to produce "a combination and a form indeed where every *goddess seems* to set her seal." The reverse of this coin is hardly less beautiful, and is certainly no less artistic, than the obverse. It is adorned with the representation of the victorious chariot of the Olympic race, in which the representative of Syracuse, Gelon, perhaps, brought immortal renown to the city. The chariot is nearing the goal; victory hovers in the air holding forth the coveted crown toward the brow of Syracuse; the four horses are leaping forth as if animated with the very sentiments of the charioteer and hearing the applause and loud acclaim of the assembled multitude. One cannot look on this design without catching the spirit of the occasion which inspired the artist as he wrought this beautiful monument in celebration of the triumph of Syracuse. It may be doubted whether ancient art ever produced a more gracefully animated and beautiful representation of a horse, or of several horses, in motion than is found on this noble decadrachm. Some of these coins bear the signatures of the artists whose skill produced them. One name in particular, "Kimon," is conspicuous on the dolphin below the head of the beautiful Persephone. This work marked the climax of Syracusan art in the beautifying of coins. It may be said that it marked the high-water limit of all art in the adornment of money. This coin must be classed with the noblest achievements of ancient art, not only with the engraved gems and ornamented pottery, but with the statues, friezes of temples, mosaics, and paintings in which the Greeks demonstrated their superlative art-genius and æstheticism.

The flat and inartistic heads and images on the coins of to-day would indicate an absence of that elegant taste which made the Greeks famous for art. What a contrast the head of Liberty on the American dollar is to the head of Persephone on the decadrachm of Syracuse! How much inferior the American eagle is

to the eagle of Ptolemy! How inartistically flat and how contemptible is the head of Columbus on the Columbian coin as compared with the noble head of Poseidon on the tetradrachms of Antigonus or the head of young Hercules on the coins of Alexander! Why should there not be a display of art on the money of the civilized nations of the earth in this age, as there was in the days of Alexander and Pericles, of Lysippus and Phidias? To give a coin artistic value, to stamp it with the sculptor's genius and to make it teach beauty, patriotism, civic pride, and worship—that is beyond the dull appreciation of the utilitarian age which has lost, or rather has never caught, the spirit of the elegant and intellectual Greeks. Is there nothing left in art possibility for the creative, or at least the inventive, genius of Americanism to do? Is there no more originality in art to be expected of humanity? Do our huge piles of expressionless, characterless, but utilitarian brick and mortar prove a lack of architectural originality and taste? Do our insipid, inane Liberty heads prove a gross, mean, sordid indifference to the beauty and artistic merit of our national money? There does not seem to exist in the American brain that universal, classical taste which once demanded that art should touch all things with beauty and minister to the refinement and the æsthetical pleasure of the common mind and the common life. Nor have we as yet developed that national pride in art that "made the old times splendid," when the mints of Athens, Rhodes, and Syracuse were coining money which to the most distant ages of posterity was destined to celebrate the genius, power, and culture of those splendid cities and refined peoples. Is there a glorious future to American art? Shall the utility of art yet be appreciated? Shall high art become as common as money, and come to all classes at all hours with its ministry of beauty and delight? And shall that high art be controlled by the religious feeling and aspiration of our Christianity, as Greek art was controlled by the Olympian religion? Shall it give expression to the refined imagination, the classical taste, the intelligent patriotism, and the sanctified aspirations of this new Christian life and civilization?

F. W. Bristol.

Art. IV.—THE THREE GREAT EPOCHS OF WORLD EVOLUTION.

If one should attempt to characterize the spirit of the age it would not be far from the truth to speak of it as a feeling of expectancy. The time is gone when one could say that the beliefs that were good enough for our fathers are good enough for us. The world refuses to stand still. The last fifty years have disclosed to us many of nature's grand truths, and they are making their way into our life. During the last few decades science has been dealing what were thought at first to be heavy blows against our faith; but we are now seeing that this was only in anticipation for a grander faith which should arise. The pendulum of belief is now to-day swinging back again, and our science and our religion, the scientist and the Christian, are beginning to join hands. The day feels that a new adjustment of belief is coming, not only in philosophy and science, but also in religion, and the clear-sighted thinker sees immediately ahead a revival of faith which shall take the place of the questionings of to-day. But this revival of faith must be in the spirit of to-day, and not of yesterday. Our science has undoubtedly made some discoveries in the last fifty years, and the new life of the world will not be met by going back to the beliefs of half a century ago, but by meeting the knowledge of to-day with a faith adapted to the day.

There has been no conception that has so revolutionized our thoughts as that which is comprised under the general head of evolution. Not only science, but philosophy, history, political economy, philology, art, and religion are being profoundly modified by it. It has crept into every department of thought until it has unconsciously become a part of our life. On the other hand, evolution itself is becoming profoundly modified by the light thrown upon it from other sources of thought, and we are beginning to learn that Christianity itself is putting a capstone upon the arch of nature for which science has been disclosing the foundations.

As for evolution itself, we no longer hear it discussed as a theory. We shall vainly search the literature of to-day to find an argument trying to prove the truth of evolution. But this

is not, as it is occasionally assumed, because it is being abandoned. We shall search with equal futility for an argument to prove the truth of the law of gravitation. While, indeed, evolution has not yet received the kind of demonstration which has been given to the law of gravitation, it has been so convincingly attested by thousands of lines of argument that it is to-day accepted by science as a foundation stone, and the scientist no more thinks of discussing its truth than he does the truth of chemical affinity. Not only so, but he who is abreast of modern thought sees that the same great law is rapidly becoming the corner stone of the great truth of Christianity. The teachings of our Master, Christ, so wonderfully fit into this evolution as to leave us amazed that we have not long since perceived the truth. "The stone which the builders rejected, the same is become the head of the corner," may apply equally well to the scientist's attitude toward Christianity or the theist's attitude toward evolution. Evolution is indeed only the method of creation, and teaches us that the history of the universe has been one grand sweep of omnipotent power. Each individual is born into the world by natural processes, and yet we must look upon every man as an independent creation. So the world with its life has grown into its present form by natural laws and natural forces, and must still be looked upon as an expression of eternal creative force.

From the earliest dawn of creation until to-day the history of nature has been one grand sweep of continuity, one eternal expression of omnipotent force. But, as we look at this history in the light of our present knowledge, we can see three great phases of that evolution, each unique in itself. These three epochs are: The evolution of worlds, the evolution of life, the evolution of mind.

1. The evolution of worlds. This subject need detain us but a moment. It has been the task of astronomy to disclose to us the processes by which the starry heavens, or more especially the planets of our own solar system, have been evolved from an early nebulous diffused mass. It has been the task of geology to show how the earth after its first formation has been developed into its present form. All of this we have been taught has been due to the action of simple natural laws. For our immediate purpose we need not dwell upon this phase of the

evolutionary history beyond pointing out one very essential and significant fact. For this evolution of worlds there seem to be needed only the forces of chemistry and physics. The astronomer and geologist tell us that by the action of the laws of chemical affinity and physical forces, acting in accordance with mechanical principles, the nebulous mass was gradually molded into the planetary system. Thus we reach the conclusion that, granting the existence of the nebulous mass, its evolution into worlds is fully explained by the action of chemical and physical forces of nature.

2. The evolution of life. With the evolution of life the second phase of the evolutionary history began. Whatever may have been the forces which brought life first into existence, there is no question that the first forms of life were of the simplest types, and that from this early rudimentary beginning life has been subject to evolution. It has been to Darwin that we owe chiefly this study of the evolution of life; for, while plants and animals had been studied for centuries, it was not until the genius of Darwin turned man's attention to the method by which living species were brought into existence that any serious attempt was made to study the history of life. Since the time when Darwin pointed out the new line of study for science we have learned how in the past the simple has become the complex, how the lowly organized has become the highly organized. The rocks have been opened, and have disclosed their hidden secrets. Embryos have been studied, and have told us many an unexpected story. Animals from the poles and the equators have each contributed, and the inhabitants of the islands of the oceans have added not a little to this general history. All tell us of the gradual development of life and its origin from common centers. Step by step, year by year, age by age, epoch by epoch, has this life of the world been growing in its wonders. Beginning first in the form of the simplest kind of living matter, slowly has this been molded into more complex forms; slowly have these forms become higher and higher in their structure, larger and larger in size; little by little has the life thus slowly rising come to occupy the various departments of nature. The ocean and the land have become peopled. Greater and greater has been the diversity that has appeared in the world as life has continued to develop, until

to-day nature has come to be filled with thousands and hundreds of thousands of forms of life, each with its own position in nature, and thus the surface of the world is covered with an endless variety of forms.

Over all this growth, all this increase in complexity of structure, this elevation of type, this production of variety, there has presided a law which was not present in the early evolution of worlds. While many subsidiary facts have come to regulate this growth of life, nevertheless there has been one fact of sublime importance which has produced the elevation and the variety in the world of living nature. That law is the law of strife, made necessary and inevitable by the appearance among living things of the factor of reproduction. As one lies on a warm summer's day under the shade of a tree and looks at the smoke rising from the distant city; as he hears the birds singing merrily over his head; as he hears the humming bees flitting to and fro from flower to flower in search of honey, all seems at peace around him. But if he turns his attention to the distant city, and thinks of the heartburnings, the toil and care, the strife and bitter combat, the ceaseless struggle that is going on under the smoke of that city, he is inclined to look upon nature as the ideal of peace and harmony, and man as the ideal of strife. The harmony and peace around him fill him with a horror of the constant conflict of human life. And yet this impression could not be farther from the actual truth. The truth is that nature is in constant strife, while man alone is occasionally at peace. When he looks below the surface of the seeming harmony around him he finds, not peace, but eternal warfare. The bird that is singing over his head is rejoicing because he has succeeded in committing several ruthless murders in the morning and in devouring his victims as food, while he is ever keeping a watchful eye aloft lest he in turn fall victim to some keen-sighted hawk. The very flower that delights the eye is able to open its petals to the sky simply because it has succeeded in overcoming some other plants that started with it a few weeks before in the race for life. In nature strife is ever present. More individuals are born in every race of animals and plants than can possibly live, and many must die that the few may survive. This produces a constant, an eternal and never-ceasing strife and struggle for life, in which the van-

quished inevitably perish and only the victor remains alive. As a result of this struggle it will happen that only those that are best adapted to the conditions of life in which they find themselves continue to exist, while those that are in any way less adapted to their conditions are ruthlessly pushed to the wall. This principle is the law of natural selection, and it is the law that has presided over the whole of the evolution of life. This law could not exist in the evolution of worlds, because it is a factor of reproduction. It could not have any influence upon chemical and physical forces alone, but only upon those peculiar conditions which are found when life has made its appearance and animals and plants began to multiply upon the face of the earth. Then first came into play this law of natural selection, with its boundless power producing its wonderful results.

It has been natural selection which has produced the gradually increasing complexity of life, which has given rise to the gradual evolution or growth of the lower forms of nature into the higher ones, until from the simple jelly masses of the earliest periods have arisen the higher complex animals and plants that fill the world to-day. The result, in a word, has been divergence and diversity. At first life was simple and uniform, but as the result of this never-ceasing law of natural selection the descendants of the early types have gradually become unlike each other. They have diverged from each other like the branches of a tree, until from a simple uniform type of life, corresponding to the trunk of the tree, the world has become filled with hundreds of thousands of diversified types, representing the numerous twigs of widely spreading branches. It has been, in short, the law of natural selection which has filled the world with diversity, that has made the animal different from the plant, that has made one animal different from another, and that has produced the variety which we find in the face of nature to-day.

3. The evolution of mind. Without dwelling longer upon this evolution of life, presided over by the law of strife, we pass to the last and highest, the grandest phase of this sweep of evolution, the evolution of mind and soul. In the use of these two terms, mind and soul, we would for our present purpose make no distinction. In the term mind we shall include everything that we usually consider under the

head of mind and soul, without drawing any inference as to their unity or duality. That mind itself has also been subject to an evolution is just beginning to dawn on our thoughts. Only within the last year or two has it been clearly recognized that the study of the evolution of mind is a field as productive of marvelous and amazing results as the study of either the evolution of worlds or the evolution of life. It is only to-day that we are recognizing that there has been such a thing as the evolution of mind. It is only to-day that we are beginning to perceive that the evolution of mind presents to us the last great phase in the evolutionary history of nature. So new is the subject that, as yet, we can hardly gain any idea of its depth, its scope, or of the grand phases of life which will be disclosed by more careful study; but already our thinkers have been attempting to apply to the evolution of mind some of the same principles that have been hitherto applied to the evolution of life. Already the accumulated knowledge of the last century, the study of history, and the study of all the types and phases of mental life have been adding their information to the study of the evolution of mind, until we are beginning to get some little conception of the grand salient features of this last phase of evolutionary progress. Although we are still groping in the dark, although as yet we have little knowledge of where or how mind began, although as yet we can say almost nothing as to the origin of this new, grand phase of evolution, still, with all the uncertainty a few bright and wonderful truths are being disclosed to us that are producing great revolution in thought. It is the chief object of this paper to emphasize one of these great truths that has already forced itself upon our minds very cogently as the result of this new line of study.

Perhaps we can best introduce the subject by calling attention to one fact. In the history of the evolution of mind there has been produced, not divergence, but convergence of descent. As already noticed, the evolution of life has been one of increasing complexity and increasing diversity. As each age has passed it has seen a wider divergence of the separating lines of descent, and each age has seen the world filled with a larger and larger number of varied types of life. Divergence has been the history of life. When, however, we come to consider the history of man we find that convergence has taken the

place of divergence. In the primitive history of early man, however, this was not true. On the contrary, all accounts of primitive man tell us that at the beginning of his existence he was controlled by the same laws that regulate the evolution of animals; and like the history of animals, so the early history of man was one of divergence. Whatever may have been the origin of man, whether from a single point or from several points, whether as a special creation or, as scientists believe, as an evolution, there is no question that his early history for many centuries was that of constant warfare, resulting in the gradual separation of tribes from each other, until the world became filled with its many tribes of men and their wonderful diversity. Just as among animals, so among men, descent with divergence was the history, and from one or more original points of divergence this continued until there were thousands of tribes of men, each differing from the others in language, in habits, in customs, and even in structure. After a time, however, this tendency toward divergence was checked, and in its place there appeared, dimly at first, a tendency toward union. Families little by little associated together into tribes; tribes after a time aggregated into larger bands of men; and, as we trace the history of the world through century after century, we find a gradual but constant increase of this tendency toward union. Tribes became united to form nations, and little by little the whole of the race of man has been coming together, as the nations are becoming fewer and larger. Within historic times the history of man has been one of slowly growing union and combination. To-day the few great nations that remain are finding that they are becoming more and more dependent upon each other, and this is inevitably leading to greater combinations, which shall be commercial, at least, if not political. The point of especial interest with us, in considering the relation of man in this history, is that the tendency toward concentration is diametrically opposite to the tendency which has regulated the history of animals. On the one hand there is isolation and divergence, and, on the other, concentration and convergence. National and tribal divergences have ceased, and, so far as our nations are progressing, they are progressing toward concentration. It is evident that in some way mankind is dominated by a new principle. It is evident, also, that this

new principle, whatever it may be, must be something producing results which are diametrically opposed to those produced in animals. If the law of natural selection has been the great law which has been and is guiding the evolution of life, then the grand law which has been and is guiding the evolution of man must be something very different from natural selection.

Natural selection is based upon what we may call the love of self. It is the attempt of every animal in creation to gain its own ends, leading thus to an endless conflict which results in the survival of the fittest. The law of natural selection is the law of selfishness, and leads to strife. With a little thought we can see that the new law under which mankind is developing is the law of love for others. It is the law which teaches mankind to place the good of another on an equality with, if not higher than, his own good. The new law is the law of love, which leads not to strife but to peace, not to competition but to harmony. Notice the growth of this principle. While it is the highest law for the regulation of man, it is a principle of which we can at least find traces elsewhere. Among animals it is, however, only suggested here and there in rudiment. Among the lowest animals love does not exist in any form. Not even a semblance to love can we find among animals which are perfectly ready to eat their own young and whose offspring are equally eager to devour their mothers. Throughout the lower orders of nature there is a complete absence of anything like pity, sympathy, or readiness to aid another. When we come to some of the higher types of animals we do get occasionally a glimpse of the idea of an interest in others. Even among insects there is an occasional hint, for among the colonial insects we find that the young are carefully nursed and cared for by the adults. Among mammals the principle of mother's love is not infrequently highly developed. The fierce lion or tiger has an intense love for her offspring, for a few weeks, and will submit herself even to death in order to protect the offspring she has borne. All through the higher orders of animals this principle of mother love is developed to quite a considerable extent; but it has hardly expanded beyond the love of the mother for her offspring, and even here lasts only a short period. Among animals the father only in the rarest instances has a love for his offspring. It is the mother that protects the young, and

until we reach man we hardly find any other trace of love for others. Among men, too, it appears almost certain that the first indication of love was the mother's love for her offspring. The communal relations of primitive peoples commonly makes it impossible for the father to know his own offspring, and under these relations neither fatherly love nor connubial love is possible. But to the mother's love was later added the love of the father, and from this arose the family. This was the first step toward higher life, and this arose from the expansion of this love for others. With many a primitive race this principle of love hardly extends beyond the family. But the force is too potent to remain so contracted among beings endowed with social instincts and intelligence. The family relations, when not rigidly drawn, gave rise to tribal relations, where all members were united by community of interests and community of descent. The principle of love for others, therefore, extended from the child and the parent to the other members of the tribe, and soon man's noblest feelings impelled him to sacrifice himself for his tribe in warfare. From this point the history has been a constant one. The tribes have united into larger combinations, and these have finally become nations. As these combinations have become larger so has this principle of love for others extended its scope from the narrow to the wider limits. To-day this principle of love is extending, in theory, at least, to a universal love of mankind leading to a universal brotherhood. Not yet, however, has the race of man reached this position except in theory; but, as we look at the future in the light of the past, as we remember man's evolution in the ages gone and the growing force of the social community, we see ahead of us inevitably a universal brotherhood. One universal nation, at least in its interests, one universal combination of men into an harmonious union of common interests, is the inevitable future toward which we are drifting. How far from it we may be we cannot say, but it is yet in the distant future, and occasionally we think of it and call it the millennium.

We must not, however, make any mistake here. It is not, of course, possible to pretend that it has been the principle of love which has caused the combination of men into these growing bodies of people. In many cases, in most cases, indeed, it has been a love for glory, a desire for mutual protection against

common enemies, that has brought men together. More often still it has been love of conquest which has made nations. Instead of love, it has commonly been selfishness that has united men, for greater conquests are possible for combinations of men than for units. In unity there is strength, and this is the principle that has commonly built up our nations. But, while this love of self and love of conquest may have caused nations to grow, it does not explain their continued existence. Some of these nations have continued only a short time, while others have lasted centuries. Among savages has existed the same stimulus for conquest, the same love for glory, and the same need for union. Many a time have savages formed combinations of tribes for the purpose of conquest and defense. They have the same need for unity that has instigated the formation of nations, and the savage has frequently fully appreciated this need. In our American continent the Indian formed many a combination to resist the invading white, but they were all failures. The combinations of the Indians have broken to pieces, while the combinations of civilized men have remained intact, or have given way to others whose union was firmer or whose extent was greater. In spite of all the need which the savage felt, in spite of the greatest personal valor and sacrifice, in spite of all attempts at concerted action, there has been something lacking among these miscellaneous tribes that has been present among the nations that have succeeded in holding together. The tribes of savages, though superior in numbers to the bands of civilized men, have uniformly given way in the end before the greater firmness of combination. The American Indian, outnumbering the white men one hundred to one, provided with a greater knowledge of woodcraft, has nevertheless slowly given way before the small band of invaders. What, then, is the principle whose presence on the one hand has made and held nations together, and whose absence has prevented their formation or rendered them liable to fall to pieces?

A little study of the history of nations will show us the answer, and tell us that it is the new law of love which has bound nations together and prevented them from breaking to pieces as have the nations of savages. We do not always call it love, however. We call it patriotism, self-sacrifice; we call it the principle of justice; we call it honor, honesty, mutual trust.

mutual reliance, sympathy with others in distress. We think of it as the spirit that regards the rights of others as equal to the rights of self, that influences us to sacrifice our own individual comfort for the public good, and tells us that there are interests of more importance than self-interests, and thus teaches us to formulate public law. Indeed, the whole may be comprised under one general thought. The cement that binds nations into unity is the principle that holds self-interest in abeyance and subordinates it to public good. However much a people may feel the need of concentrated action, no lasting union is possible unless a spirit of mutual trust and individual sacrifice is present as the guiding principle of action, to bind the members of a nation into such compact unity that it can resist the inevitable strain of clashing interests. Great nations are destroyed by disunion, and not by conquest. In a word, the principle that binds together the parts of a nation, and that has thus made it possible for great nations to exist in larger and larger combinations, is the principle of love for others, or love for the public as a whole. Thus we see that the evolution of mankind is being guided and directed by a law diametrically opposite to the law which has produced the evolution of animals. Love for self only and love for others are the two contrasting forces. With this in mind we can readily understand that the history of man has been, and will be in the future, one of increasing convergence, while the history of animals has been and must always be one of divergence.

We must now notice more closely the result of the application of this new law to the evolution of man. The first point to attract our attention is that, with this new guiding principle, the physical development of man has ceased. There is no question that, for the evolution of a body, for the development of strength and physical force, there is needed the law which preserves the strong and exterminates the weak. Moreover, in order to keep the physical strength at its maximum, it is insisted upon by our scientists that some such law of struggle and extermination should be constantly exerting its influence. Certain it is that the law by which physical structure has been developed, during the ages of the history of the world, has been the law of natural selection, the law of self-love. When, therefore, we replace this law with the law of love for others, the whole tend-

ency of development is inevitably changed. The law of love is telling us to protect the weak, to do all in our power to preserve their lives, and, instead of allowing them to be exterminated by their own weakness, to foster their existence in every way. Our inebriate asylums, our jails, our institutions of charity generally are having a tendency to preserve the lives of those who are least fitted to live and who would inevitably perish under the influence of the law of natural selection. The result of this is that man's physical nature is no longer under the influence of developing forces. The development of body ceased when the law of love entered into man's life. The action of the law of natural selection continued until there was developed a body as complicated and as well adapted for various purposes as is the body of man, and then, by a change in the law under which life should develop, the attention of nature was turned to the development of a new phase of life.

The secret of this change in the law of nature lies in the fact that there is something more valuable than the development of a body. The value of a mind and a soul is far greater than the value of a body, and this new law of love is introduced to stimulate thus the last and highest phase of nature. It is only under the influence of the law of love that the development of mind and the development of soul is possible. It is only under the influence of the law which draws men together in communities and makes them have sympathy with each other that it is possible for the highest phase of nature to grow into its noblest possibilities. It is this new law of altruism that underlies all of the special features of our modern life. It is this law that makes nations larger; for, while it is true that in most cases our nations have been formed by conquest, it is equally true that it is only this principle of mutual love, mutual trust and confidence that enables them to hold together, and thus it is love and love alone that makes the continued existence of nations a possibility. It is this principle again that has founded our democratic institutions and underlies our belief in individual liberty. During the early centuries of the world might made right; but to-day, owing to the spread of this feeling that every man owes something to his neighbor, and that all have equal rights, democratic institutions have sprung up, and we now feel that the world was made for man and not for the

mighty. It is this principle again which lies at the basis of all social reforms. The emancipation of slaves was the result of it, and the emancipation of labor, which is a revolution slowly but surely going on in our midst, is again the result of this principle of the love for others. It is true that upon the surface it seems as if these resulted simply from a contest of force with force. Slavery was abolished by bloodshed, and labor is being emancipated only by much pain and suffering. But if we look below the surface we find that the factor that makes these changes possible is not might, but love. It was certainly love which called out the sacrifices which made an end to slavery. The united forces of the higher classes, with their almost unlimited power of capital, have been through all ages far more than enough to counterbalance the force which labor might bring against them. It has been the history of the world everywhere, that when capital comes in direct conflict with the might of the lower classes the combinations of capital are in the end too much for the power of the masses. To-day, one who reads the signs of the times sees that the force of labor, the cause of mankind in general, is little by little mastering the forces of capital, though not by might. Labor is constantly discovering that its only stronghold is the sympathy of the public. When labor contests by force it almost always fails, but when it appeals to the hearts of the people its success is more probable. The fact is that among the controlling classes, even more than among the masses, this principle is slowly entering the heart and teaching that each man is his brother's keeper. It is thus slowly undermining the force of capital, by convincing the capitalist that he has responsibilities resting upon him, and that he is bound to recognize not only the rights of the employed, but to enter into sympathy with their lives. It takes a mighty force to shatter an iceberg, but the gentle action of the sun little by little dissolves it into limpid water. So in this conflict between force and love. It is the softening principle of love for others that is teaching the world that the demands of the people are right, since the world was made for man and not for the ruling classes. It is the principle of altruism that is telling us day by day more and more clearly that the law under which our commercial and social affairs ought to be regulated is not the law of competition, is not simply the

law of supply and demand, but is the law of humanity, the law which gives each man an equal chance with his neighbor. It is the same principle of altruism which is giving our nations a greater and greater hesitancy to war. Warfare was our heritage from the past, and for centuries it has been the chief aim of nations. But to-day, while we have by no means outgrown this heritage, we find a greater and greater hesitancy among the higher civilized nations to engage in war. This hesitancy lies partly, no doubt, in the great dread of the destructiveness of modern weapons, but underlying this is the sympathy which nations feel for those in suffering and the horror of the misery introduced by war. Warfare is no longer the normal but the abnormal condition of man. Thus within and without it is love that underlies modern civilization.

Look at the matter from another standpoint. It is this principle alone that makes possible the growth of mind and soul. Convergence of races is the only condition under which mind can develop. The development of the intelligence and the growth of the soul come only when one individual is able to share and profit by the experience of another. A hermit can have no high mental development and no morality. He may be independent, but his intelligence must be of a low order, for mental development comes only from contact of mind with mind. He may not be immoral, but a positive morality he cannot have, for morality concerns the relation of man with man. It has been well said that Christianity requires two men and God. God and one man can never produce Christianity, for the very essence of Christianity is found in the relation of man with man. Every increase in the complexity of society demands an increase in the complexity of the mental and moral nature of man to meet it. The development of mind and soul requires thus the association of men in large communities. The reverse is sometimes thought to be true. Certainly the lowest moral conditions are found among the inhabitants of the city, and we commonly find that men of broad intellect come from the country. But we must remember that the moral nature must be more than a negative quality. Moral strength comes from temptations resisted, not from a lack of temptations, and the broader the relations the more positive the moral nature. It is true that in the city some do fall very low, but it is neverthe-

less also true that it is under the complex conditions of the city that there is the greatest chance of the development of moral strength. The great men of the ages have lived with men and not alone, for the development of positive mind and positive intellect is possible only where man is associated with man. The country may produce, but can never develop, the genius. It is broad contact of man with man that brings intellectual powers into play, and the genius of the country must broaden his vision or he fails. A Gladstone is impossible in a small tribe. Lincoln was great only after he left the backwoods and assumed his relations with the millions of his fellow-men. An Indian chief may have the intellect to develop the statesman, if he lived among the nations, but as an Indian he can never become more than the warrior.

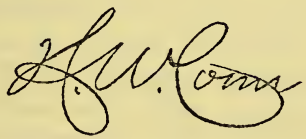
With these ideas in mind the great significance of the new law of nature is clear. In the development of the body one generation does not profit by the experience of another. In the development of mind, however, experience accumulates. In the development of the body it is the unit that must be preserved for advance; in the development of mind it is only by the advance of the race that growth is possible. Thus it is that the law of natural selection acting alone results in the development of body, or when acting upon mankind produces the many individual tribes at enmity with each other. The law of love when perfected will unite man into one brotherhood, in which the mental power will be the resultant of all, and hence in the long run will rise to the higher level. Union produces the advance of the whole race together, and not of a class or clique. The law of love produces the greatest good to the greatest number. Natural selection must be the law for the development of physical structure, for isolation and extermination of the weak are necessary factors in such an evolution; but to develop the mighty mind and soul the necessary condition is union, and for this nature's law is love. Every step toward the diffusion of knowledge, every incident that leads nations to a better knowledge of each other, every bit of missionary work that broadens human sympathies, everything that leads to closer union is a step toward advance, while everything that leads toward disintegration of nations is a step backward.

Thus it is, that man in his development comes under a new law and characterizes a new phase of evolution. The grand conception of the history of the universe shows us its threefold nature—the evolution of worlds, the evolution of life, the evolution of mind. In each of these three phases of history a special law has been foremost. For the evolution of worlds chemical and physical forces sufficed. For the evolution of life there is necessary the law of selfishness, with the struggle for existence, and the natural selection to which it leads. For the development of mind and soul there is needed a new law still, and this we find to be the law of love for others, or altruism. World, life, soul—these are the phases of evolution. Law, strife, love—these are the laws under which nature has thus far developed.

It is only the last few years that have disclosed to us this result. It is only as we have learned of the evolution of animals as guided and controlled by the law of natural selection, and then as we have come to think of the development of man and the laws under which he has developed, that this grand conception of the universe has dawned upon our minds. Two thousand years ago it was announced to the world that the law under which man should live and develop was the law of altruism, but it was not understood. The followers of Christ failed entirely to comprehend it; the centuries that followed failed to understand it in the slightest degree; and century after century followed in which man was still controlled almost wholly by the principle of selfishness and strife. But altruism slowly made its way into the hearts of men. This lesson, that the law of man is the law of love, has been subjected to the test of the centuries. It has been tried by the fires of superstition, by the fires of persecution, by the fires of the wars of religion, and the fires of the Inquisition; and yet through them all it has retained its integrity and has come to the close of each century nobler and truer and clearer.

When a few years ago science turned its attention to the study of the evolution of life it was thought that the result would be the destruction of the principles of Christianity, and that this hope of the centuries would be laid low should the theory of evolution prove a fact. When the principle of natural selection was disclosed it was thought by some that this law, so

diametrically opposed to the doctrine of Christ, was a stigma upon Christianity. How could the same God be the author of the law of selfishness and the law of love? Little did it appear then that this same line of scientific study would in a short time teach that the doctrine of Christianity is the capstone of the arch which has been built by the history of the ages. For, however much we may have felt this law of love to be designed for us, it has been science itself that has disclosed its crowning position in the evolution of the universe. To science, then, Christianity owes a debt of gratitude deeper than it has fully conceived. While science has in past years been disclosing to us the evolution of worlds, while it has been explaining the evolution of life, it is now beginning to tell us of the evolution of mind. While it has found a sufficient cause for the evolution of worlds in the physical laws of nature, while it has found the efficient cause of the evolution of life in the laws of strife and the struggle for existence, it is beginning to recognize to-day that the only law under which is possible the evolution of mind and soul is the law which was disclosed to us two thousand years ago by the lowly Nazarene. Faith, hope, love, and the greatest of these is love. This is the teaching, not only handed down to us from the inspired writings of the fathers of Christianity, but it is also the teaching which is to-day becoming more and more clear as the result of our study of nature, guided by the thought of evolution.



Art. V.—THE NECESSITY OF CHURCH MEMBERSHIP.

In order that the necessity of Church membership may be rightly understood, it will be well for us first to get some notion of what the New Testament Church is. It has been quite generally supposed that because Christ said to Peter, "Upon this rock I will build my Church," he meant a new Church, or another body of peculiar people entirely separated from, and independent of, the peculiar people as instituted by the faith of Abraham. But he never spoke of making, erecting, or building another Church. The supposition that he did necessarily involves the setting aside of the plan of salvation which both Christ and the prophets taught, and supposes the introduction of a plan essentially different and independent. In this conversation with Peter the Lord spoke of "my Church," the company of the "called out," the "separated," the "community of believers," the "peculiar people." It was no new Church, no new plan, but "my" Church, instituted at the call of Abraham; and he declared that he was about to do something with it and for it. And that something was that he would build it on a rock. It is not necessary to discuss here who or what that rock was, for it is not relevant to our case; but it is well for us to know what he meant by building his Church.

Now, the term "build" is quite an elastic one, adapting its significance to the peculiar demands of the case in which it is used, such as to *frame*, *construct*, *increase*, *strengthen*, *settle*, *establish*, *preserve*, etc. And its Scripture significance is especially to *increase*, *strengthen*, *settle*, *bless*, *preserve*, *knit together*, *edify*, etc. In New Testament Greek it and its derivatives occur about seventy times, and are rendered *edify*, *edifying*, and *edification* some twenty times; and a careful analysis of all passages in which it occurs referable to the Almighty God as the actor will reveal the fact that it always refers to some well-known, existing thing to be improved and made better, and never to a new thing to be set up or erected, then or thereafter.

Now, there is one thing patent to all who are New Testament students—that at the time of Christ's conversation with Peter it was not a settled matter in the minds of all whether

Jesus was or was not the Christ. Another thing is self-evident —that, whatever he might do with the Church and for the Church must be done upon the supposition of the great, all-controlling, and fundamental fact that he was the Christ. He says to Peter, "Whom do men say that I the Son of man am?" Peter answers, "Some say you are one, some that you are another." "But whom say ye that I am?" Peter says, "Thou art the Christ." "You," says Christ, "have said the truth." Now, giving any explanation he may choose to the rest of the conversation, no Christian can get away from the great fundamental truth and doctrine that then and thereafter, as indeed theretofore prospectively, the divine blessing, enlargement, and up-building of the Church—the then existing Church, God's community of believers, the body of the faithful—must grow out of and recognize this Christologic fact just uttered by Peter. There may be room for difference of belief as to some other elements in this conversation; but there is no room for difference as to the principles on which Christ would build up, bless, and enlarge his Church. Jesus is the Christ; therefore all Church enlargement, blessing, and strengthening must emanate from him and rest on him. Other foundation hath no man laid. This is the foundation on which the prophets built. And Paul, in speaking of the salvation of the Gentiles, says (Eph. iii, 5, 6), "Which in other ages [that is, in the times of the patriarchs and prophets] was not made known unto the sons of men, as it is now revealed unto his holy apostles and prophets by the Spirit; that the Gentiles should be fellow-heirs, and of the same body." What body? Evidently the body of Christ. But what do the Scriptures teach us is the body of Christ? The Church. But in this same epistle Paul conveys the thought that the Church antedates even the age of the prophets; that in the dispensation of the fullness of times all things in Christ are to be gathered together in one, both those which are in heaven and those which are on earth; and that Christ is the Head over all things to the Church, which is his body.

From this we clearly infer that Christ was not intending to build another Church, but was merely affirming that a new and more blessed order of things was about to be introduced in the same Church. The Church which came into being under the call of Abraham and was built up, strengthened, and bound

together by faith in the divine promise shall hereafter be built up, strengthened, and held together by faith in the promise fulfilled—in the Christ, now come. So, then, the Church of the New Testament is not a different Church, but the same Church, which has already come through its primal or patriarchal age, its intermediate, scholastic, or theocratic age, into its culminating or militant age; in which, beginning at Jerusalem, it was to march forth to the conquest of the world, and then enter upon its sabbatic, glorified, or triumphant age eternal.

As to the necessity of visible union with this Church, we must next inquire, What was required of them who claimed faith in God and fellowship with the saints in the ages of the Church past? Every careful reader of God's word must know that in the Jewish Church not only was circumcision, instead of which baptism is now in place, required, as a mark of membership in the communion of the faithful and of acceptance with God, but that by other precise ceremonies of induction, such as anointings, washings, purifications, and offerings, everyone was required to make recognition of divine authority, of ecclesiastical unity, and of *faith;* and whoever presumed on a place among the peculiar people of God, or on his acceptance with God, and conformed not to these ceremonial requirements, was not only rejected but pronounced accursed.* The Church is a divine institution, and from the very first was an organized one. And in the patriarchal age it had as many denominations as there were tribes; among whom, in some instances, probably more difference existed as to minor points of faith and polity than exists now among the orthodox evangelical Churches. There were the Reubenites, the Danites, the Ephraimites, the Gadites, the Judaites, etc., between whom were as great differences, in some particulars, as may be found to-day between the Lutherans, Presbyterians, and Methodists. In the scholastic or theocratic age of the Church there were just as many denominations as there were schools of prophets; but they were all confederated under one common head, just as the orthodox Churches are to-day confederated, through justification, by faith in the Lord Jesus Christ as their common Head. Whether or not there were different denominations, differing in some points of doctrine and

* See Lev. x, 1, 2; xvii, 8, 9; Num. xv, 13-16.

polity, in the apostolic age, one thing we do know—there were different churches; and, from the tenor of the epistles to these churches, they certainly were not a unit in all points, either of doctrine or of polity. But they were all confederated into one body of Christian believers, having faith in, and being baptized into, the one common body of Jesus Christ. So, then, the denominational condition of the Church cuts no figure at all as an excuse for nonaffiliation or nonunion with the Church.

But in all ages the Church has been an organic body; and at no time has it had the need of being more so than under the New Testament *régime*, in which it is arrayed as a militant host for aggressive operations against the powers of darkness. But an organization must have rules and members and officers. Taking the New Testament itself for a witness, the Church of the New Testament had rules—rules for the treatment and disciplining of an erring brother; rules for the relations existing between husband and wife, parent and child, master and servant, neighbor and neighbor; rules for righteous living and purity; rules for giving for the support of the Church, for the relief of the needy; and rules for the management of charities. It also had a law for the observance of the holy communion; a law setting forth our preeminent duty to God; and a law covering our duty to our fellow-man. Indeed, the Church of the New Testament was full of rules; and for it Christ not only reaffirmed the decalogue, condensed by him into two compact sentences, but laid down other regulations, some of them contained in his own comments on his prayer, which, unless practiced, must shut the gates of life against the offender. And as to officers, the New Testament Church had deacons and elders. Now, how did they become such? Did an ecclesiastical mob make them? Or did they presumptuously assume the diaconate and eldership? We are very sure not. But just as Matthew was chosen to the apostleship and the seven were chosen to the stewardship, so both deacons and elders were selected by a vote of the Church in session assembled. One thing is beyond all question—the New Testament form of the Church is even more severely an organized form than any other since the first call of God's people to visible union among themselves and separateness from the world. And an organized body of necessity implies a membership joined together by some

creed and polity to which each one has subscribed his assent and devotion.

Often it is affirmed that God can be served just as well out of the Church as in it. If we deny this we are answered by the affirmation, "We do not hold that anyone can serve God acceptably out of the spiritual Church of Christ into which the new birth inducts us; but we do not subscribe to the need of union with the visible denominations termed, as a whole, the Church." But, we ask, for what kind of Church did Christ lay down his rules and reaffirm the decalogue? What kind of churches elected deacons and elders? And what kind of churches did Paul and the other apostles organize and establish in Asia Minor, Gaul, Italy, and other places? They were, without doubt, joined by the operation of the Holy Ghost to the *ἐκκλησία πνευματική* and every member who was really and truly born again was thus inducted into spiritual union with Christ. But we most emphatically affirm that these churches were, in a remarkable degree, very "visible." If Paul understood himself when he spoke he understood that the body, the visible body, of the believer was to be in visible union with the Church—the visible body of Christ. "Know ye not," he says, when exhorting to bodily purity, "know ye not that your bodies are the members of Christ?" And, "We, being many, are one body in Christ, and everyone members one of another." In his letter to the Corinthians he says, "I robbed [or, rather, carried away from] other churches, taking wages of them, to do you service." Pray, what kind of churches did he rob, or take wages from? Were they a lot of invisible, ethereal "sublimitates?" Or were they visible, unaffiliated, unorganized? Paul could hardly have carried any wages away from such bodies. The truth is, these churches were thoroughly organized and visible. If we are to understand anything from the references of John to the bishops of the several churches we must consider them to be both organic and visible, and that such a condition of the Church was essential for the promotion of the interests of Christ in the world. If essential, then it is the duty of all the followers of Christ to be so confederated. A matter of duty in our relations to God is equivalent to requirement; and failure to meet a requirement deprives one of the blessed results of obedience to the divine

will and, therefore, to all that the atonement in Christ has put in the reach of every believer. In other words, it means alienation from God, which, if persisted in, means eternal death.

But, if Christ is ready and willing to receive one as his accredited follower outside the pale of the visible Church he is ready and willing to receive another. If he will own one he will own two, and if two, then any number; for he is "no respecter of persons." He has not regulations for one and "irregulations" for another. But if irregularities, irregulation, and noncommitment to prescribed rules and nonassumption of prescribed vows could be allowed by the great Head of the Church to his followers, then where would be the members, whence the officers, and where their authority? How could there be any organization, and where would be the visible Church of Christ? It will not do to affirm that it exists in the individual believer; for from the beginning the visible Church has been an organized community of believers.

At no time has this community been more essential than now to the militant character and office of the Church. When Paul returned from Damascus he immediately "assayed to join himself to the disciples." But if there ever was a man who had a divinely invested right to act independently of the Church it was Paul; for God told him that he was a chosen vessel for a special purpose, a special detail, under God, for a special work beyond the limits of the then existent Church. But Paul was obedient to every requirement of God in him. Therefore, being filled with the same spirit with which the disciples were inspired, he was as naturally drawn into the communion of the visible body of Christ as the condensed moisture of the atmosphere is precipitated to the earth by gravitation. If there is no such drawing into this visible communion the evidence is most conclusive that the spirit of Christ is not in us. And if we have not the spirit of Christ we are none of his; and if none of his, then what? Why, this, and nothing else—we are aliens from the commonwealth of Israel and in a lost condition. While union with the visible Church will not save without union with Christ by the Spirit, yet in the very nature of the case spiritual union with Christ must manifest itself in a visible community or its salvable efficacy will soon be dissipated and lost.

The Church is, beyond all question, a divinely appointed institution; and entering within its pale and taking its vows are divinely appointed duties—essential duties for Christian life and, hence, to salvation. No lodge, order, or other institution can take its place or be substituted for it. Its sacred ordinances and means of grace, which are not and cannot be maintained but by an organized, visible communion of believers, we are strictly commanded to observe. Even the various analogies by which the Church is represented, such as "army," "body," "kingdom," etc., indicate its organic nature and the especial need of visible and substantial union with it. Whoever heard of one really and truly born of the Spirit who wanted to throw any obstacles in the way of his highest usefulness in the world? Yet there is one who claims to have the "baptism of the Holy Spirit," but who stands off from the Church, declines the company of the people of God in holy compact, refuses his recognition to the visible Church as a divine institution, willingly allows himself to be classed with outsiders, and would have everyone now in visible union with the Church be a "come-outer" and be numbered with the outsiders too. He thus lends his influence to the moral estrangement of the world from Christ, as against the moral adhesion of the Church to Christ. He by precept and example preaches indifference to, and disapproval of, the great evangelical, benevolent, and educational enterprises of the Church. His position declares, so far as he is concerned, that the preaching of the Gospel and the celebration of the holy sacraments may forever cease. His entire attitude is a pompously sophisticated arraignment of the apostles for having ever affirmed their belief in the "communion of saints." Can any rational mind believe that such a one is born of the Spirit of Christ? Does not his attitude toward the Church and its sacred ordinances indicate, the rather, that he has been woefully hoodwinked by the great deceiver, instead of enlightened and quickened by the Spirit of Christ? To stand aloof from the Church and condemn it as a "man-made" institution is to condemn some of the most sacred things of all times. The tabernacle in the wilderness, with all its paraphernalia and services, was man-made; but it was also God-planned and God-commanded. The temple, with its vessels and ceremonies, was man-made; but it was also God-required. The Holy Bible is preeminently man-

made; but it is God's revelation and is divinely inspired. The Church, with its various denominations, may be man-made; but these denominations, confederated by a common creed and the one fundamental dogma of justification by faith in the Lord Jesus Christ as symbolized in the celebration of the holy sacraments, constitute the visible body of Christ and become the reincarnation of his spirit.

When we speak of Church membership as a voluntary matter we are apt to lose sight of the fact that it is not voluntary, as many other privileges are voluntary. A man may join a secret order or club or not, as he may please, and he may have neglected no duty. But the Church, being a divine, though in matters of polity in some respects a man-made, institution, having been founded on the Christologic fact stated by Peter, that Jesus is the Christ, and having been declared to be the "pillar and ground of truth," and Christ having made it his special charge and organ, union with it becomes a duty—an essential duty and need in order to a sincere and sufficient allegiance to the dominion of Christ. Through it the Spirit, Christ's successor on earth, operates for the salvation of the world.

There is no other institution like the Church. Though it may often have been weakened and corrupted by mercenary and unholy men, yet it has ever been the organ of the divine Spirit, the authorized representative of the Lord Jesus Christ.

If we expect to succeed in anything we must employ every means and help in our reach; and in the Church, and the Church alone, are found the very helps we need for efficient and acceptable service in the Lord's vineyard and for successful prosecution of the warfare of faith to a triumphant conclusion. In it we have both visible and spiritual union with the great Head of the Church. Its ordinances, its means of grace, its fellowship, its unity of faith and action, its channels of service in evangelical, charitable, and educational enterprises, its Gospel ministry and systematic dissemination of the word, its cooperative efforts under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, for the evangelization of the world, all make the Church necessary to whoever would be a true soldier of the cross and a sincere follower of the Lamb.

In Christ we are saved. Out of Christ we are lost. But to be in Christ and out of his visible body—the Church—is an absurdity. As the Church is the reincarnation of Christ by the

Holy Ghost given unto it on the day of Pentecost, whoso has the experience of the new birth by the operation of the Holy Ghost is as forcibly drawn toward and into the Church, the visible body of Christ, as is the food of the polypode, touched by its arms, drawn into its body. The new birth turns a man toward the Church as naturally as the living plant turns to the sun or the magnetized needle to the pole. If we have no drawing toward the Church we have a most conclusive evidence that, though we may claim the Spirit, the Spirit does not own or acknowledge us, and that there still remains within us a darkened mind, if not also an "evil heart of unbelief." "By one Spirit are we all baptized into one body." "Those that be planted in the house of the Lord shall flourish in the courts of our God." "As true civil liberty is freedom in the law, but not from the law," so true religious liberty is freedom in the Church, but not from the Church. And as freedom in the law is the highest civil liberty, so freedom in the Church is the liberty in which we are free indeed.

Wm W. Lance

Art. VI.—STUDIES IN RECENT FICTION.

The golden age of English fiction began with the publication of Scott's *Waverley*, in 1814, and ended with the death of George Eliot, in 1880. There had been much good work before, and there has been much since, but those were the days of giants. In addition to the great names which open and close it the period comprises all the works of Thackeray and Dickens; the remarkable Brontë novels; the powerful historical and sociological romances of Charles Kingsley; the clever and exciting stories of Captain Marryatt, Charles Reade, and Wilkie Collins; the clever but not exciting stories of Anthony Trollope; the voluminous works of Bulwer-Lytton, Lord Beaconsfield, G. P. R. James, and many lesser lights. The novels of the American Cooper and Hawthorne may also be fairly included.

The inferiority of the present age of fiction is not, however, in quantity. More novels are written now than ever before. In 1857 Professor Masson, in his lectures on the "British Novelists," estimated the number of novels published in Great Britain at two a week, or one hundred a year, and put in a pathetic plea that he should not be considered to have read them all. But now the London *Athenæum* reviews from six to ten novels a week, or about four hundred a year. These are mostly British novels, leaving untouched the most of Continental and American fiction. When we also remember that the reader of English is supplied with a large number of translations from French, German, Dutch, Spanish, Russian, and Scandinavian novels it is a very mild and moderate statement to say that the hungry novel reader can have his choice of ten new novels every week, or five hundred a year. Indeed, an alleged compilation from trade reports asserts that in 1895 there were fourteen hundred new novels published in the United States, five hundred and seventy-three of which were by American and eight hundred and twenty-seven by foreign authors.

If these last surprising figures be accepted as true it is probable that they include not merely such novels as form a part of the real literature of the age, but also that great mass of fiction found in the story papers, in the paper-covered trash sold on railroad trains, and in the voluminous juvenile literature some

of which is adapted to Sunday schools and some of which is very decidedly not. These Sunday school and juvenile books contain, however, some very good reading, and occasionally one of them gets over the line and becomes a part of our real literature, as Miss Alcott's *Little Women* and Mrs. Prentiss's *Stepping Heavenward.*

Many writers are very near the line which divides literature from nonliterature, and opinions will differ as to their precise place. Mrs. Barr and Mrs. Phelps Ward are just within the line. So was Mrs. Stowe, but Mrs. Southworth is without; E. P. Roe was barely within, and Edgar Fawcett and Julian Hawthorne are just outside. The latter is undoubtedly his father's true son, but his novels are illegitimate—of which his recent prize story is sadly convincing. Judging by sales the most popular author in the United States is one we do not care to name, whose books are always in paper covers and are sold mostly on railroads. Such authors frequently have more readers than many of talent or even genius.

Some writers are disposed to restrict the term novel to the analytic or realistic school, in which the greatest stress is laid on character, while the incidents are subordinate, must be probable or even commonplace, and are used merely to bring out character. In the romantic school the scene is usually remote in time or place or both, and the incidents are of an unusual, thrilling, or even supernatural character, having a vivid interest in themselves entirely apart from the persons connected with them. The "short story," now so popular, may be either a novel or romance, but inclines to the latter. In common speech we use the term novel as generic, and divide it into the realistic and romantic schools. There has always been a strife between these two, and it never raged more fiercely than at present. The realists have the more books, for four fifths of present ventures in fiction are society novels, but the romanticists have the more readers.

The realists claim that all the stories have been told, and that we now need only studies of character and such characters as are about us in everyday life. But the romantic party reply that this is just what we do not want. We see the commonplace ourselves, and when we read we want to get away from it. If we are still to be reminded of ourselves the remem-

brance should be of the noblest and best of our emotions and experiences, not of "the trivial round, the common task." There are some things we never weary of, told by either school. Every youth who reads a love scene imagines himself in a similar one, and from the proposals in the novels forms plans for a similar performance on his own part, which plans, by the way, never exactly materialize. On the other hand, books like the *Scarlet Letter* and the *Manxman* appeal to us powerfully, because they discuss familiar temptations and hold up before us lurid lights to warn us, or beacons to show us the path of penitence and atonement. No author of either school can be of the first rank unless he deals with the highest and mightiest parts of our nature, and these cannot be expressed without notes of mighty passion, either good or evil.

The realists claim to depict life as it is, but it is doubtful if they are doing this any more than their rivals are. Heroes who fight savages and pirates are about as common as unfaithful wives. The exploits of Sherlock Holmes find as many parallels in real detective work as ordinary society supplies for the tales of Ibsen, Tolstoi, and the French school. These authors are true enough as far as they go. If one may judge from an exceedingly limited reading, the worst thing in them is their ghastly, terrible truthfulness. But we protest against having the deeds of brutal, vile, and impure men and women held up to us as pictures of universal social conditions. Dr. Richard Burton has rechristened this school as "Partialists," and the name deserves hearty indorsement.

We question the fitness of some real topics for the use of art. The processes of digestion and the problems of city sewage are undoubted realities, but we relegate the discussion of them to treatises on physiology and civics. Much which a certain literary school heralds as art, and even the highest art, is really no more fitted for artistic purposes than a diagram of the alimentary canal is fitted for framing as a parlor picture.

There is another branch of the realistic school, and its god is the commonplace. Instead of unbridled passion these writers give us a deadly tameness. Instead of frantic immoralities they give us maddening puerilities. We soon grow weary of these. We turn from parlor chairs and tea tables, from grocery wagons and clothing stores, vastly preferring to stir our blood and

awaken our laughter by the exciting adventures and the gay humor of the romantic school.

Walter Besant says there are in England fifty novelists who have an income of five thousand dollars or more from their writings. This statement probably includes the Scottish writers. America probably has as many novelists as Great Britain, but in spite of patriotism we fear their average ability and average income are both smaller than those of their transatlantic rivals. Yet, with a hundred men and women writing English fiction to-day, it is hard to select any whose work can be compared to "that large utterance of the early gods." The ablest woman novelist of to-day is undoubtedly Mrs. Humphry Ward, who is indeed superior to all of her sex except George Eliot—at least to those who have written in English. Not very long ago the preeminence among men would have lain between Stevenson, Haggard, and Kipling—a statement which in itself shows our present inferiority, for not one of these is worthy to bear the shoes of Scott, or Thackeray, or even Kingsley. Some will claim for Stevenson, whom we can hardly yet consider gone, the first rank of this age; but this honor now seems to more properly belong to Hall Caine, whose *Manxman* has placed a third dweller upon that lofty eminence where Hawthorne's *Scarlet Letter* and the German Auerbach's *On the Heights* have so long stood in gloomy grandeur.

Some have claimed for Howells the first rank, even setting him above the great masters of the previous age; but this claim is by the most extreme devotees of the commonplace. Howells's real rank we take to be about equal to that of Jane Austen. He has a gift of smooth and easy language, a clear understanding of human nature, and considerable facility in expressing some very good moral ideas. These alone, however, do not make a great novelist. Once and once only Howells showed a touch of power, the faculty absolutely indispensable to an artist of the first rank. In *A Modern Instance* he for once released himself and ventured to show the workings of powerful passion. The result showed what he might do if, instead of dallying with charmingly inconsistent women and everyday men, he would deal with those mighty impulses which are just as real as society calls and five o'clock teas. But, apparently, he was frightened at himself, and has never dared to do as well

again. Some years ago some admirer predicted that he would yet give us a great sociological novel, which would be to the end of the century what *Les Misérables* was to its middle; but, thus far, his only production in this line is the dreary inanity of his *Traveler from Altruria.*

Recent fiction, like all other, falls into the two classes of stories with a purpose and stories intended to amuse. The first inclines to the realistic school, and the second to the romantic. Of course the division is not absolute. Haggard claims to be a preacher, and Besant certainly amuses us even when he is teaching the duty of the rich to the poor. We are told on high authority that Bellamy wrote *Looking Backward* purely as a literary venture, without any thought of becoming the apostle of a new social order. On the other hand, so wild and fantastic a romance as Kipling's *Nanlahka* suddenly leaps out at us with the great moral lessons that honesty is better than successful smartness and that the divinest thing a woman may be made is that she should be made a wife and a mother. At present the "purpose novel" is greatly in evidence. Novels are written to advance some moral or social reform, or even develop some scientific theory. Socialism is a great fad, both in works of real literature and those of a lower grade. Medical and psychological novels are much in vogue. Religious questions are studied, as in *Robert Elsmere*, *John Ward*, and that nightmare of a book, *The Story of an African Farm.*

Some very sharply criticise the purpose novel, saying that art should be only for art's sake. This theory, however, usually results in immoral art, and is significantly connected with some persons of immoral lives. Art cannot make the evil good or the impure pure. Addison said that dullness was the parent of indecency, but to-day some seem to think that indecency is the parent of art. As some men have tried to be great by imitating the foibles of great men, so some think they can be geniuses by emulating the indecency into which some great geniuses have unquestionably fallen. But the artist who has a purpose must be careful that this does not destroy his art. No one wants a set discourse when he reads a novel. One who finds that his book, instead of turning out a song, is turning out a sermon feels like a child who has been tricked into taking medicine in his candy. *Looking Backward* is mostly unread-

able, except to students of social science, if Bellamy was writing a mere romance. On the other hand, such a study of social questions as we have in *Marcella* is excellent art.

It is noteworthy that some of the books which have lately had the greatest run are not books of either high purpose or high art. Years ago, in a sermon, Adam Clarke brought against most of the novelists of his day a triple indictment which applies to a good many of the present herd: (1) "Their plans are sickly abortions of paralyzed intellect." (Apparently Nordau was not the first to discover "degeneration.") (2) "Their execution is fantastic and preposterous." (3) "Their issue is dangerous, often destructive, and generally ruinous."

The "sickly abortions of paralyzed intellect" in our day are by one critic divided into three schools, "the erotic, the neurotic, and the tommy-rotic." This last adjective is apt to bewilder those unfamiliar with London slang, and a better classification is that of a sarcastic publisher who received an author with, "A new novel, eh! Which school is this, erotic or idiotic?" The last depth of woe is reached when these two schools are fused into one, as seems to be occasionally the case. We can forgive E. P. Roe for the poverty of his art, because his morals are so good; we can forgive Stevenson for the poverty of his morals, because his art is so good; but when we see a book without either art or morals the rage of a season we fall back with a certain relief upon Carlyle's famous statement that people are mostly fools.

An unpleasant sign of inferiority in recent fiction is the vulgarity of tone which disfigures some work having good qualities. The real topic of the *Yellow Aster* seems to be the divine glory of motherhood; but everybody who has unfortunately read the book will keenly appreciate a certain able critic's caustic characterization of it as "the most vulgar book I've ever been guilty of reading." The dialect craze has been carried to the point of vulgarity. The New Orleans creoles say they will never forgive Cable for his use of their dialect, and it is certain that no one else ever will. We are tired of Miss Murfree's Tennessee mountaineers. The negro, the Irishman, and of late the street boy have become almost literally an unspeakable nuisance. A similar thing is the tendency shown by some, notably by Kipling, to use a coarse slang which sometimes passes

the bounds of decency. It is possible to be strong and vivid without using the language of the gutter and the barroom.

Recent fiction is open to serious criticism in regard to its use of incident. In the tamest realists this consists chiefly in nonuse, some of their books hardly having anything more thrilling than the boy's diary of "Got up, washed, and went to bed." Others use incidents in a very clumsy and awkward way, dragging them in because it seems necessary to have something happen. In *Ships that Pass in the Night* Miss Harraden finds it necessary to get rid of her heroine; so she sends her out into the street and has a wagon run over her, concerning which Charles Dudley Warner deliciously says, "Such a thing might happen in real life, but couldn't possibly in a novel." Some novelists offend by the use of ghastly and frightful incident, not properly relieved by skillful art. In Stevenson's *Wrecker* a whole ship's crew is slaughtered. Hardy's "Tess" commits murder and dies on the scaffold. In Crockett's *Raiders* the hero finds a gang of outlaws cutting up a human body. These specimens are amply sufficient. We do not, however, agree with the late Professor Boyesen in his sneer at the "brutal atrocities and sickening butcheries" of Haggard, Doyle, and others, so far as it is a question of fair fight. The battles in *Westward Ho!* are certainly not "sickening butcheries," and recent fiction has some almost as good. In fact, the best fight we know of in fiction is the story of "How Umslopogoas held the Stair," in Haggard's *Allan Quatermain*. Our blood is stirred by such writing, as it is by the actual histories of the Light Brigade and of the Old Guard at Waterloo.

Some of the preternatural incidents in the romantic school are not well handled. Haggard's "She" is two thousand years old, yet still young and beautiful. But her companions are two modern Englishmen, armed with rifles and revolvers, fighting Africans much as Cooper's heroes fight redskins. The two conceptions fit poorly together. The romanticists are also the chief sinners in regard to repulsive incident; but they more than get even with the realists by retorting upon them their tendency to morbid studies in character and their loathsome habit of making so many stories turn upon the matter of impurity.

Recent fiction fails sadly in the creation of characters. Who are the successors to the wonderful creations of Scott, Thackeray, Dickens, and George Eliot? They are "Terence Mulvaney," a rough and drunken Irish soldier, and "Sherlock Holmes," the amateur detective. Haggard has given us in "Umslopogoas" an African chief who surpasses Cooper's "Chingachgook," but "Allan Quatermain" is no "Leatherstocking." The novelists of to-day are weak in men, and weaker in women. Some of Stevenson's stories have no women in them, and those who appear in others are not much better than the frames which display dresses in the shops. "Marcella" is the only live woman in recent fiction, and she is little better than Charles Reade's women, whom she resembles in some respects. Some writers of the past, Scott, for instance, were not especially happy in drawing women, but at least they gave us those we would be willing to have for sisters and wives. But now, after "Tess," and "Dodo," and "Trilby," we begin to fear our novelists are trying to deserve the sneer once aimed at Bret Harte, that with him no woman was a heroine until she had fallen. Even when our present writers portray for us historical characters they fail. Conan Doyle has lately given us the "Black Prince," and Stanley J. Weyman "Henry of Navarre." The prince is cardboard, and the Huguenot hero little better. What a pity Scott could not have left us portraits of these to match his "Richard I" and "Charles the Bald!"

Numerous as are the novels of to-day, very few of them are likely to acquire any lasting popularity or reputation. Their very numbers carry them down as the victims of a shipwreck drag each other under. Books that were a sensation and a rage a few years ago are now almost forgotten. Many are like the insects which live a lifetime in an hour. *Trilby* is less than three years old, and has had a marvelous circulation, but is already dead in the market. There is usually an inverse ratio between quantity and quality. It is simply impossible that a novelist who produces four novels a year, as Marion Crawford does, should produce any one of very high art or very great power. We cannot expect an *Ivanhoe*, a *Scarlet Letter*, *Vanity Fair*, *David Copperfield*, or *Adam Bede* very often, when we are getting five or six hundred novels a year.

The cause of this superabundant supply lies in the com-

mercialism of the age. Literature is now a profession, and a very profitable one to a writer who can supply the popular goods. *Trilby* has brought its lucky author at least one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars. Novelists are like most other people, and enjoy making money. They fritter away in magazine stories and short books material and genius which might produce a masterpiece. When a novelist has made a reputation his name will sell all he can produce, and he too often writes for revenue only. This branch of literature needs to-day men and women who do not care so much for money and immediate fame as to produce the highest art, who can take some mighty conception and work upon it until we once more have a masterpiece. For masterpieces are not made in a day nor to order. Only a man of such genius as comes but once in centuries, a Shakespeare, say, could produce high art with a printer's devil at the door shouting for copy and a ten-thousand-dollar check waiting at the publisher's.

One result of the enormous production of fiction is the repetition of the same ideas, incidents, and characters. Even titles have been used more than once. This is seldom the result of plagiarism. Sometimes it is mere accidental coincidence, and sometimes an unconscious echo of some half-forgotten author. Sometimes it is the reappearance of one of the great types of human experience and thought. The conception of *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* can be traced back over two hundred years to a play of the Spanish dramatist Calderon. Once more we confess that "there is no new thing under the sun."

Since this is so, where is the mighty genius, for whom we all are longing to find a topic? It is not necessary that he should have a new story to tell. Shakespeare's stories were all old, even in his day. Originality of treatment is more needed than originality of topic. The mazes of the human heart have not yet been all explored. Hawthorne, Auerbach, and Hall Caine have told us much the same story, yet in wonderfully variant ways. But the writer in search of a comparatively fresh field will find that such epochs as the East Indian Sepoy mutiny and the American civil war are untouched by any genius, and that the age is waiting for some one who can deal with the great topic of the relations between Christianity and sociology.

A story upon this last theme would be a purpose novel of the

very highest class. Such novels are not always the most entertaining, but are the most profitable. Those who read for pleasure will find it mostly in the romantic school. Its stories are usually short, and can often be read at a sitting. A man tired in body or in brain when he began will feel much refreshed as he rises, chuckling with delight, from such a book as Crockett's *Lilac Sunbonnet* or Davis's *Princess Aline.* But the one who reads only for pleasure will miss the mightiest works of the mightiest minds.

This paper may perhaps appear somewhat pessimistic. It is useless to deny the inferiority of recent fiction, but we must remember that fiction is but following the course of all departments of all literatures. All "golden ages" lie near the beginning. It was inevitable that fiction should descend on one side into delicate and pretty works and on the other into morbid and extravagant forms. Yet the immediate prospect is encouraging. The appearance in one year—1894—of two such novels as *Marcella* and the *Manæman*, both superior to anything else since George Eliot, and crowding very near the first rank, was a very hopeful sign. There is a healthy revulsion against the morbid and unclean forms of fiction. The popular "short story," in which Americans excel as much as the English do in the longer novel, may not be the highest art, but is nearly always bright, healthful, and pleasing. The sparkling wit of Davis, the powerful portraits from American life by Harold Frederic and Miss Wilkins, the historical works of Weyman in French fields, and of Gilbert Parker and Miss Catherwood in American, the humor and pathos of the new Scotch school—these things make up an amount of good work which gives us courage for the future.

These closing years of the century will probably not see the production of any novel of the very highest rank, but they will see much bright, helpful, and hopeful writing in both English and American fiction.

Frank S. Townsend.

Art. VII.—CHINESE LITERATI IN PEKING UNIVERSITY.

The strange sight of a Chinaman walking demurely along one of the streets of Rome inspired Goethe to write one of his choice smaller poems, a poem as exquisitely beautiful as a piece of rare chinaware. How the soul of this great Teutonic poet and philosopher would be stirred could he behold Chinese *literati*, possessing the highest literary degrees, peacefully and patiently pursuing their studies in a Christian institution in Peking! Truly the unexpected has happened. During the past year an event has occurred to be paralleled nowhere else in the Flowery Kingdom. Chinese *literati*, representing the three regular governmental ranks of Hsiu-Tsai, Chü-Jên, and Chin-Shih, and also that pinnacle of Chinese scholarship, the Hanlin, or "Forest of Pencils," have been docile students in Peking University. Jehovah has accomplished this by using Japan as his "rod of iron." What the efficient United States Commission state in their recent report to the Secretary of State in regard to the dastardly murders at Ku-Cheng and in numerous former riots, as well as in the latest in Ssŭ-Ch'uan, applies equally to all:

> The *literati*, from whom nearly all the officials are chosen, are, almost, without exception, antiforeign. This class does not hesitate, from time to time, by the circulation of false and ridiculous rumors and by incendiary publications, to play upon the superstitions and cupidity of the rowdy element, thus inciting this rowdy class to acts of lawlessness and violence.

Now, when we consider that in nearly every riot against foreigners and Christianity in China these *literati* have been proved to be the instigators, and also the fact that the *literati* who last year entered Peking University represent all grades of Chinese governmental graduates, including the Hanlin, whose examinations are supervised by the emperor himself, we may realize to some extent how radical is their present changed attitude. By means of Japanese cannon and American money Jehovah has given Peking University the unique honor of welcoming to our Christian halls of learning these "wise men of the East." Had we to-day ten times our present resources our hands would be more than full in trying to accommodate greater

numbers of these choice, brainy youth who are now vainly asking for admission.

It may, perhaps, not be out of place to cast a glance at this Christian educational institution, located in the capital of China, which has thus attracted these representatives of the powerful *literati*, who control the public opinion of the vast Chinese empire. Peking University was organized in 1888 as an outgrowth of Wiley Institute; was incorporated under the laws of the State of New York in 1890; and graduated its first class in 1892. One fact should be especially borne in mind—that Peking University is entirely unincumbered with debt. At its inception plans were devised for raising endowments in the form of professorships, tutorships, scholarships, perpetual and annual, prize funds, and scientific supply funds, in order to relieve our already overburdened Missionary Society. With this end in view two professorships of $30,000 each have been started, four perpetual scholarships, and four prize funds for excellence in particular studies.

An admirably located property, extending over an area of thirteen acres and including in part the premises formerly belonging to the Italian legation, has been acquired. The campus was, a few years ago, tastefully planted with more than one hundred and fifty trees and shrubs—the gifts of foreign and native friends residing in Peking. Durbin Hall, a stately, substantial brick building of over two hundred feet front and two stories high, was erected four years ago as the first of a series of collegiate buildings. Now, however, the incoming rush of applicants for admission has more than crowded its utmost capacity, compelling four students to live in one room designed to accommodate only two, which is detrimental alike to health and morals. A good library in English, Chinese, and other languages, to which has been added a well-patronized reading room, has been started. To it valuable additions, including publications of the Imperial Chinese Customs and of the Smithsonian Institution at Washington, D. C., are from time to time being made. The museum, with its exhibit from various lands, is also an interesting feature of our educational work. An electric plant, valued at over $3,500 United States currency, a phonograph, a telephone, a manikin for the medical department, and various other apparatus have been collected.

In no other foreign country has an American Christian institution of learning received such hearty support as has Peking University in China. This is evidenced by the representative character of its Board of Managers, comprising diplomats, as Colonel Charles Denby, United States Minister to China, officials, as Sir Robert Hart, G.C.M.G., merchants, and missionaries of different Protestant denominations. Of the entire number of managers one third must be members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, while the Board of Trustees in New York, who hold sole and ultimate authority, is composed exclusively of members of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Viceroy Li Hung Chang has promised our medical graduates positions in his foreign-drilled army and navy, with full religious liberty. Our graduates are already doing effective work, not only in the Church, as efficient preachers and teachers, but also in business life, as in the Imperial Chinese Customs, where the Sabbath is observed as a day of rest. To their credit be it said that on Sundays they teach classes in the Sunday school and, by their gifts, support other students in Peking University.

Peking University has already proved herself to be a sanctuary of Jehovah. The remarkable revivals during the past few winters, when the usual stolidness of Chinese character was melted away, and sins were confessed, animosities healed, wrongs righted, and the joys of salvation were experienced, abundantly attest the presence of Him who is mighty to save.

An intense thirst after Western learning, which made Japan so powerful, though previously despised as an insignificant island of dwarfs, is beginning to be felt by the upper classes of China. To satisfy this thirst secular colleges and universities, where Christ and Christianity are ignored, are being, or have already been, established in Tientsin, Hangchow, and other large cities. Opposed to these stands Peking University, founded upon evangelical Christianity. The only hope for China is the renovation of both mind and heart. This can only be fully accomplished in Christian institutions. Listen to what Abel Stevens, the eminent historian of Methodism, says upon this subject:

> The project of the Peking University I do not hesitate to pronounce one of the most important phases of our whole Chinese mission scheme. We must promulgate the Gospel there, indeed, as the primary instrumen-

tality of our work. But how promulgate it? I do not doubt, after considerable local study of the question, that the Christian school is the most effective method of its promulgation. Its promulgation in any way was what, in the apostolic age, was meant by preaching it; and I am convinced that in India, China, and Japan Christian instruction is the best preaching, and the school is the best chapel. We thus bring the young under our influence; and the young in these three lands are our chief hope. Besides this instrumentality we should have, and do have, the homiletic or pulpit mode of preaching. The two should be combined, and are, in all our missions there. It should not be a question among us which is the most desirable; both should be considered indispensable and inseparable. But I am convinced that we could never be thoroughly successful without the school.

Before adducing the recent unsolicited opinions of two distinguished visitors who have personally inspected our educational work, let me repeat that, with adequate resources, Peking University could influence for Christ ten times the present number of students, instead of being compelled, as now, to absolutely limit the number to about one hundred. The recent disaster to the famous Doshisha in Japan, when the Japanese ruthlessly severed its connection with the American Board, can never happen to Peking University, because her cable is firmly anchored in the Board of Trustees in New York, who in all affairs of the university have sole ultimate authority. What Robert College has already accomplished for Bulgaria in equipping its influential citizens—officials, merchants, and preachers—with sound Christian principles and progressive American ideas, is what Peking University is aiming to do for China.

Bishop E. R. Hendrix, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, stated, in an interview at Peking in 1895, with Minister Chang, of the Tsung-Li-Yamen:

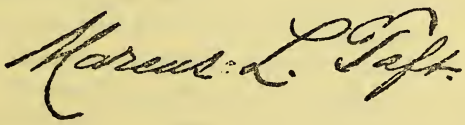
> I have spoken to hundreds of Chinese since I have been in Peking, many of them students in the Peking University. . . . Now they are being given a Christian education; and these are the men who are getting ready to build your railroads and fill your places of trust.

Hon. John W. Foster, Ex-secretary of State, stated in an address on November 15, 1895, in Carnegie Music Hall, New York:

> At Peking I was called upon to address several hundred native students, male and female, crowding the large Methodist University Hall, many of them approaching mature years, representing all grades and

departments of study, embracing the academic, collegiate, medical, and divinity schools. As I looked over those large audiences at Shanghai and Peking, composed almost exclusively of Chinese Christians, . . . my faith in the conversion of that vast empire in the not distant future was greatly strengthened.

When Bishop Fowler, in 1890, was standing upon the lofty, massive walls of Peking and looking down upon the extensive Civil Service Examination Grounds, where were gathered selected scholars from the eighteen provinces of China, he felt his soul so strangely stirred by the sight that, as he tells us, he earnestly prayed that these "Sauls might be made Pauls." Who, a few years ago would have even dreamed that any of these Sauls—our former persecutors—would ever deign to enter our Christian institution of learning? But they are coming as meekly as Saul of Tarsus to Ananias at Damascus. True it is that only a few of these *literati*, representing China's choicest scholarship, have been admitted. The dire necessity from limited accommodations compels us—let us hope only temporarily—to refuse to open the door to others whom Jehovah, in his wonder-working providence, is sending to us for Christian instruction, but who now stand outside vainly clamoring for admission. Now, while darkness is covering the earth and gross darkness the people, and while these Gentiles are coming to the light, may we gladly hear and promptly obey our Lord's command: "Arise, shine; for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee."



Art. VIII.—LITURGICAL DEVELOPMENTS OF NEW TESTAMENT TIMES.

Did the apostolic Church have a liturgy? Is that primitive liturgy quoted in the New Testament, and to what extent? What parts of it were adopted from the Jewish worship, and what parts arose from the demands of a new, communing, testifying evangel? On these questions we cannot speak dogmatically, but we hope to show, by calling attention to certain sentiments and expressions, that the germs of liturgical forms and usages accompanied Christianity from the first. Should we fail to make out our case touching a liturgy of New Testament times we shall be gratified if we have, at least, called attention to a fruitful question of research.

How may we account for the many apparent quotations in the apostolic epistles, and how account for the evident ritualistic forms in the imagery of St. John's Apocalypse? Some usages of the apostolic Church may be truly said to have had Jewish antecedents. Baptism, for example, existed as a Jewish rite, and, as Dean Stanley thinks, was used in admitting to their communion Gentile proselytes. John the Baptist used it in the symbolical sense of readmitting Jews, thought of as alien and disfranchised, into a new spiritual Israel. The Jewish passover of the old dispensation corresponds with the sacrament of the Lord's Supper in the new, but the latter surpasses the former in symbolical and spiritual significance. Besides these instituted forms we discover certain sentiments and expressions which directed the service and molded the presentation of Gospel revelation. There are imbedded in the New Testament salutations, responses, invocations, doxologies, and parenthetical outbursts of praise which are, to say the least, adapted to liturgical usage. The task we have assigned ourselves is to examine and compare the contents of these New Testament expressions. Our aim shall be to formulate some general principles which underlie, first the traditional delivery of Gospel truth, and later the tendencies toward prescribed forms of service.

Liturgy may be defined as that part of the economy of divine worship which deals with concerted action on the part of

the worshipers. It consists of certain formulas which have not the nature of a fixed and definite law, but of customary action. It is not confined to a mere mechanical performance, but may be constructive, and, in a measure, spontaneous, voicing the deeper spiritual participation of the worshipers. It has to do with all those acts of pastor and people which spring from and find expression in the common feelings of devotion. Liturgy includes all of ritualism and a part of homiletics; it deals with salutations, invocations, prayers, responses, songs, the reading of the word, the sacraments, doxology, and benediction. The principles which must forever underlie liturgical usage were sharply defined by our Lord when he said, "God is a Spirit: and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and truth," and, "In praying use not vain repetitions, as the Gentiles do; for they think that they shall be heard for their much speaking. . . . After this manner therefore pray ye."

The subject warrants some statements touching the character and organization of the primitive Church. It never can be said to have been a wholly unorganized body. From his earliest ministry Christ imposed certain commands upon at least a few of his followers. He said to Andrew, Peter, Philip, Nathanael, Levi, John, and James, "Follow me." They become a band of selected men to witness his labors and receive his teachings, and later to constitute, organize, and extend the Christian Church, evangelizing both Jews and Gentiles. One of the things which comforted Christ in the last hours of his life on earth was that this band had kept together and had believed, and that he was glorified in them. Indeed, it would appear that some of the disciples began to think it unwarrantable for anyone to labor independently. Of the company which followed Jesus, John and James had to be taught a lesson of religious tolerance; for when they told Jesus how they forbade one casting out devils in his name because, as they said, "he followed not us," Jesus rebuked them. So long as Jesus was with his disciples he not only reserved to himself the direction of the work, but he also, in sending his disciples forth, enjoined certain forms of salutation and certain directions as to the manner and character of their ministrations. When the disciples were sent on their first tour of preaching in Judea they were to give on entering any house a salutation of peace.

When they received their final commission to go into all the world they were to preach indiscriminately to all nations, "baptizing them into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

It is a significant fact that Jesus himself began his ministry with the same formal announcement which the disciples were directed to use, and which John the Baptist proclaimed: "Repent ye: for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." While we may not speak definitely as to the source of this call to repentance and announcement touching the coming kingdom—whether these are the definite words of Jesus himself, or whether the Gospel writers quote from apostolic tradition—we are persuaded that the repetition of the exact words favors the supposition for the existence of a liturgical form.

In the grouping of the words of the Lord by the synoptists, especially by Matthew, Jesus is represented as proclaiming a series of "blessings" comparatively early in his ministry. They appear as a formal introduction to the Sermon on the Mount. We raise the same question again as to their source. Did Jesus utter these words in the form and connection in which we now find them in Matthew, or did he use them in a restricted sense, as in Luke, pronouncing personal blessings upon his hearers because they were poor, while at the same time specifying the hard contrast of woe to others because of their being rich? Which is the purer tradition of Jesus's words? If we answer Luke's account, then may we not say that Matthew gives the same, liturgically adapted and developed? But if, on the other hand, Jesus uttered these words in the form and connection in which we now find them in Matthew, he certainly furnished one of the sublimest patterns of Gospel invitation and sounded one of the grandest keynotes of praise that ever voiced the common devotion and religious aspiration of any worshiping multitude. They are wonderfully adapted to the requirements of divine service. We know of no time when they have not enriched and found a place in the ritualistic formulas of the Church.

What we have said concerning the use of the beatitudes in divine service may also be said of the Lord's Prayer. Christianity in all ages has felt that here are words from Jesus himself. The authenticity of the Lord's Prayer has never been se-

riously questioned; but let us reverently examine the two forms found, one in Matthew, the other in Luke. Luke has Jesus give this prayer by request of one of his disciples who had heard him praying and desired to have him instruct them "as John also taught his disciples." Matthew gives the prayer as a part of the Sermon on the Mount. It comes in connection with what Jesus said touching the outward forms of religion. It would seem, according to Matthew, that Jesus gave the prayer as a model prayer. The model prayer is a short prayer and a secret prayer. The form found in Matthew, with its doxology at the close, is certainly better suited for use in the congregation. It seems reasonable to suppose that, if Luke is true to his method of giving the historical settings of Jesus's teachings, he would be equally careful in giving Jesus's exact words and no more. On the other hand, Matthew deals with the contents, rather than the historical occasion, of Christ's teachings. We do not have the best manuscript authority for the doxology at the close of the prayer in Matthew's account; but the fact that it is found in many manuscripts, some of them ancient, favors the supposition that the Lord's Prayer had a place in the liturgical usage of the early Church and received additions and slight modification adapting it to the requirements of the service.

In the same spirit of reverence let us approach the holy of holies of Christian institutions, the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. We certainly find here, if anywhere, a definitely prescribed order of service. It was to be observed at a particular time and in a particular way. It was to be repeated in remembrance of Christ's death, time after time. The circumstance of its inauguration was the celebration of the passover. All three of the synoptic gospel writers agree as to that; but there are some slight variations in the words describing the institution of the rite, which we must notice. Matthew and Luke seek to explain the significance of the rite. The former adds that it is "for the remission of sins," while the latter specifies a personal application—"which is shed for you." Mark gives the simplest and possibly the oldest formula. St. Paul gives the same with some freedom and adds its explanation. We conclude that they are all too much alike not to have been derived from a common formula prevalent in the primitive Church. We cannot say that Jesus gave any definite ritualistic form for this memorial, but

one soon developed and became established. Luke and Paul say Jesus took bread and "gave thanks," while Matthew and Mark say he "blessed it." These words of thanks or blessing were not thought of as affecting any consecration of the elements whatever; it was their custom to give thanks. In the closing scene of the Lord's Supper we notice that Christ and the disciples are said to have sung a hymn before retiring. This hymn was a part of the passover service, and need not claim further attention.

We must now examine a number of passages belonging to this first period which seem to be liturgical at least in form. To this class belong the salutation of the angel to Mary. "Hail, thou that art highly favored, the Lord is with thee;" Mary's song of rejoicing, "My soul doth magnify the Lord," etc.; the blessing of Zacharias, "Blessed be the Lord God of Israel," etc.; the ascription of praise by the angels at the time of the announcement of Christ's birth to the shepherds, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace among men in whom he is well pleased;" the prayer of Simeon, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word," etc.; and the shout of rejoicing as Jesus entered Jerusalem, "Blessed be the King that cometh in the name of the Lord; peace in heaven, and glory in the highest." All the above, with one exception, are found in the first two chapters of St. Luke's gospel. Luke claims to have been well informed by "eyewitnesses and ministers of the word" as to the doctrines and teachings of Christ. He writes to confirm Theophilus in what he has heard. If we then have in these chapters a typical form in which the Gospel was presented to the second generation after Christ we certainly can say that the glad evangel was gathering about itself not a little of poetic narrative and dramatic incident which would be well suited to oral recital. Does not St. Luke, by clothing the Gospel narrative in prophetic song, show the tendency toward form and liturgy in this early period? He was for some time a companion of St. Paul and other disciples. Does he reproduce parts of their oral addresses? More of this will be said in connection with the Acts of the Apostles.

These quotations from the gospel of St. Luke come under the head of what St. Paul means by "prophesying." They are outbursts of praise composed of passages from the Hebrew prophets.

the Psalms, and other books of sacred Scripture modified to suit the occasion. How much of these songs was original with St. Luke we know not. St. Luke was a painter, and drew upon his canvas touching incidents and tender emotions. He was the beloved physician who gave minute details and careful diagnoses. He had a poetical instinct and a musical ear which could catch the faintest, earliest songs of praise.

Thus far we have confined our study to the period of Christ's life; thus far we have discovered little more than the germs of liturgical usages. We come now to the period of the Acts and the apostolic epistles. Gibbon, the historian, names as one of the five causes for the rapid spread of the Gospel in the early centuries their well-regulated ecclesiastical organization. A special characteristic of the Gospel from the first was its constructiveness. In the first meeting of the disciples after the Lord's ascension Matthias was chosen to fill the place of Judas. Scholars of Jesus, or μαθηταὶ, soon became known as ἀδελφοὶ, or "brethren," and the community of believers received the liturgic name of οἱ ἅγιοι, or "the saints." Their meeting became known as ἐκκλησία, or "the assembly." At first the Christians met in the synagogue, but persecution drove them to private houses. As the tide of opposition rose higher and higher the bonds of fellowship became stronger and stronger. Their meetings became more secret, while the Church became more social and lost nearly every trace of Jewish ritualism. Their ecclesiastical forms were borrowed not so much from the synagogue worship as from the rules governing civil assemblies.

While the Christian Church was a protest against Judaism, from which it sprung, it did not lose its music. There were some psalms chanted, some songs sung, some simple melodies carried over from the Jewish service, which no doubt were dear to the hearts of the Christian converts and which they sang with a new spirit and understanding. Some of these ancient chants in all probability have been handed down to us and may be found in the hymnology of the Church to-day.

Considerable freedom was exercised with this borrowed material. It was changed and amended to voice the demands imposed by the new Christian devotion. In Acts iv, 24–30, we think, is such a modification. Here the congregation, on hearing from Peter and John what the chief priests had said unto

them, broke forth and voiced a reply in song. Of the same character are Eph. v, 14; 1 Tim. vi, 15, 16; and others. Several passages are designated as "faithful sayings," and are accepted without controversy. These "faithful sayings" are suited to responsive service. In 1 Tim. i, 15, it is said, "This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners;" the response is, "Of whom I am chief." Again, 2 Tim. ii, 11–13, forms a more extended responsive service, where the four conditional statements are responded to by as many declarations of faith. "If we died with him" is answered by "we shall also live with him;" "if we endure" by "we shall also reign with him;" "if we shall deny him" fly "he also will deny us;" and "if we are faithless" by "he abideth faithful." The last clause, "for he cannot deny himself," was probably added by St. Paul in accommodating the "saying" to what the apostle is pleased to call "my gospel," which is to be committed "to faithful men" "able to teach others." There is further evidence of a formulated creed in 1 Tim. iii, 16, where it reads, "God was manifest in the flesh, justified in the Spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up in glory." Some authorities seem to think that the most of the quotations cited above are fragments of early hymns sung or chanted in the service. From 1 Cor. xiv, 23–33, it would appear that the composition and delivery of much of the service were the results of sudden emotion or inspiration. Men prophesied as they were "moved by the Holy Ghost," but the service must always conform to order and certain liturgical principles. It became everyone who had anything to say in the meeting, whether in song, prayer, thanksgiving, or prophecy, to speak in a language which the congregation could understand; for, says Paul in 1 Cor. xiv, 16, "Else if thou bless with the spirit, how shall he that filleth the place of the unlearned say the Amen at thy giving of thanks, seeing he knoweth not what thou sayest?" The "Amen" was employed on every variety of occasions. It represents the participation of the congregation in the service, and as such appears a number of times in the epistles and Revelation.

We gain some knowledge of what the earlier Church services consisted from Acts ii, 42. They met for worship daily, en-

gaged in incessant prayer, and related incidents and teachings seen and heard with Jesus. Their worship was the veneration of Jesus as God. This is the remarkable thing at which Pliny wondered. The attitude of prayer, in case of the one leading, at least, in the public service, was that of standing with outstretched hands. That this attitude prevailed in the Jewish Church appears in the figures "*orantes*," upon the early Christian monuments, and is favored by St. Paul's instructions to Timothy, "I desire therefore that the men pray in every place, lifting up holy hands, without wrath and disputing."

The rite of baptism again comes under our notice in this period. From Acts xix, 3–5, it would appear that John's baptism must be supplemented by the later baptismal formula "into the name of the Lord Jesus." The formula of John the Baptist consisted in the "confessing of sins." The Christian formula called for a confession of faith in Christ as the Son of God. There are two passages which bear on this point and give some reason for supposing that a public formula of baptism, including questions and answers, was used by the apostles. In Acts viii, 37, Philip says to the eunuch desiring to be baptized, "If thou believest with all thine heart, thou mayest;" and he answered and said, "I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God." But this verse does not appear in the Revised Version, because we have not the best manuscript authority for it. The other passage is found in 1 Peter iii, 21. A paraphrase of the apostle's thought here would be like this: Water destroys and water saves. By the waters of the flood the disobedient were destroyed, but a few, "eight souls, were saved by water." The figure applies to baptism in this way: Just as the eight souls were saved by not being drowned in the waters of the flood with the disobedient, so we are not saved by the putting away of the filth of the flesh which is typified by our descent into the water. But we are saved by having that attitude of conscience toward God through which we are enabled to answer well as to our belief in a living Saviour raised from the dead. Testimony is the ark that saves. That "the answer of a good conscience toward God" is spoken of, then, in this connection is best explained by the existence and use of an interrogatory formula for baptism. The manner of baptism, as indicated by St. Paul in Rom. vi, 4, and Col. ii, 12, was by immersion. The candi-

date was plunged beneath the water to represent the death to the life of sin, and was raised as a sign that he had risen to a life of righteousness.

In the Acts of the Apostles, as in his gospel, Luke cites many proof-texts and quotations. He also gives extracts from the addresses of Peter, Stephen, and Paul. Now, the author makes Peter and Paul use the same methods of argument and style of address! This plainly shows that Luke is either quoting from current Gospel tradition or is framing the speeches himself, Thucydides-like, for his heroes. Whatever be their source, if these are specimens of the Gospel story as preached in those times, the early meetings of the Christians were not wanting in poetic beauty and oratorical finish. The apostles verily drew from their treasures "things new and old." The whole service was a continual poem, and conformed to certain fundamental ritualistic principles. As the apostles told and retold the story of Jesus's life and teaching their message became more and more formal, their speeches tended more and more toward a stereotyped form, and even their epistles in a measure conformed in their arrangement and articulation to the order of the assembly and the progress of oral address.

It was hard, however, in the face of the fierce Jewish opposition and the boldness of Gentile ungodliness, to keep the ministrations of the Gospel up to so high a standard. Abuses were ever creeping in; and especially was this true in Gentile cities. A single instance must suffice. At Corinth they were prostituting the memorial meal, as we learn from Paul's reproof (1 Cor. xi, 17–30). What was the trouble? Somebody would swinishly drink up all the wine; another would come hungry, expecting to gorge himself, and have to wait until he was out of all patience; and still others, a select few, would bring their dainties and sit down and eat them, not waiting for the others, to the envy of the hungry and less favored. It was anything else but a love feast. Paul corrects the abuse by explaining the rite, and finally at the close of his instructions reminds the feast-loving, love-feasting Gentiles to observe the greeting of each other with a holy kiss. This rite, symbolizing fellowship and affection, was certainly very brotherly and beautiful, and, as we shall see, became early associated with the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. The kiss as a salutation was

not original with the Christians; but it may be well for us to inquire how the kiss as a salutation differed from the "holy kiss" as enjoined upon Christian believers. It was with the Jews an endearing salutation. In Luke vii, 45, Jesus, at the Pharisee's table, says, "Thou gavest me no kiss;" and in the parable of the prodigal son the father "kissed him" much; and Judas also proposed to betray his Lord by this familiar sign of friendship. It would seem, from the immediate connection where the injunction is made by Paul and Peter, that the kiss came just before the benediction. It was probably called the "holy" kiss because it was accompanied with some salutation of blessing, as in Rom. xvi, 16; 1 Cor. xvi, 20; 2 Cor. xiii, 13; 1 Thess. v, 26; and 1 Peter v, 14. In the early Church the kiss was observed just before partaking of the elements in the eucharist, where it formed a very touching feature of the memorial.

There is yet a long list of salutations, ascriptions of praise, and benedictions to be examined. We hope to bring a large number of these under notice by grouping them and formulating an order of service. The first in order will be that group of passages which relates to an open salutation of grace. Just as the disciples, when entering any home, observed a salutation of peace, so the apostolic Church entered upon its services with an opening salutation of grace. The standard formula is found at the opening of no less than seven of St. Paul's epistles. It essentially runs as follows: "Grace be unto you, and peace, from God our Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ," as in Rom. i, 7; 1 Cor. i, 3; 2 Cor. i, 2; Gal. i, 3; Eph. i, 2; Phil. i, 2; and Col. i, 2. Various modifications of this salutation are found in the other epistles; in three places "mercy" is added (1 Tim. i, 2; 2 Tim. i, 2; Titus i, 4). By a comparison of the above passages with similar ones * used by Peter, John, and Jude, we are all the more convinced that there was a standard formula. Peter says, "Peace be multiplied" in both his epistles; Jude adds "love;" John in his second epistle gives the standard formula with these words added, "the Son of the Father, in truth and love." And in Revelation John replaces "from God the Father," etc., with "from him, which is, and which was, and which is to come; and from the seven Spirits which are

* 1 Peter i, 2; 2 Peter i, 2; 2 John 3; Jude 2; Rev. i, 4.

before his throne." This, we see, is in perfect keeping with the character of the book; as one may judge why seven Spirits should be mentioned in writing to seven churches.

It would appear from quite a number of passages that following, not necessarily immediately, the opening salutation of grace was an ascription of praise to God, of blessing and glory to the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. The standard formula here is not so distinct. We think, however, that there was one something like this: "Blessed be God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be glory forever. Amen." Paul often used only a part of it, sometimes the first part only and with additions.* As in the case of the salutations of grace, something is gained here also by comparison. In 1 Peter i, 3, the first part of the standard formula appears; in Heb. xiii, 21; 1 Peter v, 11; 2 Peter iii, 18; and Jude 25, the last. There may have been two distinct formulas suited to different times in the service, or there may have been only one with two parts —the latter part repeated by the congregation in answer to the first part spoken by the leader of the meeting. The "Amen" appearing invariably with the latter part favors such a view. And yet who knows but what it may have been a chant, sung at the beginning or closing of the service or even both, as we sometimes sing, "Praise God, from whom all blessings flow?" The ascriptions of glory to God in the epistles more properly belong to the close of the service, but in Revelation they form the most prominent feature of that ideal worship.†

We must now certainly have some singing. What kind of a song would you like? We have three kinds, "psalms and hymns and spiritual songs."‡ Who has a selection?§ We have already noticed some selections from the Psalms, and original poems and ascriptions of praise found in St. Luke's gospel, the Acts, and the epistles; and we shall also find an abundance of them when we examine the Apocalypse.

Did they have musical instruments? This question will be answered by the disposition we make of the liturgical passages of Revelation. John's description of the heavenly worship was certainly germane to existing forms with which he was familiar; and, since "harps" are mentioned three times in Revela-

* 2 Cor. i, 3; xi, 31; Eph. i, 3.
† Rev. i, 6; iv, 11; v, 12, 13; xi, 13; xiv, 7; xvi, 9; xix, 1.
‡ Eph. v, 19; Col. iii, 16. § 1 Cor. xiv, 26.

tion,* we may infer that their use was not unknown in the services of the Church near the close of the first century.

Much alike in their nature and closely connected in the service were the songs of praise and the prayers. Both alike were of the nature of giving thanks and ascribing praise, outbursts of pure devotion. When Paul and Silas had been beaten and cast into prison, with their feet made fast in the stocks, they held a midnight prayer and praise meeting. On that occasion we would not suppose their surroundings were very favorable for following any order of service; but that meeting did follow an order with which they were familiar. A feature of the service was the familiar alternation of prayer and song.†

There are several passages in the New Testament which seem to indicate that the early Christians exercised considerable freedom in the conduct of their meetings. The preacher sometimes occupied considerable time with his address. At Troas Paul preached until midnight. Sometimes the meetings, to use a familiar expression, were "thrown open for testimony." At such times everyone was free to speak. While everyone is asked to bear testimony it will be more edifying to the Church if the speaker can speak in a language understood by all. There is no law against giving your testimony in a foreign language, however; such a one speaks to God and is profited, but all cannot understand and are not spiritually built up. "Seek that ye may excel to the edifying of the church." Let there not be too many on the floor at once, lest confusion arise. "Let all things be done decently and in order." It is very difficult to determine what may be the further progress of the meeting at this point. The elements having been prepared beforehand, they may celebrate the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. In that case the "unlearned" and "unbaptized" will retire. If there were those desiring to be baptized, that was attended to before the eucharist, in order that the new candidate might remain and participate. Before the "meeting broke up" they all encouraged each other and covenanted themselves to remain faithful to their belief and obedient to the civil laws, exchanged a word of blessing, and gave the holy kiss. Finally, the leader dismissed the congregation with a benediction much like the opening salutation of

* Rev. v, 8; xiv, 2; xv, 2. † Acts xvi, 25.

grace. The standard formula may be found in full in 2 Cor. xiii, 14: "The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all. Amen."

We must not suppose that the early Church neglected to take up a collection, but it did not form a part of the order of service. That was, like their almsgiving, attended to privately by those selected to look after such work.* Some emphasis was placed upon giving.†

Upon this whole subject of ritualism St. James must be allowed to speak. As Almoni Peloni has pointed out in the *Expositor*,‡ what James has to say on this subject turns upon the translation of a single word. This word, *θρησκεία*, is translated "religion." It refers only to the outward forms of religion. A better rendering of the verse would read: "Pure *ritualism* and undefiled before our God and Father is this, to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world." There is a passage in St. Paul's Second Epistle to Timothy which also gives us opportunity for wide conjecture as to its meaning. "The foundation of God standeth sure, having this seal, The Lord knoweth them that are his. And, Let everyone that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity." What was it? Was it a part of the ceremony connected with the dedication of a church, or the reception into the church of a new member? Was it an inscription from a medal worn by the Christians, after the manner of the present-day Epworth League badges? We should like to claim it as a part of the early liturgy, but we cannot say where it belonged.

It is not always a misfortune to be detained from church. Toward the close of the first century A. D., St. John was deprived, through persecution, of the services of the Lord's house; but he leads us within the gates of heaven to witness and participate in a divine service. Weizsacher, in his *Apostolic Age*, § speaking of the Apocalypse, says, "It presents us with pictures of a meeting and divine service in heaven, and these are conceived as typical; but the delineation without doubt followed the actual proceedings in the Church on earth. . . .

* Acts vi, 1-6.
† 1 Cor. ix, 11, 14; Gal. vi, 6; 1 Tim. v, 18.
‡ Second series, vol. v, p. 463.
§ Vol. ii, p. 247.

What he there saw in a series of acts is therefore at any rate suggestive of what usually occurred in the actual meetings of the Church." There remains for us then simply to point out the liturgical character of what St. John affirms was said and done. This can be readily seen by an examination of a few passages.

Beneath the Hebrew imagery are the outlines of the Christian worship. The four beasts incessantly cry, "Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord God, the Almighty, which was and which is and which is to come."* Next the four and twenty elders fall down and worship the ever-living God, and casting their crowns before the throne say: "Worthy art thou, our Lord and our God, to receive the glory and the honor and the power: for thou didst create all things, and because of thy will they were, and were created." When the Lamb had taken the book to read, the choir, consisting of four cherubs and four and twenty elders, begin to sing a new song: "Worthy art thou to take the book, and to open the seals thereof: for thou wast slain, and didst purchase unto God with thy blood men of every tribe, and tongue, and people, and nation, and madest them to be unto our God a kingdom and priests; and they reign upon the earth."† The whole congregation innumerable responds with: "Worthy is the Lamb that hath been slain to receive the power, and riches, and wisdom, and might, and honor, and glory, and blessing." The great chorus reaches the earth and all creations join in it, "Unto him that sitteth on the throne, and unto the Lamb, be the blessing, and the honor, and the glory, and the dominion, for ever and ever." A great throng out of every nationality under the sun, clad in white robes, cry with a great voice: "Salvation unto our God which sitteth on the throne, and unto the Lamb."‡ And the angels this time fall on their faces and worship, saying: "Amen: Blessing, and glory, and wisdom, and thanksgiving, and honor, and power, and might, be unto our God for ever and ever. Amen."

* Rev. iv, 8 (R. V.). † Rev. v, 9, 10. ‡ Rev. vii, 10.

John L. Reeder.

Art. IX.—LANGUAGE AS A FINE ART.

Man is the master of many arts, because he is a being of splendid powers. His manifold life finds expression in manifold art. Language is the supreme art. In it the spiritual life of man finds completest expression. The range of expression through painting, statuary, and music is very limited; but language is the universal interpreter of the soul. That which has been so powerfully represented to us through painting and statuary was first and more adequately represented through literature. The masterpieces of art are but fragmentary reproductions of Homer, Dante, Milton, and Matthew. Superb pieces of workmanship they are; but we could spare them all better than we could spare a few pages from the immortal books which inspired them. The forms of nature and the deeds of man are susceptible of representation through art; but books are galleries in which the inmost life of the soul is set before us. The great epics, dramas, orations, histories, treatises upon science and philosophy are the masterpieces of art, in which human genius has found its most influential and inspiring embodiment.

Literature may be classified broadly as prose and poetry. If we distinguish between them with sole reference to the art of expression we observe that in prose words are used with primary, if not exclusive, regard to the clear expression of thought, while in poetry they are marshaled also with reference to their ingratiating effect upon the ear. The best prose writers succeed in giving to their composition some of the phonetic graces of poetry; but the poet utilizes the musical element in language to the fullest extent compatible with the clear expression of thought. It follows from this distinction between prose and poetry that prose is best adapted to conversation, business, and philosophy. Poetry is inconsistent with the energy which impels men and the accuracy which they require when language is used for these purposes. In mart, forum, and council the ear heeds not the mellifluous phrase, and periphrastic speech is weak and aggravating. But in the intervals of business, in the domestic or social circle, or in solitude, we have time for the play and rapture of our sensibilities.

Then we turn to picture, song, and story. And the poet brings us picture, song, and story all in one. The words which tell the story fling at the same time their sweet vibrations on the ear. They set to their own music the story which they tell. They mingle their own phonetic enchantment with the pleasing emotions which they kindle and the golden fancies which they suggest. Poetry, therefore, sustains to prose some such relation as pictures, statues, and music sustain to the more common and useful arts.

It may be well to note, in passing, a distinction between poetry and prose, as to their contents, or subject-matter. Poetry is, in general, the language of the imagination and the sensibilities. It utters the same sentiments and addresses the same faculties as music and painting. We feel that the exquisite verbal dress which the poet gives to his conceptions is ill suited to the subject-matter whose ordinary garb is prose. We may have the form of poetry without the spirit and power of it. On the other hand, we may have poetic sentiments in coarse and awkward prose. But poetic feeling tends by a profound instinct to utter itself in flowing, rhythmical language. As the body of the singer sways in her ecstasy, as the passionate speaker tends to singsong, as the best orators become unconsciously rhythmical and sonorous in their climaxes, so the prose writer in his most exalted moods puts much of the grace and beauty of poetry into his prose.

Assuming now that the writer knows just what to say, let us observe what is necessary to make his composition excellent. He must be able first to use such words as will deliver his thought with clearness. This is the first requisite of good writing. If, furthermore, he can so order his words that sound will be fitted to sense, and utterance be made easy to the tongue and pleasing to the ear, it will be a distinct addition to the charm of his composition. The prose writer may accomplish this by skillful phrasing, by such construction and arrangement of clauses that cadences will come at regular intervals, by pleasing successions and groupings of vowels and consonants. To all the elements of grace and strength in prose composition the poet adds more perfect rhythm and rhyme. It is apparent that the difficulties of composition increase when we add to the clear expression of thought, which constitutes good prose, the

phonetic graces essential to poetry. The writer must be a consummate artist if he do not sometimes sacrifice music to sense, or sense to music. But language which really succeeds in uttering clearly the most masterful thinking, the deepest, tenderest sensibilities, the mightiest, divinest passions of the soul, and at the same time lays the spell of music on the ear, is poetry of the highest order. In such poetry language becomes not only a fine art, but the finest of all fine arts.

Sometimes, when the verbal expression which a poet has given to his conceptions is not the most perfect, the sentiment which it embodies is so true and noble that the utterance becomes immortal. And sometimes the musician has come to the aid of the poet, and has set his words to music that has wafted them around the world. The poems "Home, Sweet Home," by John Howard Payne, and "Nearer my Home," by Phœbe Cary, are both faulty in their rhythm; but both are very tender and beautiful, while their loss, if there be any, through faulty rhythm is compensated by a delicate, charming alliteration; and the musical composers have set both of them to most ingratiating melodies.

In view of the difficulties of poetical composition we might presume that no very excellent poetry would appear in the early stages of a people's literary development. The fact is, however, that the early masterpieces of a people's literature are more likely to be poetry than prose. Homer, whose great epic is the masterpiece of Greek poetry, antedates by hundreds of years Plato, Pericles, Xenophon, Herodotus, in whose writings Greek prose came to perfection. Latin poetry reached high-water mark in Virgil, who was the contemporary of Cæsar and Cicero, the first great writers of Latin prose. Turning to Sanskrit, the literature of the ancient Hindus, we find, first and best, the Vedic hymns. Early in the classic period which followed the Vedic came the two great national epics, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, having about twice the bulk of the "Iliad" and "Odyssey" combined. Among the writings of the Hebrews we find nothing that, as literature, can be considered so excellent and ancient as the Davidic psalms and the drama of Job. Among English writers before the close of the sixteenth century we find no prose of such merit and lasting popularity as the poetry of Chaucer, Spenser, and Shakespeare.

In the roll of prose writers, up to the close of the seventeenth century, there are many honored names, but Shakespeare and Milton tower above all others in literary greatness. Not only so, but we have had no poets since who are, in popular estimation, their equals. The name of Dante, who appeared in the flush of the *Renaissance*, is still the greatest name in modern Italian literature.

How shall we account for this early maturity and excellence of poetry as compared with prose? First, by the fact that we require in prose an accuracy and fullness of knowledge which we do not seek in poetry. On this account the prose of one age is likely to be superseded by that of a subsequent and wiser age. Poetry needs not to be accurate, in the narrow sense required of prose. Homer does not lose his high place in human regard because his tales are unbelieved and unbelievable. Great books on science, philosophy, history, may be laid aside because better books will be written as the world grows wiser; but Shakespeare cares not for any impeachment of the accuracy of his historical delineations. Since his time the world has altered its opinion of some of the characters that figured in his dramas, but the spell of his mighty genius lies unbroken still on every shore where the English language is spoken. We may thus explain the fading fame of the great prose writers, while their poet contemporaries lose none of their luster with passing years.

But why does poetry in the dawn of civilization advance by such rapid strides to the very highest excellence? Because it is preeminently the language of the imagination and the sensibilities, and these are more influential in the infancy of civilization than in its maturity. Men are more like children then. The fiction, the passion, and the enthusiasm of poetry appeal to them powerfully. Even its phonetic element has a charm for them that is irresistible. The nursery rhymes which we teach our children are commended to them no less by their cadence and jingle than by the appeal which the nursery tale makes to their fancy. The old rhyming chroniclers made the prosiest matter poetical enough for their readers by their cadences, alliteration, and rhyme. The farther we go back toward the beginnings of civilization the more influential do we find the element of sound in language, compared with the sense and substance of

it. The poet is not simply a teller of stories, a delineator of passions, a painter of golden fancies; he is a musical artist. His is genius of the highest sort. He so marshals the words which express his thought as to charm the ear with the music of human speech, simply and plainly spoken. As soon, therefore, as the language of a people becomes full and rich enough for poetical uses, a very rapid development of poetry may be expected, while yet the people who speak the language have the richness of fancy, the enthusiasm, passion, wonder, and susceptibility to verbal music which characterizes the early stages of civilization. When civilization has advanced out of the dawn into the broad, clear day of knowledge, it is impossible to duplicate those great epics in which the national spirit and poetic genius of a youthful people found glorious expression. No man living in the golden time of Plato could have written in the vein and power of the "Iliad." No man in or after the Augustan age could have written the "Æneid." In order to write the "Divine Comedy" Dante must have lived when he did, in the glow of the Italian *Renaissance*, with the pulse and passion of a reviving civilization in his veins, before the people's faith in mediæval theology had been broken. The writing of such a poem as the "Paradise Lost" would not now be possible even to the genius of a Milton, for none but a man steeped in Milton's scholasticism and theology could put such intense color, such august forms, and such captivating realism into the creations of his genius. The imagination even of a great poet is less creative than is often supposed. In every age the art, music, fiction, and poetry in which man's most creative faculties find expression are, in their great outlines, but the reflection of his real thought and life. The robust faith of Milton, even in the sensuous details of Puritan theology, was requisite to guide and sustain his imagination in its flight across the awful abysses which it traversed. The skepticism which such a mind would now have to confess touching things then believed would have clipped the broad vans of his fancy and rendered impossible that "advent'rous song" that was to soar, with no middle flight, "above th' Aonian mount," while it pursued "things unattempted yet, in prose or rhyme." Nor could Homer have written the "Iliad" in those days when the intellect of the Greek was ripened at the expense of his sensibility and the people's faith in the gods and their ancestral

traditions was broken. The "Iliad" probably reflects the religion of the ancient Greeks, as "Paradise Lost" reflects the religion of the seventeenth century Puritans. The former poem must have been produced, as to its elements at least, in those early days when the deities who feasted on Olympus and mixed with men were verities to the people's faith, and the forms of their mighty ancestors moved like demigods in the gray and misty morn of history.

We have tried to show why the great epics must be among the early products of civilization. It does not follow, however, that poetry in other forms may not become more excellent as civilization advances. In the progress of a people their language may become a more perfect medium of poetical expression. Two processes go forward simultaneously in the living language of a progressive people, one altering the significance of existing words and creating new words, the other affecting the structure of the words themselves with reference to easier pronunciation and more pleasing sounds. Those who have had a painful experience tracing Greek, Hebrew, Latin, and Sanskrit roots through the ramifications of declension and conjugation and all the metamorphoses of their history, may comfort themselves with the reflection that by these tortuous ways language comes to adequacy as a means of expression, and speech becomes easy to the tongue and melodious to the ear. We believe that the English tongue becomes constantly richer in the elements of poetic expression. If Milton were living now he could not write so grand an epic as the "Paradise Lost;" but possibly he might give to his other poetry a lyric sweetness that was not possible two hundred and fifty years ago. Shakespeare is, by common consent, our greatest poet. To him we concede a dramatic genius unparalleled, a spontaneity and wealth of expression unsurpassed. He is the "myriad-minded" and unfathomable man. We read him with the feeling that his sublime utterances are the profusions of a genius that is artless and inexhaustible. When we try to explain him we think of divine providence and inspiration. But it is to be doubted whether he had that fine instinct for verbal music which Milton had, and we suspect that the English of Milton's time was a little less perfect instrument than it was when it responded to the touch of Tennyson. An original genius disciplined by

infinite toil gave to Tennyson a mastery of English for poetic uses seldom if ever equaled. Words come at his call like whispering fairies to chant his dainty fancies, or like thronging birds to warble his thought; or they marshal themselves in stately platoons that volley and thunder, as in his terrific description of the charge of Balaklava. No poet seems to us more skillful in fitting his words at the same time to his own thought and to the reader's ear. We think, too, that Christian philosophy and sentiment, the deep musings, the lofty aspirations, and tragic perplexities of the soul find as complete and exquisite expression in Tennyson as in any other poet. Shelley touches the chords of our English lyre with a dainty finger. The stormy soul of Byron, so sensitive to the sublimity of nature and the allusiveness and tragedy of human life, has flung the conceptions of a mighty but profligate genius into words that speak to the ear as the landscape speaks to the eye, words that fit the poet's purpose as the sea fits the shore. Wonderful are the cadences of Longfellow—poet of the heart and hearth and home, poet for the sad and weary hour, poet sweet and chaste, pensive and tender—who gives to our common household words a lutelike sweetness in his humble tales and holy psalms.

But poetry, finest of all fine arts, forever fails to realize the artist's ideal. Well does the poet, contemplating the inadequacy of his art, exclaim:

I wonder if ever a song was sung,
  But the singer's heart sang sweeter;
I wonder if ever a rhyme was rung,
  But the thought surpassed the meter;
I wonder if ever a sculptor wrought,
Till the cold stone echoed his ardent thought,
Or if ever a painter with light and shade,
The dream of his inmost heart portrayed.

. . . . . .

No real poet ever wove in numbers
  All his dream; but the diviner part,
Hidden from all the world, spoke to him only,
  In the voiceless silence of the heart.

Frank B. Cowgill.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

We invite the notice of our readers to the reply made by the Utah Mission to the article on the Mormon Problem which appeared in our September number. Our desire is to give prominence to that reply, and this we do by calling attention to it. It appears in the "Arena" of this number because, being the report of a committee, it was not in such form as would fit it to appear among the contributed articles.

DIPLOMATIC STORM CENTERS.

It has not escaped attention that the "questions" disturbing the diplomacy of the great nations all relate to the countries of low civilization. The whole world is troubled by the conditions existing in the least advanced. These conditions are summed up in the words weakness and dependence.

Venezuela has a boundary dispute with Great Britain, and depends on the United States to secure what Venezuela considers a just settlement of the questions at issue. In Cuba a rebellion against Spanish rule looks to us for recognition and substantial assistance. In South Africa the Boer republic of the Transvaal is seeking German support as a defense against the British filibusters of the Chartered Company. In North Africa a powerless Egypt is the bone of contention which strains the relations of France and England. Over the Red Sea Italy is at war with an African princelet. In the far East the relations of Russia, France, and England are in danger of disturbance through the claims and ambitions of these nations over half the population of Asia living in China and India, and in adjacent smaller countries like Persia and Afghanistan.

The storm center is thus seen to be the relations of the strong to the weak. What is to be the end of these disputes and conflicts? The reader of history observes that they are not new in kind. All through the eighteenth century England, Spain, and France contended with each other for supremacy on this continent.

That contest ended before 1820 through the rise of American nations able to resist and repel England and Spain, France having retired from the field. Will the present struggles for dominion in Africa and Asia be ended by the rise of strong powers in those lands?

The Cuban and Venezuelan questions are remnants from eighteenth century conflicts; and, distressing as they are, they cannot probably have large consequences. But in Africa or Asia some great European power may yet find a grave. In South Africa there seems a chance that a strong nation may arise; but it will have to be a composite of Boer and English blood and usage, and that appears impossible. Nowhere else is a new nation rising to greatness yet visible unless we can conceive of an extension of Japanese dominion.

To the student of history the situation is too complicated, entangled, and perplexed to justify a hope that by ordinary means, by a normal evolution, without any catastrophe, these large areas of weak humanity may cease to be fields of strife. But to a Christian philanthropist the situation suggests both a duty and a hope. A struggle to end in the survival of the fittest—blotting out, perhaps, some great nation from the map of Europe—can be averted by the combined efforts of Christian men all over the earth. A strong effort of peace societies, prefaced by careful and complete study of the facts, may bring about a settlement upon lines consistent with the welfare of the vast native populations of two great continents.

The philanthropist will find more help than he dreams of in the calculating man of business who for some time past has been suffering disasters in swift succession from Venezuelan, Cuban, Egyptian, and South African "questions." This cold and emotionless man has found out that there is such a thing as the solidarity of humanity—that when one suffers all suffer—and a wise use of his discovery by philanthropists may prevail over the temporizing instincts of shortsighted statesmen.

THE BIBLE AS A STRAIN OF MUSIC.

The masters of "Ethical Culture" are explaining to their disciples how it is possible for advanced progressives like themselves to utilize what is permanently valuable in Christianity. Ethical culture winging its way over all fields to find honey for its hive is willing to suck sweetness even from the Rose of Sharon and the

Lily of the Valley, which, it acknowledges, still hold some drops of nectar for the bitter needs of hungry souls. The romantic picture of Christ is so amiable and gracious a figure that the aforesaid masters would fain find an excuse for continuing to give it place somewhere upon their walls ; and besides there seems to be something in the great common human heart which is reluctant to part with Jesus of Nazareth; in deference to which "something" it is perhaps wise for them to retain him in some capacity, provided they can justify themselves in so doing before the august bar of enlightened reason and modern culture. It is also acknowledged that the Scriptures, popularly called holy, and hitherto supposed to have been given by inspiration of God, contain some golden grains which make them somewhat too precious to be cast as rubbish in the void ; and it ought to be possible to turn them still to some good account, to make them "profitable," not, of course, as Paul imagined, "for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness," much less for making men "wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus," but perhaps for some sort of stimulation or soothing, for kindling pure emotions and high imaginings, for impressing us with that sublimity which some one says is Hebrew by birth.

And so the question is under discussion in certain circles how one can get the good out of Christianity without being a Christian ; what sort of salvation one who disbelieves in Christ can derive from him ; and especially what use a man who rejects the Christian Scriptures or denies their authority can make of them. In pursuance of this inquiry the ethical culturists suggest that the clearest, widest, and wisest usefulness of the Bible in the future will be considerably like that of music. Concerning a piece of music, whether a sonata or a fugue, a dirge, a waltz, or a march, no one thinks of asking, Is it true? Its function is not to convey truth or impart knowledge. To report facts is all aside from its purpose. It neither affirms nor denies anything. Its effect is to play upon the nervous sensibilities, arouse the sense of harmony and rhythm, send little thrills up and down the spine, flush the lachrymal ducts, induce moods, and excite emotions pleasurable or pathetic, tender or sublime, conveying to the mind nothing more definite than vague suggestions, presenting nothing more real than visions of the imagination. The proposition is to utilize the Bible in much the same fashion and for similar effects. This liberating, labor-saving, and sybaritic scheme seems dear to its clever originators and has fascinations for the æsthetic tempera-

ment. Their idea is that the best way to make the Bible serviceable for moral elevation and spiritual purification is to refrain from asking anything about actual events, supernatural manifestations, divine revelations, or Christian evidences.

It is evident that if we can agree, as is proposed, to regard all scriptures, the sacred books of all peoples, including our Bible, as we regard a musical composition, an instrumental potpourri, or vocal medley, using them accordingly for sentimental and emotional effects, we will be relieved of the necessity of inquiring as to the truth or falseness of anything therein contained, and no one will be at liberty to press upon our attention troublesome questions of historicity, authenticity, integrity, authority. From such a standpoint such questions will seem so irrelevant and unnecessary that we cannot be expected to spend time and labor in trying to settle them; nor will we need, in reading the Scriptures, to feel bound to accept, believe, conform, or obey as in the presence of something didactic, dogmatic, obligatory, imperative.

The proposition of our ethical friends seems born of a humane and commendable desire to save our Bible from impending nocuous desuetude, and to furnish us with a prudent provision against the time when we shall perceive, as their superior intelligence already does, that divine revelation must take its place in the category of refined and admirable human productions along with poetry, painting, romance, sculpture, and music, descending to a utility like theirs. This attempt, which on their side is a well-meant endeavor to prolong the usefulness of the documents of a discredited faith, is to the evangelical thinker almost superfluous and absurd enough to have for the alienist a mild pathologic interest. In it thoughtful men are gravely pointing out how the indestructible may be preserved.

In order to give some impression of the intellectual quality of the pages which set forth the feasibility of treating the Scriptures as a piece of music empty of categorical truth and definite reality —in order that the degree of logical solidity and philosophic coherence, the amount of clear seeing and straight thinking in those pages may be fairly estimated—we quote from a current "ethical" authority. He says in substance and almost *verbatim:*

> When reading the story of Christ's life and the accounts of his wonderful teachings I do not feel that I must try to believe it all. Whether the life was real or unreal, whether the Christian records are trustworthy or untrustworthy—all this is of minor importance and quite aside from the main point. As I turn the leaves of those Scriptures an Image rises before me of an ideal which men have admired and

revered and which they have wanted to reproduce in their own lives. The stories of the saints and martyrs no longer come before me as mere creations of fancy or superstition. What took place on the outside may be disputed. But the efforts which such men have made to be like their Master and obey his precepts are tremendously significant. *There we have unquestioned reality.*

Will some "ethical" person kindly tell us how the written records which give us "the stories of the saints and martyrs" are known to be any more trustworthy than those which give us the history of the personal Jesus, and how "the stories of the saints and martyrs" are saved from appearing "as mere creations of fancy or superstition," when, over the fire-tested pages of the New Testament wherein evangelists and apostles witness in downright and explicit terms to absolutely matter-of-fact events, the Master, whom the saints and martyrs worshiped, imitated, and obeyed, is regarded as only the "Image of an ideal" like Hamlet, or Jean Valjean, or Sir Galahad of the Arthurian legend? If criticism, literary or historic, lower or higher, were turned loose upon "the stories of the saints and martyrs" is there any reason to suppose they could abide any such searching tests as those which, though applied often by hostile hands, have resulted in establishing the trustworthiness of the Christian gospels and epistles? Few of them would fare as well as did the history of Napoleon Bonaparte under the historic doubts of Archbishop Whately. A most peculiar statement indeed it seems for a man who declines to accept the reality of the recorded life of Jesus to say that in the efforts of saints and martyrs "to be like their Master and obey his precepts" we "*have unquestioned reality.*" In the next sentence he refers undoubtingly to St. Francis of Assisi, and says, "We are fascinated in seeing how he tried to make the Jesus he believed in an example for his own life." We would really like to know what ground anyone can see for thinking Sabatier's *Life of Francis of Assisi* more reliably historic than is the life of Jesus Christ as given in fourfold narration by Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. It is implied in the passage quoted that we have more certain knowledge of the agonizings of "the saints and martyrs" after Christlikeness than we have of the agony in Gethsemane and the crucifixion on Calvary. It is confidently asserted that, in the aspirings and spiritual strivings of saints and martyrs, "we have *unquestioned* reality." Were we in debate we would, just for the sake of putting this "ethical" gentleman to his proofs, challenge the reality of his "saints and martyrs" and their alleged efforts, in order that we might see by what evi-

dential methods a man who rejects the historicity of the New Testament would proceed to convince us of the actual existence and soul struggles of a personal St. Francis in any fixed time or place. We have been to Assisi, but never saw Francis; no one there can remember him; and we have vastly less faith in the stories told about him than in the invulnerable history of the man of Nazareth, Son of God and Saviour of the world, enacted in that small, world-influencing country which his footprints have caused men to name the Holy Land.

Ethical culture eliminates the historic Christ, the actual personal divine Jesus, because it finds the four gospels incredible as history; yet, being thriftily and laudably bent on saving something out of the wreck of Christianity, searches among the ruins and reports for our consolation that there is still left "the Ethical Christ," which, we are told, is very valuable, notwithstanding it must be regarded as an ideal largely of our own creation; the fact being, so "Ethical Culture" says, that struggling humanity has formed for itself the picture of a type of character and a form of life by imitation of which the conquest over evil may be most fully assured. [This is the view of naturalistic scientists, the only one permitted by the all-engulfing theories of rationalistic evolution, which dogmatically declare that no life or knowledge has come down from heaven; all things have come up from the ground—monad, mollusk, mammal, man, and even the Christ ideal—all evolved by instinctive and aspiring struggle from primeval germ or germs concerning the origin of which it is impertinent, uncivil, and vexing for us to insist on inquiring.] We hear the "ethical" teacher, who feels no need of believing anything as to objective facts when he reads the New Testament, saying that this ideal "Ethical Christ" appeals to him, moves and inspires him far more than when he viewed the subject in the conventional way. Having dropped the facts of history and revelation's distinctly declared truths and the supernatural in the Bible and the concrete flesh-and-blood God-man, he exults in his disencumbered freedom and testifies to the blessedness of his fellowship with that airy ideal, "the Ethical Christ," as follows:

> It gives me greater pleasure now to read the Scriptures which tell the story of that life. I enjoy listening to the music of Handel's "Messiah" more than ever before. The paintings of the great masters which illustrate that life stir me more profoundly; the splendor of the cathedral architecture, which speaks for the new spiritual view of life, has an even greater hold upon me. I can even read the "devotional literature" of Christianity and be more helped and inspired by it. I take

even larger satisfaction, and am more than ever kindled in my aspirations when reading some of the writings of such men as Jeremy Taylor or John Henry Newman. Formerly I was constantly led to think how much I disagreed with such writings; but now it is the other way, and I keep thinking how much I am in sympathy with them. As long as we have to dispute about points of philosophy or the facts of history the disagreement will have no end. But when we come down to the issue, what our hearts hunger and crave for, then we draw close together. We who may be dubious about historic records . . . will nevertheless be equally anxious to see this ideal type of character more and more reproduced in ourselves.

The ethical culturist, though a rationalist, is unwilling to be called an agnostic, and is certainly no scoffer. To the bottom of his depth he is an earnest man, cherishing the ideals and ethics of religion, measurably reverent toward Christ, and unwilling to dispense with Christianity in bulk and altogether, apparently feeling toward it much as Matthew Arnold did toward the Christian Scriptures when he wrote in *Literature and Dogma:*

To the Bible men will return because they cannot do without it; because happiness is our being's end and aim, and happiness belongs to righteousness, and righteousness is revealed in the Bible. For this simple reason men will return to the Bible, just as a man who tried to give up food, thinking it was a vain thing and that he could do without it, would return to food; or a man who tried to give up sleep, thinking it was a vain thing and he could do without it, would return to sleep.

It is commendable in our "ethical" friends that they do not entirely discard Jesus Christ; they are endeavoring to find what good use they can consistently make of him. Their writings seem confusedly to assume him sometimes to be an actual character, a real person, and sometimes only an ideal; but in either view they say he was incomplete. The ethical ideal, which "was only vaguely or dimly outlined in the Christ picture," is now, they promise us, to be completed and clothed "in more realistic form;" and this well-dressed, new, and perfect ideal is the consummate "offspring of the universal human heart," now offered to us as a superior substitute for the Word made flesh, the everlasting Son of the Father. For one thing they regret that the Christ portrayed in the New Testament was not aggressive enough, lacked "the determined will and venturesome mind." His purity of spirit, his meekness and lowliness of heart were very lovely, but there was not in him, they think, "the bold, resolute, energetic will, pushing ahead to change the course of events and to alter the trend of history." And this they say of Him whom Schelling calls "the turning point in the world's history," who in three little centuries, without swords or ships, allies or armies, subdued the Roman empire to his sway, making

the emperor Julian cry, "O Galilean, thou hast conquered!" this they say of Him who was "holiest among the mighty, and mightiest among the holy, who lifted with his pierced hands empires off their hinges, turned the stream of centuries out of its channel, and still governs the ages."

John Stuart Mill thought the most valuable part of Christianity's salutary effect on character to be available even to the absolute unbeliever; and it is now being definitely explained from "ethical" platforms how the unbeliever may obtain that salutary effect. The plan is to use Christ as an (incomplete) ethical ideal, and to listen to the Scriptures as to a strain of music, which may move us, influence us, induce certain moods in us, without our entertaining intrusive and pestering questions about truth, reality, or historicity. It is recommended that each of us make a Bible for himself, beginning by going through the Christian Scriptures and selecting the passages that suit us best, judging from the way any passage affects us whether it is advisable to include it in our compilation. One "will seldom know positively at the first reading whether anything should belong to his sacred scriptures. He has to wait and see how it affects him on second or third perusal, what moods it awakens." "I do not see, for instance," says our ethical instructor, "how any human being, no matter what his religion or philosophy, can help being inspired by parts of the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah. Say over to yourself the words:

"'He was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities. All we like sheep have gone astray; we have wandered each in his own way and on him was laid the iniquity of us all. He was despised and rejected of men; a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief. As one from whom men hide their faces, he was despised, and we esteemed him not. He was oppressed and afflicted, yet he opened not his mouth. As a lamb that is led to the slaughter, or as a sheep that before her shearers is dumb, so he opened not his mouth. Truly he hath borne our griefs and carried our sorrows; the chastisement of our peace was upon him, and with his stripes we are healed.'

"One can repeat that every few days all his life," says the "ethical" teacher, "and never tire of it. We can see why. It puts one into a certain mood. It starts the soul into life. One begins to think of all the vicarious suffering in the world, how men have to bear each other's burdens and one man endure the penalty for the sins of another. We think of the whole past of the human race and what had to be undergone in order that we might be where we are at the present day. There is something unutterably sad and yet sublime about it. We see all mankind under

this law of vicarious suffering and draw nearer than ever before to our great human brotherhood." Such, it seems, are the benefits obtainable from Isaiah's wonderful chapter, apart from all belief or disbelief: no thought of the Messiah, no asking who he is of whom such things are written, no concern as to whether they are true or false, or whether it was the Son of God who did and suffered these things, or whether there was any virtue in his doing and enduring, or any benefit flowing therefrom. Plain statements of fact are dodged by meandering off into vague sentimentalities, dissipating definite meaning into dim generalities, and dispersing God's Messiah-Christ into "all mankind!" It is the opinion of the sapient thinkers whose suggestions we are considering that the Bible contains quite a goodly number of powerful and impressive passages which, "if read as we listen to certain kinds of music, will linger in the consciousness as a mood, and leave a sort of afterglow." Take for another example the fifty-first Psalm; it is a work of art; its unity, its perfect harmony of tone makes it a penitential symphony; it would be a fitting prayer indeed for a sinner (if there were such a thing as sin) to offer to an insulted and grieved God (if "ethical culture" permitted definite recognition of such a Being). As matters stand, this psalm is well adapted to produce in the "ethical" mind those subdued regrets and better aspirations which make for moral dignity and must surely tend toward nobleness. Or take the thirteenth chapter of First Corinthians: how sweet and beautiful and grand! Let a man just steep his mind in its fine sentiments, and see how lovely, loving, and lovable he will become—in his moods; at least for a time and on eupeptic days when the barometer is high and the wind sits in the favorable quarter.

It is conceded by our "ethical" friends that the Bible, in parts, takes a high rank in mood-making, yet they say it is palpably insufficient. For example, in order to construct a moral symphony perfectly adapted to play us up into a superior ethical mood it is necessary to balance the sayings of Christ with the wisdom of the Stoics. Furthermore, your orchestra of players for mood-producing music must not exclude Buddha, who, going to Benares, said: "I go to beat the drum of the immortal in the darkness of this world." Alongside of "David's harp of solemn sound" put Gotama Buddha's drum. And for complete spiritual self-culture one should gather choice passages from many sources—whatever impresses him as excellent—from the opening chapters of the Buddhist canon, from the

Greek tragedies, from Plato, Seneca, Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius, from Shakespeare and Marian Evans Cross and Emerson; including also the passage about the "Sanctuary of Sorrows" from *Sartor Resartus*, Wordsworth's lines about Tintern Abbey, some lines from Shelley's "Adonais," some from Browning's "Saul," one or two of Clough's poems, and possibly something great from Walt Whitman. What a liturgy might be compiled from these sources! If our "ethical" brethren would print such a service some nominally Christian Churches which reject the deity of our Saviour, or belittle sin and atonement, regeneration and sanctification, or think it desirable to garnish the Gospel with flowers from pagan gardens, might like to adopt it in their worship. If you will make up thus by a cosmopolitan eclecticism a composite Bible, you will have a variously inspired volume, and if you read it as you would listen to a strain of music, the ethical culturist tells how it will affect you: "Its thoughts, its sayings, will move you, thrill you, strengthen you, nerve you to tread the pathway of your life; because it will seem much of the time as if you were the being through which (*sic*) they were being spoken, as if at that instant you were half divine." Thus ethical ecstasy may be excited as patriotism is kindled in the Frenchman by the "Marseillaise," and in the German by the "Watch on the Rhine." It is added that for some temperaments the best possible Bible would be made up, not of literary extracts—words and sentences—but exclusively of musical selections.

We envy no man his ability to enjoy the twenty-third Psalm without reference to whether there is any shepherd or any house of the Lord, and we count it a singular mind that can write: "A book like *The Imitation of Christ* is a perfect gold mine of inspiration, and can be read with enthusiasm even by those who do not share the beliefs of Christianity." Such enjoyment and enthusiasm are the same as one experiences in reading a romance. Real moral fiber cannot be so made. Indeed, the effect must be distinctly demoralizing. The scheme for getting the good out of Christianity without believing in it is a plan to better one's ethical condition by playing tricks on oneself. If we should admit it to be possible for a man to cherish the Image of beautiful character, which is seen in the New Testament Christ, and which corresponds to a deep ethical ideal in the human soul, while disregarding the historic basis of Christianity and ignoring the question whether such a Christ is or ever was; yet, with this question put aside, another equally serious question stands stubbornly in

the foreground: How much good can a moral being hope to attain by conscious self-fooling and make-believe?

Was it the fault of a certain man who mused over a volume of "ethical culture" before an open Adirondack fire that it occurred to him while gazing into the flickering flames and bursting sparks and crumbling coals that one form of possible usefulness for the Scripture has not been included by our "ethical" neighbors in their scheme? At all events, the man, musing while the fire burned, found himself wondering why they had not gone a little farther and suggested that on a cold night one might get some comfort out of Bibles by making a bonfire of them and sitting in the light and warmth of their brief blaze. Surely, listening to the Bible as to mood-producing music is little above watching the blaze of logs and indulging in the pensive reveries which its mysterious mesmeric influence induces. To ask the fireside dreamer whether the lambent tongues of flame in the fireplace tell the truth would not be much more absurd and idiotic than to trouble the "ethical" reader of the Bible with a similar question about its pages.

The proposition to use the sacred Scriptures for merely inspirational purposes like music, excites in us emotions which contrast strongly with those we derive from the Bible. We cannot help wondering that a platform which claims to stand for a superior degree of culture should show so little philosophic seriousness and mental penetration, so little of the hungry appetite, keen scent, and patient pursuit of the cultivated intellect after exact and ultimate knowledge. As spectators of its intellectual action on the field we see much fumbling, little sharp tackling and playing straight for a goal. We miss in this culture the keen discernment of the skilled thinker, neatly dissecting off and tossing aside the irrelevant and unnecessary, cutting straight down to the core and marrow of the matter. There is lack of intellectual virility, seizing the subject with the firm grip of an energetic and determined mind, and an easy-going mental indifference which seems to assume that to know is not a prime necessity for man's happiness or welfare. It is surprising that persons assuming the function of public instructors in this day evince so little of the scientific temper and make so little use of the scientific method. In this respect Christian lectureships and the Christian pulpit are far in advance. The Christian student wants to know, demands to know, and investigates by experiment to find and prove facts. Christianity insists on facts, and has them; it is the patron of the

scientific method, the chief promoter of science, a few of whose votaries sometimes vaunt themselves against it. Christianity studies things above in the spirit of the astronomer who uses his telescope not so much for exciting in himself a passing emotion of wonder and awe, as for finding out all ascertainable facts about the heavenly bodies; and studies things below, including the human state and the heart of man, as geologist and mineralogist study the earth to learn what it is made of and how it is constructed. Christianity maintains laboratories of many kinds, and the characteristic style of the Christian instructor to his students is: "You are here to obtain by experimental, scientific methods exact knowledge of the nature, effects, and uses of whatever substances you study;" while it is hardly caricature to say that the consistent style of the professors whose teachings have provoked this essay would be: "Students in this laboratory, do not insist on knowledge. The most practical and certain use of these chemicals will be to excite in you by their colors and odors feelings of pleasure or disgust." As to the relentless search of science, so also to philosophy Christianity gives its approval, urging on its tireless pursuit of reality out and up to the supreme and ultimate Somewhat, bidding the philosopher sail all seas of thought throughout the wide universe, and make soundings everywhere until he touches deepest bottom and finds the *Welt-Grund*.

Again, we cannot help wondering that the proposition to make a vague and vapory use of the Bible comes from an "ethical" source, since it seems to us deficient in moral earnestness and unworthy of persons professing to make a specialty of ethics. It is the business of ethical teaching to discriminate primarily between right and wrong and coordinately between truth and falsehood. It is immoral to make light of the importance of this distinction. A live conscience pushes the question of truth and reality ever to the front, and never consents to make believe something is true. To put to the uses of fiction a book which claims to contain eternal truth, and which as centuries roll is so accepted by ever-increasing millions of the highly charactered and intelligent, is ethically frivolous. In the presence of the most austere and lofty standard of morals, commanding action and prescribing duty, to content oneself with passive moods and indolent day dreams is ethical lotus-eating; and a moral life so fed is flabby and unsound—it is virtue in delirium. The conviction grows in us that deep moral earnestness is not found apart from religion, and that ethical culture cannot have real fighting force unless it

stands on a positively religious basis. The moral revolutions of history have been brought to pass by men who had in their veins the warm red blood of religious faith and the throb of strong convictions; history, as we read it, says that the best moral brawn and sinew need not be looked for except in such men.

Furthermore the Bible is by its very nature unsusceptible of such treatment. It is too solid and inflexible for such soft, feathery uses. First of all it is largely a book of downright assertions, direct declarations of fact about many things past and future, in earth and in heaven—declarations in the presence of which the instinctively natural and forever necessary question which every sound mind must ask is, "Are these things so?" It is a matter-of-fact book, reporting events and giving explicit accounts, affirming that thus and thus real persons spoke, so and so real actors did, with names and places, times and circumstances given, as literal and exact as a mercantile inventory, and in a style as careful and responsible as an affidavit or a deathbed deposition. To hold off from it the question of true or false is impracticable. The proposal to read such a book as one would listen to the inexplicit, unaffirming song of a bird, or instrumentation of an orchestra, is inane if not insane. As well instruct a jury in court to listen to the testimony, not in order to obtain a clear conviction as to the facts of the case and to render a true verdict, but with the idea of inducing in themselves certain sentimental moods and tones of feeling. The Bible purports to be a record of real happenings, and the intelligence of the world no more thinks the Christian history a fiction, nor the life of Christ a fable, than it believes the physical universe to be a mirage. The same is true of all the moral and spiritual realities which the inspired volume reveals or refers to. Emotions and moods are inevitable, and may be highly useful, but religion has more important uses than to produce them. The Bible is sure to stimulate the imagination, but the supreme function of that splendid faculty is not to beguile us with unsubstantial visions, but to make vivid to us divinely revealed and certified realities. Of the imagination it has been as truly as reverently said, that "its first and noblest use is to enable us to bring sensibly to our sight the things which are recorded as belonging to our future state or invisibly surrounding us in this. It is given us that we may imagine the cloud of witnesses in heaven and earth as if they were present—the souls of the righteous waiting for us; that we may conceive the great army of the inhabitants of heaven and discover among them those

whom we most desire to be with forever; that we may be able to vision forth the ministry of our God beside us, and see the chariots of fire on the mountains that gird us round; but, above all, *to call up the scenes and facts in which we are commanded to believe, and be present, as if in the body, at every recorded event of the history of the Redeemer.*" Because the Bible is a declaration of facts and a revelation of realities it cannot be reduced to the uses of fiction nor listened to with the same indifference to truth as if it were a strain of music.

In the next place such use is at variance with the avowed purpose and obvious stress of the Scriptures, which are bent not so much on imparting fine sentiments and certainly cannot be conceived as stopping there; the heaviest emphasis is on conduct and service, endurances, obediences, activities, fruits. Toward such concrete and positive results they push urgently on; and "Ye did it" or "Ye did it not" is the explanation and justification of the final irreversible moral verdict.

Again the contents of the Bible are too solemn and august to be so lightly dealt with. To treat the tremendous as if it were trivial is grossly incongruous and improper. It shows an utter lack of mental perspective, an absence of the sense of proportion. Take, for example, such passages as these: "The wages of sin is death; but the gift of God is eternal life;" "There is one God, one mediator also between God and men, himself man, Christ Jesus;" "Jesus Christ by the grace of God tasted death for every man;" "If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous: and he is the propitiation for our sins: and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world;" "I am the way, the truth, and the life: no man cometh unto the Father, but by me." How is it possible to listen to declarations so transcendently significant, sacred, and momentous as to an inarticulate and comparatively meaningless strain of music? Can a prisoner listen to his death warrant or his reprieve without asking, "Is it true, that I am to die?" or, "Is it so, that I am to live?" The proposition thus to treat the Holy Scriptures is a piece of solemn trifling fit to go with Mirabeau's enormous and irreverent frivolity when he said, "Let me die to the sound of delicious music."

Once more, such an attitude of mind toward a book so awful and majestic as the Bible is reckless audacity little short of defiance; it is folly approaching madness. This commanding book speaks with the most authoritative tone ever heard by man.

Probably Wellington knew the sound of command when he heard it, and holding his ear against the Bible he said he heard the sharp ring of marching orders, such as a man must obey or suffer punishment. There are orders in it as peremptory and relentless as Grant's "By the left flank forward!" under which his army went forward through seven days' slaughter in the bloody Wilderness. The most imperative sentences ever framed are in its pages. It claims to be the voice of the almighty Maker and Judge of all. Its commands are backed by threats of penalty which blaze and thunder against disbelief and disobedience. A moral law able to enforce itself says, "Do this and live; refuse and die." If there is any ground for this authoritativeness, any power behind these commands, he who listens to them as to the rumble of stage thunder does so at his peril. The moral pungency, incisiveness, and grapple of many parts of Scripture make them as little like a strain of music as can be imagined. To attempt, for example, to put the Decalogue or the Sermon on the Mount to such a use is as preposterous and hazardous as for a man to lie under the rattling thunder, with heaven's live lightning stabbing the ground, and expect to be tickled into a mood of tears or of laughter by the prongs of its fiery pitchfork.

In the moralizings which this editorial criticises we see only iridescent film stretched over vacancy. The mind hath bubbles as the water hath, and these are of them. As we watch them float away one impression left upon us is that, if obliged to choose between the pundits of a pagan faith and the promulgators of a shallow antichristian unfaith, we would find it difficult to prefer the latter; that we might have more patience with Swami Saradananda, and Jehanghier Dossabhoy Cola, and Kwancho Shaku Soyen, and Swami Vivekananda, than with certain utterances of our "ethical" professors.

Why then spend so many words on a foolish proposition? For one reason if no other, because it warns us to watch lest we ourselves inadvertently appear as practical disciples of such shallow teachings and show no deeper earnestness; lest we read the Holy Scriptures with no more lasting result than a momentary solemnization and wistfulness; or lest, worst of all, we permit congregations to go out from under our preaching to the conflicts and temptations of life and the final exigencies of death, no more impressed, instructed, strengthened, or established than if they had been listening to the "song of one that hath a pleasant voice and can play well on an instrument."

THE ARENA.

THE MORMON PROBLEM: A REPLY FROM THE UTAH MISSION.

[The Utah Mission at its annual session held at Ogden, Utah, September 10–14, 1896, Bishop Vincent presiding, appointed a committee to consider and make reply to the article by Rev. F. S. Beggs, in the September number of this *Review*, entitled, "The Mormon Problem in the West." We print the report as unanimously adopted by the Mission. An article from Dr. T. C. Iliff on the general subject is promised for a later date, and will be awaited with interest.—Ed.]

In the article committed to our consideration the following statements occur:

1. "The Churches are not reaching the Mormons."

2. "So far as converting the Mormons is concerned, money has been largely wasted." "If two hundred real Mormons have been changed and made into earnest evangelical Christians during that time [twenty-five years, in which two millions of dollars have been poured into Utah] we have not been able to discover them."

3. "A Presbyterian pastor who has labored for the past five years in Utah is of opinion that not one hundred Mormons have been converted into actual Christians."

4. "Why waste time, money, and labor in carrying on what many regard as a religious crusade against a quiet, sober, religious, and industrious people?"

5. "The time has come for the authorities of all evangelical Churches to change their plans of missionary operation in Utah."

6. "Had the missionary money spent during the past twenty-five years in supporting missionaries in uncongenial, unfruitful, and barren fields, where very few Gentiles live, been put by the Methodist Episcopal Church into a commanding college much greater results would now appear."

In correction of these statements the committee would call attention to the following facts:

The Churches are here to reach all classes, and have never failed in their mission to the masses. Thousands of souls have been converted, many of whom are now centers of Christian influence and power in many States and Territories of the republic and other parts of the world. The value of this can never be fully estimated on earth. It must be remembered that there has always been a large floating population in Utah, and that large numbers that have been reached and saved through the instrumentality of the Christian Churches and schools have gone from us and make no showing for the work on the ground.

Again, the statement that Mormons are not reached is misleading. It

is true great numbers are not brought into Christian Churches, and yet a goodly number have been. A member of this committee received into the church in one community forty persons, about thirty-five of whom had been Mormons; and a number of these who were converted and who united with our Church were afterward excommunicated from the Mormon Church. Our minutes show that in one year there were one hundred and sixty-seven accessions to our Church from Mormon ranks. We have a letter from a brother of another denomination stating that hundreds of souls have been gathered by them into their Church, over four hundred of whom have been Mormons, and that over twenty of their workers and teachers have in some way been connected with Mormonism. The Christian schools have wrought a marvelous reformation throughout the length and breadth of Utah. The high standard of the public schools is one result of this part of the work.

There have been mighty influences at work in Utah for the last twenty-five years, and a history of this work would be one of thrilling interest. The field is acknowledged to be the hardest in the world, but mighty victories for God and truth and education have been achieved; but for these Christian influences Utah would not be as far advanced as she is to-day. Great changes have taken place under the heroic toil and sacrifice of devoted men and women of God.

As the committee can but briefly refer to these matters we recommend that Dr. T. C. Iliff be requested to answer the article in full in the November *Review*.*

GEO. E. JAYNE,
J. D. GILLILAN, } *Committee.*

"KNOWLEDGE AND FEELING IN SPIRITUALITY."

THE contributed article on this subject, in the July–August number of the *Review*, contains some valuable psychological and spiritual suggestions. At the same time there are half-truths which do not deal out full measure, "pressed down, and shaken together, and running over." There is evidently a strenuous effort to push spirituality too far over toward the intellect, and hence a danger of unbelting the machinery.

This old question, fought over by philosophers, gains new interest as the modern progress of knowledge inspires intellectual pride and ambition. These two angels in strange apparel criticise crystal tear drops, using peculiar adjectives, and actually propose to stand guard at the gate of Gethsemane to critically see that all proceeds according to their rules of cognition and logic.

The contributor says: "In the first place, in ordinary psychical processes, the thought about anything antedates the feeling about it." A

* Dr. Iliff writes: "The time is too short for me to comply with the request of the Annual Meeting of the Utah Mission, to supplement the above report by making full answer in the November number of the *Methodist Review* to statements in the article, 'The Mormon Problem in the West,' by the Rev. F. S. Beggs. Besides, it seems to me that the report of the committee is sufficient reply to that part of the article to which the Mission takes exceptions."

fuller view will show that the conscious self always acts as a unit. One faculty does not sleep while others toil. Feeling never consents to go off on a vacation while intellect and will stay at home and trudge on at their tasks. One might as well say that the arrival of the light in a solar ray antedates the arrival of the heat; or, that the bulk of a cannon ball strikes the target before the breadth or thickness of the ball arrives. Knowledge affects feeling, and to this extent feeling is dependent on knowledge. But feeling also influences thought and will, and they are in turn so far dependent on feeling. When God comes into a human soul he does not set up his headquarters in the intellect, putting feeling and will under lock and key. He comes into our poor wasted life as a baptismal flood of Spirit. This new life flows into, and quickens, ennobles, and beautifies the whole of human life. One function is not fed into a giant while another is starved into a dwarf. There are three roads into consciousness: (1) The physical senses; (2) Intellectual cognition; (3) Spiritual intuition. In the second one can mark the logical processes. In the case of the senses we only apprehend the stimuli, while in spiritual intuition we know nothing but the conclusion or result as it comes into consciousness. We are told, "Our religious emotions are determined by our religious thoughts." This is a half-truth. The other half is that religious feelings determine religious thoughts. A man feels as he thinks. But this is not all. One also thinks as one feels. A little child is by its mother put to bed in a room alone. She retires with the light. The child, in the darkness, feels afraid and thinks some one is in the room. Did the thought produce the feeling, or the feeling the thought? Evidently the feeling produced the thought. Spirituality is not "purely emotional;" no more is it purely intellectual. Thought is not the only thing that determines feeling. Motive or purpose gives shape to both logic and feeling. This is true in business, politics, and religion. Below the purpose is character; hence volition, thought, and feeling all come from character conditions. Hence the bedrock of Christ's philosophy is that there must be a new nature. Nor is it fair to say that feeling is "mere emotion." Emotion is a movement or excitement of feeling. Feeling is larger and more permanent in its nature.

Our correspondent claims that knowledge is determinative of spirituality. It is truly an important element in it, yet knowledge may exist without spirituality. Human cognition is not the germ that produces the Christ life. Satan may have all the knowledge of an angel, yet he has no such thing as spirituality. His feelings may correspond with his knowledge; still the feelings are those of a fiend. It is not cognition that gives them shape and quality. Intellect alone does not make feeling. We are told of one dying who cried out, "Give me a great thought, that I may feed upon it." This is quoted to prove that thought satisfies the soul's longing. But the dying man wanted a thought, not as an end, but as a means. Besides this, his feeling of need prompted the demand for a thought. A deeper view shows that what satisfies the soul is not thought, but the real life-giving Christ himself. This satisfaction must come, not

by intellect mainly, but in the fellowship, the personal communion and consciousness of the Holy Spirit. The "witness of the Spirit" is deeply and truly psychological and philosophical. Thoughts of God, Christ, sin, heaven, and hell may all be had without the feeling of penitence for sin, without which there can be no regeneration or uplift to the life or character. Our contributor writes: "It is the revelation of God's anger and mercy to the mind that stirs the corresponding emotions of fear and love." This is true so far, but a half-truth; for such knowledge may be given and only harden the soul in sin.

But which has the larger place in religion, thought or feeling? It is clear that thought and feeling cannot be separated. Every thought has feeling, and every feeling has thought, and both have volition, and volition both. But we may ask, Does religion vary as thought varies, or as feeling varies? Which is the law—the more thought the more religion, or the more feeling the more religion? We note that religion may be low when thought is high, and *vice versâ*. The best theologians are not necessarily the best Christians. The most illiterate may be most pious. The profoundest thinker in the pulpit may have some ignorant member in the pew who is more religious and saintly than himself. Then we are forced to the conclusion that feeling has a larger place in true religion than thought. Spirituality varies according to feeling more than according to thought. When the heart is brought to the front religion takes a fresh start. This is true in the cases of Christ, Schleiermacher, and Wesley. Intellect brings us into relation with our environment. Feeling is the response we make to this environment. Feeling more nearly represents the whole man, and he responds to his environment as a unit. Thought is by nature analytical. It takes to pieces and examines; but admiration, as a whole and undivided, leaps to its object. Intellect analyzes, heart synthesizes. One is the man thinking, the other the man loving. Kant says, "Feeling is deeper than all thought." Intellect is the handmaid of feeling. Even in science feeling is the beginning, middle, and end. One must study science, or practice art, for the love of it. Love is the inspiration. If dislike prevail, failure is inevitable. One begins with curiosity and is kept at it by enjoyment or anticipation. Some are unstable in religion. This is because feeling is superficial—not because of feeling, but for lack of it. This may come from narrowness of interest, or because absorbed in self. A hawk hovering over the water responds to but one thing, its prey. So of a selfish, narrow man. The unselfish soul responds to this whole world and the unseen world also. A profound religious feeling relates to all conditions of life, as a deep honesty to all acts and dealings. It is called "mere feeling," as if unimportant, but this is from a superficial view. We say the "moved" man in court is one of strong feeling; but the judge who is unmoved may have stronger feeling. He considers the law, the State, and justice; the other only feels pity. We too often confound feeling with emotion or excitability. The firmer man may have greater feeling. The scientist has a vastly larger environment than another. But which has larger

environment, the scientist without God, or the ignorant man with God? Evidently the latter, if he has any conception of God at all.

Both intellect and feeling should be developed together. Sometimes one is cultivated exclusively, while the growth should be in equal proportion. Feelings are most prized by all, because most expressive of character. A gift is appreciated, not for its value, but for the feeling back of it. It is the kindness we prize. One is more grateful for sympathy than for all gifts. This is because self is given in the sympathy. Lifting the soul Godward, we feel his sympathy and prize it most of all, because in it he gives his infinite self. This begets the feeling of gratitude without which the soul has an eternal sinking in depravity. The sum of all commandments is not "Thou shalt think or know," but "Thou shalt love." This is philosophical, because the feeling of love expresses the whole being as no intellectual process can possibly do. Cognition is egoistic, while love is altruistic, which includes both *ego* and *alter*, plus the *relatio*. The feeling commanded must come out of all the heart, intellect, and will, which are man's totality and finality.

Syracuse, N. Y. J. Wallace Webb.

A REPLY TO DRS. WHEELER AND STEELE.

Limited space necessitates condensation in our reply to the notes of Drs. Wheeler and Steele in the July–August *Review*, and forbids even brief notice of many of the details.

Dr. Wheeler errs in his suggestion that "the theory which assumes that society imparts all the value to land . . . proves too much." The "same kind of application" may not "be made to wages or any other earnings," for the reason that these are the products of personal toil, while, as Dr. Steele says, "land has no such" human "energy or personal agency in it, nor behind it." This is also a sufficient reply to Dr. Steele's argument concerning "land," and "leather, or cloth." Leather and cloth are the fruits of human brain and brawn. Land represents neither. Hence, it is sheer folly to maintain that both should belong to the same party.

The writer repudiates the doctrine of "governmental ownership" imputed to him by Dr. Steele. We have tried this scheme and find that as fast as $1.25 per acre is offered for the land the government transfers its title thereto to individuals; whence arises "private ownership." Let there be "common ownership" of land and "private ownership" of the fruits of industry, and the bans of felicitous union between socialism and individualism will be wisely solemnized and a perplexing problem righteously solved.

After inculpating the writer because he "offers no scrap of proof," but "adopts" the theory because it "suits his purpose," he unblushingly "out-herods Herod" in "the thing he condemns." Note the *ex cathedrâ* manner in which he settles the entire question of land ownership as set forth in the Old Testament. Neither proof, reason, nor reference is given. The theory suits his purpose; therefore he adopts "it." Now I

unhesitatingly deny that the "Old Testament regulation of landed possession in the Israelitish commonwealth" provides for the "ownership of land by individuals," and refer to Lev. xxv, 23, and context. The Lord held the title; hence, the occupant could not transfer it. Acts v, 4, recognizes a code then in force, but expresses no approval thereof. The ease with which Dr. Steele disposes of Eccles. v, 9, is delightful; but I fearlessly challenge him to present accepted canons of interpretation according to which this passage may be made to signify less, or other than that "the profit of the earth is for all."

Dr. Steele says, "The assumption that either God or nature has given the land to the race is a pure gratuity." I appeal to Gen. i, 28, 29; commenting on which Dr. Whitelaw says, "The primitive charter of man's common property in the earth . . . is the present section of this ancient document."* Will my critic deny that in the transaction here recorded God treated with Adam as the representative of the race? If not, will he define and locate the "gratuity?" If he holds that God treated with him as a private individual, will he tell us whether or not Adam ever transferred his title? If he did not, we are living on land that belongs to no living man; if he did, to whom? Has it legally descended to the present landowners? If not, they are piratically exacting rent that justly belongs to others. In short, will he give us a complete abstract of the title to the land?

Dr. Steele draws a conclusion from what he labels "Mr. George's theory," and says, "This may be illustrated by a great number of concrete cases." He then proceeds to illustrate by a draft on fancy that would ravish the risibilities of the wildest dreamer of phantasmagorial perceptions. Its "concrete" parallel I have never seen nor heard of. The "two parcels of land" are equally well located. Apart from the value "effected by labor" thereon they are equally worthless. He asks, "How would Mr. George's theory work in such an instance?" We reply that, were economic conditions so chaotic as to produce such a "concrete" case, the theory would exact tax (rent) from neither; for neither parcel as land has any value; hence society, having nothing invested, can expect no returns. On the other hand, the first owner expends nothing, loses nothing, and may not rightfully expect more. The second owner has produced a value equal to $50 per acre of the land; hence, he alone has just claim to the whole or any part thereof.

Durango, Colo. J. L. Vallow.

A REPLY TO MY CRITIC.

The July–August number of the *Review* contains in its "Arena" department a brief critique of my article on Sociology, by W. M. Balch. In the third paragraph of his he takes exception to my statement that "the cardinal doctrine of Christian sociology is that the reformation of society and the perfecting of the social order can only be effected by the moral

* See *Pulpit Commentary, in loco.*

regeneration of the individual," in the following words: "This may or may not be true. If it means simply that there can be no real social reform that does not make individual men and women happier and better, the statement is obviously true and amounts to little more than saying that social reform must be social and reformatory." To this I reply that my critic makes the glaring mistake of using reformation as though it were synonymous with regeneration, whereas the words are widely diverse in meaning and signification. Reformation is an act wrought by the individual in reference to himself; regeneration is a work wrought in the individual by the agency of the Holy Spirit, producing a radical moral change in man's spiritual nature, and this is done, as stated in my article, "not by a slow evolutionary process, but by the immediate impartation of the divine life—the perfect life—to the human soul," thus making it a new creature which creates for itself new environments. To say that the reformation of society can only be brought about by the regeneration of the individuals of which society is composed is to predicate the fact that it cannot be accomplished by merely reformatory processes which are altogether human in their origin and scope, but must be effected by a divine agency operating upon and through the individual for the perfecting of the social order by the perfecting of the individual.

My critic then proceeds to say: "But, if the proposition means that the moral regeneration of society is to be promoted solely by direct efforts for the personal conversion of individuals, it misses the mark entirely." To which I make the counter statement, which no one can gainsay, that all schemes and systems devised for the improvement and perfecting of the social order which have ignored the regeneration of the individual have proved utterly abortive, and have ended in total failure —a fact that conclusively shows that the regeneration of the individual must be the cardinal doctrine of any and all systems that will result in any permanent betterment of the social condition of mankind.

Referring to the motto of Christian sociology enforcing this point, "Make the tree good, and the fruit will be good also," my critic says: "This is far from warranting the conclusion at which he seems to hint, that character is not immediately and largely a problem of environment." To which I reply that, if character is necessarily "immediately and largely a problem of environment," then man's free agency is a fiction, and he must cease to be accounted as a morally accountable and responsible being. Such a statement is in direct antagonism with the teaching of Christianity which represents man as endowed with an imperial, self-determining will, and on this fact predicates both his moral responsibility and accountability. The weakness of will in the presence of evil environments, to which my critic refers, is largely the result of either wickedness of heart or an entire absence of any effort on the part of such individuals to cultivate their will power. The will can be cultivated and strengthened just as any other faculty can be cultured and strengthened, and those who fail to cultivate and strengthen their will

power are just as culpable as those who fail to cultivate and strengthen their conscience or any other moral faculty. There is large truth in the old saying that "weakness is akin to wickedness."

Stockton, Cal. E. D. McCreary.

"DID PAUL PREACH ON MARS' HILL?"

That was a very interesting article which Professor Parsons contributed to the July–August number of the *Review*. But is not the argument a trifle too positive? Overconfidence is not always conclusive.

For illustration, note the author's remarks on the preposition ἐπὶ, perhaps the vital point of the discussion. "This word," the professor assures us, "is very common, in both Luke's gospel and in the Acts, in the sense of 'unto' or 'before;' but nowhere does it mean 'up' or into.'" Several passages are cited in support of the statement that Luke would have chosen "εἰς," had he been speaking of "ascending or descending any eminence." From which "discriminating nicety" Professor Parsons would have us conclude that Luke, in Acts xvii, 19, is "speaking of a tribunal and not of an elevation, and that the correct translation is, 'They brought him before the Areopagus.'"

But what of Luke xxiii, 33, "And when they were come to the place which is called Calvary?" The Greek reads, ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον τὸν καλούμενον Κρανίον, or, as St. Mark has it, ἐπὶ τὸν Γολγοθὰν τόπον. In this case is tradition evidently unreliable and Professor Parsons as evidently correct? Is Mount Calvary an apparition, and Monticulus Golgotha only a ghastly illusion? So long as tradition is supported by the researches of scholars like Krafft and Hengstenberg, Schultz and Tischendorf, we are justified, it would seem, in hesitating to accept the verdict which Professor Parsons so complacently pronounces upon the limitations of St. Luke's ἐπὶ.

It is true, however, that men as eminent as Robinson and Schaff differ with those we have named concerning the location of the scene of the crucifixion; but this does not materially affect the point at issue, which is whether or not Professor Parsons is right in affirming that he has "shown that Luke implies nothing about any ascent of the hill Areopagus," and that the correct translation of Acts xvii, 19, is, "They brought him before the Areopagus." Says Professor Thayer, of Harvard, in his incomparable work, the Greek-English lexicon: "The court was called Areopagus, from the place where it sat, also *Areum Judicium* and *Curia Martis*. To that hill the apostle Paul was led, not to defend himself before the judges, but that he might set forth his opinions on divine subjects to a greater multitude of people, flocking together there and eager to hear something new." Evidently the doctors disagree.

Our contention is simply this, that Professor Parsons errs in the claims he makes for the force of his argument, because he is in error concerning the restricted interpretation which he exacts of the preposition ἐπὶ. A single citation must suffice to conclude an utterance which we hope will appear to the reader more interrogatory than dogmatical. In Rev. xxi, 10, we read, "And he carried me away in the spirit to a great and

high mountain, and showed me that great city, the holy Jerusalem." The preposition in this case is not εἰς or πρὸς, but ἐπὶ.

Perry, N. Y. BENJAMIN COPELAND.

SUBJECTIVE THEOLOGY.

THE "Arena" article on "Entire Sanctification" in the September-October *Review* is but another manifestation of the common tendency to spin theology out of one's own feelings and thoughts. The true theology is always based upon objective facts, and its authoritative exposition is found in the word of God. Moreover, many of the truths of the word are recondite and involved, so that to cite a text or two is not to declare them. There are texts that bear against them, and these are part of the word. They are a part of the context, too, and all must be submitted to broad principles of interpretation to be read aright. Hence they are questions for the experts, and the testimony of the experts cannot be ignored.

We say, then, that the ideas expressed in the article cited are those of a small minority of Christian believers, and are practically unknown to the great masters of exegesis. We may set up a system of our own, and thereby make an appeal from rational interpretation. But, if we do not, we must acknowledge that the Bible does not teach that it is our privilege through definite prayer and faith to be delivered instantaneously from a sinward tendency or bias to evil, inherited from Adam and other ancestors according to the laws of heredity. Even those who preach this doctrine seem to concede that it exceeds the oracles of God, for they make most of their argument from "experience." But this is illegitimate. It is monstrous to appeal from reason to the emotions, and to add a fancied experience to "the words of the book of this prophecy." Whenever a man ceases to explain his experience by the book, and essays to explain the book by his experience, he becomes a fanatic. Can any man claim that he knows his "original sin" by consciousness? How then can he know of its removal by consciousness? The origin and nature of depravity are matters of pure theology, and we are dependent upon the Bible alone for our knowledge of their issue. We may see men grossly sinning every day without a conscious sense of bias to evil. Experience may richly illustrate the word, and it may rabidly destroy it.

If any are inclined to urge that this "experience" is the witness of the Spirit, and hence must be true, let them go slowly. How do they know that it is the witness of the Spirit? Which of their emotions bear the Spirit's label? Here again we must appeal to the word. Mere joy is not the witness of the Spirit. Is there any authority for claiming the direct witness of the Spirit for anything else than the adoption of sonship? Where does all this talk about the "witness to cleansing" come from?

"The scars of sin" need a word. Truly they will remain during this life. But will they ever be obliterated? Does the Scripture warrant us in the hope that the sinner will ever be as if he had never sinned? The atonement of Jesus is not a proper subject for emotional treatment.

Cleveland, O. E. S. LEWIS.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

THE MINISTRY AS A CONSERVATIVE FORCE.

The bugle blast of the present age is aggressiveness. Everybody seems to be pushing forward. Quietness, receptivity, allowing things to work out their legitimate results is almost unknown. This condition of things is alike a good and an evil. The history of the world is that of progress; but a progress which does not have its foundation in fact and in truth is no true progress. There is danger of rushing on with unchecked violence until one is dashed over a cataract and destruction follows. The world needs the aggressive people. It would be stagnant without them. But it equally needs those who will stand and ask where is the good way, and will endeavor to walk therein and to lead others to do the same. This is the conservative force which keeps the overaggressive spirit from dominating the world. Such a force, we believe, is the Christian ministry of to-day. It conserves regularity. It maintains decorousness in human life by preserving forms of worship. Few people are aware of the conservative influence of forms. There are those who would dismiss all form as an excess of dignity, whereas a banishment of forms would be an evil of great magnitude. We must recognize the idea of the too much and the too little. With all the contempt that is cast upon it the *media via* is in general the safe road.

By conserving forms of service and order in the exercise of public worship the minister has much to do with maintaining decorous methods of procedure in all departments of life. Manners and customs are maintained, the destruction of which would revolutionize society. The ministry, too, conserve the orderly progress of humanity. They realize that the world is not to be saved by leaps and bounds, but by sowing the seeds of truth, by the conversion of individual souls, and by the constant edification of the people. They are well aware that movements, however good, which have not their basis in sound principles and which do not proceed by regular laws are evanescent and destined to failure. Humanity is a growth, the root being the divine life in the soul of man. By thus promoting growth and orderly development in all departments of life the minister becomes a conservative force. It is wise for us to recognize the Church in this connection. The ministry are such because of their relation to the Church of God, which in all ages has stood alike for order and progress. At least, this is the case when it has not been dominated by those out of harmony with its higher ideals.

In this matter justice ought to be done to the Protestant Episcopal Church. Although not equal in numbers to some of the denominations of Christendom, we must recognize its wide and beneficent influence. Although it is not a Church of aggressiveness on some lines of Christian activity, there are, nevertheless, conditions of life which this Church

meets, and a work which it accomplishes, that the Church historian must not fail to consider. Its quietness in the midst of the occasional sensational movements of other denominations must not be overlooked. As a rule, if not invariably, the pulpit of the Episcopal Church is not employed for sensational purposes. The topics of the preacher are mainly Christian topics. The ecclesiastical adventurer has less scope there than in some other Churches, because of the rigidity, and perhaps, in our view, the narrowness, of their regulations. While it seems exceedingly uncharitable and lacking in the spirit of Christian tolerance for the Protestant Episcopalians to exclude other ministers from their pulpits, their insistence on Church order is not an evil. Their methods, further, preserve a strict recognition of the sacredness of church edifices. It is true that in the early Church God's people worshiped in private houses, and every place was to them a sacred place. It is also true that in after years church buildings were invested with a sacred awe entirely out of harmony with our conception of the freedom of the Gospel; but here also is a middle place which the Episcopal Church seems to have found. Their larger churches are kept open during the day for sacred worship, and they encourage among their people the feeling that these are holy places. As a partial result the inquiry is being made whether it would not be better for all Protestants to open their churches more frequently to those who would come to speak with God, rather than to the tumultuous gatherings for popular entertainment. It is also true of this Church that she does not appeal by unusual methods for large congregations. Her prayers are read with equal care in the presence of one or of thousands.

A prosperous church does not necessarily depend upon large congregations, but it must be a center of sacred truth. It should be a sacred place, where anyone who enters should be brought in contact with Christ. It is to be feared that the call of the people for large congregations is leading to a demand for sensational effects which even those who are most given to it will soon be unable to satisfy. Such things grow upon what they feed, and the morbid tendency for new and startling facts and peculiar forms of expression becomes so overpowering that at length it reaches limits which the most reckless vender of this kind of teaching dare not venture to present in his pulpit. The very persons who are allured by it soon become dissatisfied with this limited sensationalism, and they go away and seek entertainment in places where amusement is the recognized and only feature.

Will not the Church grow more, and have a surer future, if her ministry reserve for the pulpit the great teachings of Christian faith? They should clothe the Gospel in the choicest language; they should enforce it with the most apt illustrations; they should do their best by personal visitation to win men to Christ; but when that is done they should not waste time in sighing for large congregations. When the people feel that the house of the Lord is a resting place for the weary, and that the preacher's words are consolation for the sorrowing, they will find reasons for going to church which they do not always find now.

EXEGESIS—HEB. VI, 4–6.

"For it is impossible for those who were once enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come, if they shall fall away, to renew them again unto repentance."

This passage has been a very vexed one among scholars of the New Testament, and has formed the basis of extended theological discussion. It has been a proof-text of both Calvinistic and Arminian theologians. It is of course difficult to add anything to the discussion of a passage which has been a battle ground of exegetes, but a fresh putting of the points involved may be helpful to some of our younger ministers. This chapter begins with a statement of the apostle—that his readers should leave, that is, go beyond, the doctrine of the beginning of Christ, and be borne forward unto perfection, that is, to maturity of knowledge concerning Christ and his religion, and also to maturity of Christian character. It will not be wise, in the judgment of the sacred writer, to spend more time on the elementary subjects of the Gospel, as these had already been sufficiently insisted on. There is nothing to be gained by his readers in their repetition. He proceeds, however, to a statement of the elementary principles of Christian teaching on which he had insisted, and then adds, by inference, the passage of which we are treating.

The first point to be noted is the word "impossible." It primarily means the absence of power. Wesley's explanation of "difficult" will not answer, and we must accept the ordinary "impossible" as the meaning which the sacred writer intended to convey. The passage does not say that it is impossible for God to renew anyone to repentance, for the subject "God" does not inhere in the sentence. The writer has been treating of the effects of the Gospel, and claims that it is impossible, by further discussion of truth, to renew those to repentance who "were once enlightened" and "made partakers of the Holy Ghost." If they fall away, after having received such tokens of God's approval, it is impossible in the nature of things that further discussion would reclaim them.

The next clause demanding attention is "to renew them again unto repentance." Here commentaries very properly emphasize the present tense. The present implies continued action, and may be translated "to keep renewing." Continued rejection of Christ, crucifying "the Son of God afresh," sears the conscience so that there seems to be no probability, or indeed possibility, of divine truth continuing to impress them. Even the Holy Spirit is hindered in its operation by the continuous hardening of the individual heart and the unbelief consequent thereupon.

Another word needing consideration is "crucify." This word is in the present tense, and may be rendered, "while they keep crucifying to themselves the Son of God afresh." A continuance in this sin involves a rejection of Jesus as their spiritual ruler, and while they are in this condition it is impossible to renew them again unto repentance. Their hearts and minds are closed.

We need further to note the purpose of the renewal of which the

sacred writer speaks. It is a renewal unto repentance. There is nothing said here of the impossibility of a return to God on the part of anyone who seriously repents of his sins. The penitent soul who turns to God through Jesus Christ will ever find access to the throne of the heavenly grace. God never refuses to hear the cries of his penitent children.

The thought then of the passage seems to be this—the apostle could not longer linger on these fundamental discussions with which they were entirely familiar. Hence he must proceed to the higher and more important principles. They must allow themselves to be borne onward to the maturity of the Christian life and to the more elaborate Christian doctrine. Then he proceeds to assign the reason, namely, the impossibility to keep renewing unto repentance while they by continuing to crucify the Son of God reject the very fundamental truths of Christianity. This interpretation is true to all the conditions of the passage. It gives to the word "impossible" its recognized meaning, and does not charge God with either an unwillingness or inability to save a penitent soul. It further assures us that the soul, stupefied by sin, may reach such a state that truth no longer impresses him, and that it can no longer be renewed to a condition of repentance which is essential to its salvation. It also affirms that while the soul continues its rejection of Christ and puts him to an open shame there is no probability of a renewal unto repentance and acceptance of the soul with God.

This view makes it unnecessary to enter into discussion of the meaning of the phrase "once enlightened," etc. Calvinistic theologians have attempted to show that this passage does not mean those who have been actually converted, but rather those who have found the truth but who have not received it fully in their hearts. It also relieves the Arminian of his embarrassment as to the meaning of "impossible," insisting that the soul, once having been enlightened and having fallen away, could not under any circumstances return to God.

As a study in exegesis this passage is interesting as an illustration of the value of the exact interpretation of the tenses of the New Testament, which is so strongly insisted on by modern grammarians. "While they crucify," as in the margin of our late revision, is preferable to "seeing they crucify;" and "are crucifying" is more vivid and gives a clearer view than merely "crucify."

The general teaching of this passage is thus relieved of features which have been exceedingly embarrassing to interpreters, by keeping closely to the literal rendering and not allowing anything to be imported into the passage growing out of our preconceived opinions as to its meaning.

HOW TO STUDY THE BIBLE.—(*Continued.*)

The nature of the book we call the Bible has already been considered, and is a matter on which there is a general agreement. Assuming its divine origin, we must, of course, study it with profound reverence. This is not to regard the book as an object of superstitious veneration,

but to regard it with that reverence due to a book which is to us the expression of divine wisdom toward mankind. It must not be studied with carelessness or indifference, but with painstaking fidelity.

We will at once agree that it should be treated from a literary standpoint with critical exactness of method. We are now speaking of the way in which the reader may make the Bible most useful for practical life and for spiritual growth. Bishop Ellicott, in *Foundations of Sacred Study*, page 87, sets forth a threefold method of reading: "First, a simple and attentive reading in the original language of the whole book (if short) which we have chosen for our study, or of a connected portion of it if the whole could not be carefully read through at a single sitting of moderate length; second, a closer reading of it by paragraph, in which all the difficulties and disputable passages which may have been noted and felt in the first reading are fully investigated and, as far as possible, cleared up; third, a more meditative reading, in which the whole attention is turned to the spiritual truth conveyed and to the spiritual deductions that may be made from the paragraph, and, further, any distinctive teaching that may seem to be peculiar to the passage." The first, he declares, will "catch, not only the general mind of the writer, but those shades of thought . . . which an attentive and consecutive reading of the original is always found most distinctly to supply." "The object of the second, or interpretative, reading is to realize the meaning of every portion of what is read; while the object of the third, the reflective, reading of the passage is to enable the soul and spirit to draw forth the spiritual teaching of every part."

This threefold reading will impress the passage upon the mind and heart with such force that, when we have need to approach it again, there will be a reminiscence of past studies and an incentive to further investigation. When a miner has found a vein of gold or silver which has already yielded him rich rewards for his efforts he will be the more ready to dig deeper in the hope of finding more where he has already obtained so much. It is not an unusual experience among students of the Scriptures to find themselves giving most of their time to those parts with which by their previous studies they have become best acquainted. They do this almost unconsciously, showing thereby not only the inexhaustible character of divine truth, but also the value of study as inciting to further study. Surface reading leaves the mind without stimulus for further investigation, but a reading which has brought to view the finer and more obscure points will arouse the mind and heart, and will stimulate a desire for a complete mastery of the book or passage under consideration.

It will be seen that such a reading as indicated by Bishop Ellicott presupposes an acquaintance with the original languages of Scripture. This condition addresses itself particularly to preachers, as they are supposed to have this preparation for sacred study. The method, however, applies to lay students of the English Bible. If the whole Bible were gone over in this way, instead of in the cursory manner now so common, the results would be manifest in spiritual life as well as in biblical knowledge.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

ISRAEL AND THE EGYPTIAN MONUMENTS.

It has always been a source of astonishment as well as of disappointment that the Egyptian monuments are, as far as discovered, almost as silent as the sphinxes of that ancient land upon the relation of Israel to Egypt. It is true that some archæologists have seen some references more or less definite to the Hebrews or Israelites in Egypt, and that there are records of Egyptian campaigns in and through Palestine. But, according to Professor Petrie, an eminent authority, "until this spring there has been no evidence in Egypt to show that any descendants of Jacob ever existed."

Finally, however, this indefatigable excavator has brought to light an inscription on which, beyond contradiction, the name Israel occurs. The slab on which it is written is one of the largest of its kind ever discovered. It measures ten feet three inches by five feet four inches, and has a thickness of a little more than a foot. This monument was first set up by Amenhotep III to record his glories and triumphs. It seems, however, that most of the original inscription had been erased and that it was again partially restored. Meneptah (also written Merenptah) had a mania for destroying the monuments of his predecessors in order to erect ones to himself; but in building his own temple this solid slab of Amenhotep III was not broken up, but placed with its inscribed face in the wall, in such a way that the back, which had no inscriptions, appeared on the outside. It was on this smooth surface that Meneptah had caused a record of his deeds to be carved. As the discoverer says, "The amount of writing upon it is without precedent." In fact, there are more than six thousand signs upon its surface, which, when translated into English, make about fifteen hundred words, or enough to fill three pages of this department of the *Review*.

Mr. Griffith, an eminent Egyptologist, has given a translation of the inscription. The most of it has no bearing whatever upon the Israelites, and for that reason need not be discussed in this article. The portion to which we would call attention, and which is of positive interest, is the following:

"For the sun of Egypt has wrought this change; he was born as the fated means of revenging it, the king Meneptah. Chiefs bend down saying, 'Peace be to thee.' Not one of the nine bows (that is, foreigners) raised his head. Vanquished are the Tahennu (North Africans); the Khitta (Hittites) are quieted; ravaged is Pa-kananna with all violence; taken is Askadni (Askelon?); seized is Kasmel; Yenu (Yanoh) of the Syrians is made as though it had not existed; the people of Ysiraal is spoiled, it hath no seed; Syria has become as widows of the lands of Egypt; all lands together are in peace. Everyone that was a marauder

hath been subdued by the king Meneptah, who gives life like the sun every day."

Professor Petrie thinks that the monarch here mentioned is the Pharaoh of the exodus. As the male children of the Israelites had been killed in large numbers by a decree of his father, the phrase, "it hath no seed," is quite intelligible. There is, however, one difficulty about this inscription which, with our present light, is hard to solve, namely: If Meneptah was the Pharaoh who reigned when Israel left Egypt, how is it that he could have triumphed over Israel in the land of Palestine? The fact that Israel is spoken of in immediate connection with Syria, and indeed the whole geographical arrangement of the places and peoples that are mentioned on this slab, point to an Israel which was outside of Egypt. If, however, we suppose that the order in which the various countries are given is not intended to be exact or scientific all difficulty disappears and the report agrees remarkably well with the account given in the Bible.

We should, however, say that the discoverer of this inscription is inclined to the belief that though the king whose triumphs are recorded on this slab must be the Pharaoh of the exodus, yet the Ysiraal of the inscription cannot refer to the Israelites who left Egypt under the guidance of Moses, but another branch of the children of Israel, who had returned to Palestine shortly after the expiration of the famine which had driven them to the land of Goshen. That some of the descendants of Jacob had returned to Canaan before the death of the patriarch explains, the professor thinks, why he was taken for burial to Machpelah. And the fact that the Bible is utterly silent concerning such a return is, as Professor Petrie asserts, no positive evidence against his supposition.

This article, up to this point, was written last April. Since that time archæologists and biblical scholars have been busily engaged in studying the writing on the stela which is above described. Though the original stone is now preserved in the Gizeh Museum, and is thus inaccessible to most European and American scholars, it is a fortunate thing that the photographer has come to the aid of these investigators, has produced excellent photographs of the stela with its many mysterious hieroglyphics, and thus has made it possible for all those scholars who are interested and qualified to study this most important document without the worry or expense of a trip to the Egyptian museum on the bank of the Nile.

Notwithstanding that this venerable piece of granite bears the longest inscription of any similar ancient slab so far discovered, there is, strange to say, but one short clause—and just one word in that clause—which has attracted universal attention, namely, that in which reference is made to the Israelites. Fortunately, however, this clause, though translated by several distinguished authorities, has been rendered in almost the same phraseology as at first given by Mr. Griffith, and, if not in the exact words of the first translator, yet in such a way as to convey the same meaning. It is true that Professor Sayce, who translates the

clause, "The Israelites are minished," etc., places an interrogation point after "minished," and remarks that the "determinative of smallness or badness is added to it, so that it seems to signify minished or something of the same nature." Professor Hommel, the distinguished Munich orientalist, in an article published in a recent number of the *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschift*, does not attempt to give any translation of the sign *fekt*, but by way of explanation adds in brackets the following note: "With the determinative for evil things; translation uncertain, as the word does not occur elsewhere; but possibly related to *fk*, meaning to overrun by an enemy."

It is indeed a source of great satisfaction that as far as scholars have translated the passage under discussion there is a virtual agreement among them all, especially in regard to the word "Ysiraal." No one has expressed the least doubt as to the sign so rendered, for all, without a dissenting voice, refer this to the people of Israel, and not to a country of that or similar name. That a place cannot be meant is the more evident from the fact that the determinative used is that which is employed with a tribe or people. This is not accidental, because the "name Israelite alone is without a determinative of land or city." Then, again, the characters used show clearly that it cannot mean Jezreel. So it has come to pass, as Professor Sayce has remarked, that another critical objection has been overthrown, namely, that there was no such people as the Israelites or Hebrews at the time Moses is supposed to have lived. Let this recent discovery serve as a warning to those who base their theories upon the silence of the Egyptian monuments concerning the records or Genesis and the Pentateuch in general that they should not be too free in their conclusions regarding the early history of Israel; but rather let them follow one of their great leaders, Wellhausen, who now admits that, after all, the children of Israel, during the early part of their history, might have lived in the land of Egypt, as recorded in the Old Testament.

Important, however, as this new discovery has been, it must be admitted that it has caused no little confusion, since it will require the recasting of several theories supposed to have been perfectly established. Though the inscription has an undoubted reference to Israel, it is very difficult to say to what period of their history reference is made. Was it before or after the exodus? Were the Israelites in Egypt, wandering in the wilderness, or in Palestine, at the time Meneptah claims to have subdued or spoiled them? As our readers know, Professor Petrie has suggested five possible answers to the above questions, which may be briefly stated as follows:

1. The reference is to the oppression of the children of Israel in Egypt, as recorded in the Book of Exodus. This, indeed, agrees well with the accepted view that Meneptah was the ruler of Egypt at the time of the exodus. But, if this view be the correct one, why is Israel mentioned between two places which were situated outside the land of Egypt?

2. The reference is to a time after the Israelites had settled in Palestine. But how, on this supposition, is it possible to account for the absolute silence of the Hebrew Scriptures regarding such an Egyptian campaign?

3. Though the fact is not recorded in the Bible it is possible that only a portion of the Israelites went down to Egypt with their ancestor Jacob.

4. Or, granting that they all went down at the time of the famine, it is not necessary to hold that the entire family remained any length of time in the land of the Pharaohs; but they soon returned to the land of promise. The fact that Jacob was buried in Machpelah seems to favor some such a view.

5. A portion of the Israelites reached Canaan in a very short time after leaving Egypt and crossing the Red Sea, though the bulk of them wandered in the wilderness for more than a generation. The reference, therefore, on the slab is to the small portion which had thus gained an early entrance into Canaan, and which were subdued by the armies of Meneptah.

It will be difficult for most of our readers to see the possibility of reconciling any of these five propositions, except the first, with our ideas of Hebrew history. Though Professor Petrie is inclined to the view that the inscription speaks of a branch of the Israelites which in some way had become detached from the main body of the nation, it must be confessed that the difficulties inseparably connected with such a theory are very great.

Both Hommel and Sayce agree that the Meneptah in question was the Pharaoh of the exodus. The former says: "However dark the reference of Meneptah may be to Israel, the fact, nevertheless, that mention is made of them, and that too in the connection to which I have referred, is in itself a matter of great importance, in so far as it confirms what has been surmised before, namely, that Meneptah is the Pharaoh of the exodus."* This utterance of the celebrated Munich professor virtually agrees with that of Professor Sayce, who, among other things, says: "At any rate, the theory which saw in Meneptah the Pharaoh of the exodus has received a confirmation." And, from what has been said, it is evident that the Oxford professor believes that "the Israelites were still in Egypt when the inscription was engraved."†

It would be an easy matter to multiply citations from other learned articles written on this subject. But, as no other writer has said anything more definite or positive regarding the bearing of the inscription upon Hebrew history than what we have above quoted from Petrie, Hommel, and Sayce, the best we can do is to wait patiently for additional light, with the hope that Egypt, which has surprised us so often and so unexpectedly, will yet some day furnish us with documents dug from its ancient ruins that will fully confirm the story of Moses and the Jewish exodus.

* *The Independent*, September 24, 1896.
† *Sunday School Times*, July 11, 1896.

MISSIONARY REVIEW.

THE SOUTH AMERICAN OPPORTUNITY.

WHAT can be done to make Protestant the continent of South America—or, less offensively speaking, to spiritualize its existing religious communities, to reach the unevangelized sections of the continent, and to help its incoming European populations? When Bishop Newman organized our Conference in South America, Methodism practically served notice on the world that she had a commission coextensive with this western hemisphere. The six presiding elders' districts then formed each covered a nation—or, rather, the whole covered eight of the ten nations of the vast continent. The last General Conference, anticipating the further development of this work, provided by an enabling act for the erection within the next four years of a Mission Conference out of this vast Conference. All this looks to advance, and appeals to the Church for a closer study of the details involved in meeting our obligations to the populations continuously south to Tierra del Fuego. If, acting under the Monroe doctrine, we demand that Europe shall not exercise political control over Mexico and South America, the question arises as to the increased religious obligations devolving on us. We do not think that the whole responsibility necessarily falls to our share; but, as a matter of fact, except as the European immigration into South America shall serve to extend the missionary labors of European Christians in that direction, the bulk of the work will probably be left to us.

The new commercial impulse in the United States, aiming to cultivate a freer exchange between South America and ourselves, will, if successful, impose on us new duties. How far this impulse will reach is not predicable at present. Certainly the bulk of the South American trade is still with Europe; but the Church can at least keep step with the attempts to bring our nation and those of South America into closer fellowship. Our attention is attracted to this subject afresh by the movements of the National Association of Manufacturers of the United States, an organization said to be made up of fifteen thousand manufacturers in North America, with a capital of a half million dollars for use in advancing the manufacturing interests of America in other lands.

It may not be generally known that the interest of this association centers largely in South America, and that an important commission from the body visited Buenos Ayres in August last with the purpose of establishing sample warerooms on a large scale in the capitals of the several South American republics. It may also be not generally known that at the close of the World's Fair the entire Argentine exhibit was turned over to the Commercial Museum of Philadelphia, and that Philadelphia has probably spent fifteen thousand dollars for permanent preservation of grains, dye stuffs, tanning materials, and other products of Argentine. The raw

products from the several South American republics in that museum number over sixty thousand objects, and are supposed to constitute the largest permanent exhibit of raw materials in the world.

The object of traversing these purely secular matters in this connection is that the Churches of this country may be incited to keep step with every advance which serves to increase the sympathy between South America and ourselves. The single State of Brazil has sixteen millions of people, of whom at least fourteen millions are estimated as entirely unevangelized, and among whom Protestant America has not more than one missionary to possibly a hundred thousand souls. What is sought to be emphasized is the eminent obligation on the Christians of the United States. The Church of England, the British Baptists, the Congregationalists of Great Britain, the Presbyterians of England, the Church of Scotland, the Free Church of Scotland, the Methodists of Great Britain and Ireland, and the United Presbyterian Church of England do not any of them contribute to the spiritual elevation of the thirty-seven millions in this, as it is coming to be called, "neglected continent." We are not saying that they ought to take up this work. That is a question outside the present discussion. But we are contending that the natural agency in spiritualizing the South American republics must be the evangelical Churches of the United States.

DEBTS OF MISSIONARY SOCIETIES.

The American Baptist Home Missionary Society finds itself in a crisis. The panic of 1893 struck the society with such force as to leave it a debt of one hundred thousand dollars. It has struggled manfully for three years, but unless improvement soon comes will be obliged to begin retrenchment because the debt has already increased to one hundred and thirty thousand dollars. The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in May last directed the General Committee of our Missionary Society to restrict its aggregate appropriations, hitherto made on an estimated income, to the sum of its receipts the year preceding its annual session. This would result in preventing any new indebtedness of the society hereafter. There is at this writing, however, an indebtedness of something like a quarter of a million dollars, except as it may be lessened in response to an appeal for special contributions to cancel it. The American Board closed its financial year the last day of August. It had paid its debt of one hundred and fifteen thousand dollars, and had a balance on hand, notwithstanding a decrease in its receipts from legacies. Unfortunately, this balance was in part created by the severest curtailment of its appropriations. The board is to be congratulated, however, that it has canceled its debt without reducing its appropriations more than seventy thousand dollars, discouraging as this is, especially in view of increasing success in China from the fact that the China-Japan war is opening the eyes of some of the Chinese.

The Church of England Missionary Society somewhat recently found

itself with a debt of a hundred thousand dollars, and resolved in the face of it to send to the foreign field all suitable applicants for service, with the result that it paid off its debt and sent a large number of recruits to the field. The next year it continued the same policy, the result being a debt of eighty-five thousand dollars, but a net increase of forty-six in its missionary staff. Including this debt the society sanctioned the expenditure for the next year of two hundred and twenty thousand dollars more than the amount of its income, and inaugurated new enterprises which would demand a great increase of men and means in the succeeding three years. It has seventy-three new missionaries preparing to sail this year, and evidently hopes to find special support for them, since of its existing missionaries no less than one hundred and fifty-two are thus supported, and nine of the seventy new appointees are also thus provided for. Of this total of one hundred and sixty-one, fifty-one and a half are supported by individuals; forty-two and a half by associations; twenty-six by associations in the colonies; twelve by the Gleaners' Union; eleven by other missionary societies; and five by friends. Besides these the society has already on its roll sixty-three honorary and fifteen partly honorary missionaries in the field; by which term it designates missionaries who support themselves without drawing any salary, but who volunteer to serve under the society precisely as if they received their salaries from it.

THE CONGO FREE STATE.

It is desirable to have the fullest information on all topics relating to a portion of the world where missions are projected. We obtain a great deal of this from missionaries when once they are on the field and have opportunity to become acquainted with its conditions. The information communicated by them concerning the languages, as well as the sociological and other features of the communities where they live and labor, is very highly esteemed by all learned societies. But, on the other hand, it is the privilege of the Church to learn much from purely secular sources which is of great value to its special work. In illustration of this the report of the United States Consular Agent, Mr. R. Dorsey Mohun, of his investigations in the Congo Free State may be named as affording much valuable knowledge. Mr. Mohun was designated Consular Agent in 1892, and his report is in the form of an itinerary diary, covering his observations while associated with the Belgian forces from Boma to the Upper Congo between April, 1892, and August, 1894, and presented to the United States government somewhat over a year ago.

In the matter of the climate Mr. Mohun concedes that it is not favorable for foreigners, including the American negro colonist, but maintains that it will not suffer by a comparison with that of other tropical countries similarly situated as to degrees of latitude. He makes, on the authority of Dr. Ryepondt, a comparative statement of the death rate perthous and in the different hot countries of the world. Before the British had acquired the knowledge and the conditions of health in India, from 1800 to

1830, the mortality among the troops was 84.6; while in the Dutch East Indies between 1819 and 1828 it reached 170, and in Jamaica from 1820 to 1830 was 121. For the eleven years ended with 1848 it was 77. In Tunis during 1881 it was 61, and in the Antilles, 91. Guiana is situated similarly to the Congo, and in 1885 the death rate was 237. In Senegal for 1832–37 it was 140. These countries have been taken because they were at those different dates in the same progressive state as the Congo is to-day. The average mortality in the Congo Free State for ten years has been seventy per thousand. Mr. Mohun's conclusion is that the Congo offers the best advantages to negro emigrants from the United States, being "far and away healthier than Sierra Leone or Liberia."

As to the religious state of the natives on the Lower Congo, he says fetichism is largely followed, and there is much quiet poisoning going on in the village communities by the fetich doctors, though this has been somewhat checked from the hanging of several of these doctors by the government. Practically, they are without any religion beyond this fetich superstition. They worship no idols, no fire, nor the sun, moon, or stars. They propitiate a wooden fetich, when they wish to accomplish anything special, by hanging gin bottles and beads about his neck, murmuring some jargon at the same time. In case of theft a nail is driven into the fetich for the purpose of thereby superinducing the death of the unknown thief. There is a native school of medicine located at Boma, the students of which are obliged while attending it to be painted or whitewashed from head to foot.

In the matter of government among the tribes of the Lower Congo there is absolutely no king or chief. Some call themselves so, but their only title to it seems to be that they have a few more brass rods, bales of cloth, or boxes of gin than their neighbors. Each village is independent of every other, having its own headman. The standard of value is a piece of handkerchief twenty-four feet long and a yard wide, reckoned at sixty cents. A card is given which is good for one piece of handkerchief, and when the caravan has done trading they gather these cards and select what they want in return. As a rule they will not touch money, regarding it as worthless; and the trader likes this, because he makes large profits in exchange for handkerchiefs, paying his own drafts in handkerchiefs at sixty cents each which cost him twenty cents delivered in his warehouse.

The government which Mr. Stanley organized has now been ten years in operation, and has been recognized as independent by all the European powers and the United States. Its flag has a blue field and a golden star in the center. The King of Belgium continues to be the sovereign and administers the Congo region through the "Bureau Centrale," composed of the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, of Finance, and of the Interior, through whom all orders pass to the Congo Free State. The local government in Africa consists of a governor general with various state departments. Mr. Mohun thinks, however, that it will be necessary for Belgium to annex the Congo, to insure its "salvation."

FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

F. Godet. Long known in this country by his commentaries, he now turns to the duties of a New Testament critic. His age and scholarship, recognized by all, have given him a warm place in the affections of continental European investigators. The traditionalists will heartily welcome, and the radicals will be bound to respect, this champion of the old-time views of the origin of the New Testament books. While Godet defends every book in the New Testament, yet he is not afraid of criticism. He believes that the Church should allow criticism to go its own way, in sure faith in an invisible Judge who watches over it and unceasingly, though without demonstration, chastens it. He who willfully and lightly robs others of one of those sources of life which God has caused to spring forth from the words of the apostles condemns himself to a lessening of the degree of that life which the Spirit pours out into the hearts of men through these words. This Godet regards as a more effectual check than any which can come from the excommunications hurled from the Vatican or the sufferings inflicted by the Inquisition. In other words, God watches over his word, and the erroneous conclusions of the critics carry with them their own corrective; hence the Church need not fear. We think he might safely have omitted the qualifying terms, "willfully and lightly." For if these words indicate any evil in the critics the consequence he speaks of would result rather from that evil than from anything else. If one robs himself of the water of life the effect is the same whether he does it "willfully and lightly" or not. It looks as though Godet was afraid to make the assertion without qualification; he really felt that there were willful and light-minded critics, and meant to say so. Had he openly said so it would have been better, and the majority of his readers would have agreed with him. For, although there is no doubt that the majority of the critics are actuated by worthy motives, it is equally sure that some of the greatest names in the critical world have treated lightly the most important themes. Godet's classification of the New Testament critics is as follows: Those of the left, whose representatives start from the monistic standpoint in their rejection of the supernatural; a left center, who follow Kant; and a right center and a right, who are true theists.

P. Tiefenthal. A Romanist of the Romanists, he cannot so much guide thought as hold it in the old channels. In his *Daniel Explicatus* (Paderborn, F. Schöningh, 1895) he not only maintains the authenticity of the Book of Daniel, but also the authenticity and trustworthiness of the apocryphal additions thereto. Furthermore, he places these additions within the Book of Daniel in accordance with his views of the period

in the history of Daniel to which they belong. His explanations of the historical difficulties in the way of the acceptance of the book by certain critics are those which are generally given. But he merits the distinction of originality, at least, in a couple of particulars. Nebuchadnezzar's mental affliction he places parallel with that of Louis II of Bavaria, who thought himself to be the Lohengrin of German legend; and Daniel, who is an example of the fact that God always has the means at hand for the necessities of his kingdom, he compares with Windhorst, whom "God sent for the defense of the Church in the so-called Kulturkampf." But his dependence upon Keil is carried to such an extent that he even dares to allow the superiority of the Masoretic text to the Vulgate. His preference for Keil is founded on the supposition that he is among the few non-Catholic commentators who interpret the Book of Daniel in accordance with Catholic principles. Consequently he pays almost no attention to the more recent literature of his subject. What references he makes thereto are mostly at second hand. That much of the supposed advance in biblical science is purely literary adventure must be admitted. Men wholly unqualified for the difficult task of weighing the evidence, and filled only with the idea that the old cannot be true, undertake to correct the ideas which have hitherto prevailed. That they make sorry work of it is no wonder. But progress in every department of learning has had the same follies to contend with, and no one thinks on that account progress ought to be checked. A conservatism, however, which springs, not from conviction, but from restrictions placed upon the investigator from without, is far worse than all the follies of freedom. If there is any unpardonable sin in the handling of divine things it consists in voluntarily putting on spectacles which will compel us to reach certain prearranged conclusions in the interest of the institution which provides the spectacles. We have mentioned Tiefenthal here simply because he is a type of Roman Catholic prejudice under the pretense of the utmost freedom.

Carl Boetticher. If anyone in studying the great thinkers among the German theologians should receive the impression that they are overfond of criticism he would seriously mistake them, at least as a class. With them criticism is not, as a rule, an end, but a means. Could the uses to which the results of criticism are put be looked at from their standpoint the impression now prevalent concerning German theology would be greatly modified. We may admit and even assert the error of their ways, but we cannot deny the profound earnestness of their purpose through it all to discover the true faith of Jesus Christ. They have a notion that the Gospel has been covered over by vast accumulations of error during the progress of the history of the Church. These they would remove that they may ascertain the real teachings of Jesus, with the purpose that when found they may accept them. The purpose is unquestionably commendable, whatever may be thought of the methods employed. Nor are the results, so far as the practical outcome

is concerned, so far away from orthodoxy in most cases as many suppose. For instance, Boetticher defines faith, in the New Testament sense, as consisting of three things: first, unconditional trust in God, such a disposition of the heart or will as produces humble self-renunciation and the ascription of all honor to God alone as the source of help and salvation; second, perfect consecration to God, a disposition of the heart and will which finds its expression in the following of Christ and in obedience to his will; and, third, conquering power, finding expression in miraculous deeds, in mighty words, in patient endurance under suffering and temptation, etc. The man who, after a critical search of the New Testament, finds that to be the nature of the faith of the New Testament Church is not far astray. As to the real nature of the Christian faith, Boetticher represents the essential views of the majority. There would be differences of opinion as to whether all this is well founded, and especially as to how we are to be assured of the reasonableness of such a faith and the relation of it to justification. We think Boetticher has given, on the whole, a very exact description, in general terms, of Christian faith, though there is little suggestion as to the character of justifying faith in particular in his delineation. It is interesting to note, as we have before done in these pages, that though the New Testament may be a subject of varying criticism those critics are generally orthodox when it comes to interpretation.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

"Der Glaube und seine Bedentung für Erkenntniss, Leben, und Kirche, mit Rücksicht auf die Hauptfragen der Gegenwart" (Faith and its Relation to Knowledge, Life, and the Church, with Special Reference to the Principal Problems of the Present Day). By Julius Köstlin. Berlin, Reuther & Reichard, 1895. One turns with almost breathless interest to such a work from such an author. We can give but a brief outline of the fundamental portion: The believer must hold fast to the objectivity and actuality of the objects of his faith. The scientific consideration of nature, while it cannot establish our religious faith, need not conflict with it. On the one hand, the Christian faith solves certain problems which otherwise must remain unexplained. On the other hand, the Christian need not appeal to the Scriptures for the explanation of those facts and operations of nature which we can see with our natural mental faculties; for example, we need not try to correct the Copernican theory by an appeal to the biblical account of creation. The true way to a knowledge of God is not to start with the thought of God as absolute, but rather from the idea of God as Father, the personality whose character is love; in other words, from the standpoint of faith. That this is a limited idea of God must be admitted, but Köstlin thinks, and doubtless all of us will agree, that for the purposes of religion we can have no more adequate idea of God than this by adherence to the idea of God as

the absolute. One of the most interesting phases of the work is that which treats of the Christian revelation as final. While freely admitting that the utterances of the New Testament writers are not in all respects to be taken as absolutely trustworthy, but rather in some cases as their opinions as to matters of fact, yet he maintains that in Jesus Christ the way to God and his salvation is opened once for all. We do not regard the argument which our author gives in support of this proposition as exhibiting the strength of the Christian position on the subject. His main dependence is upon the freshness and originality of the record and its contents as compared with the later products of the Christian faith, and upon the fact that the books of the New Testament were selected from all the then existing literature, not so much on account of a critical insight as because of the impression they made upon the Christian thinkers of the early Church.

"Die Nachfolge Christi und die Predigt der Gegenwart" (Christian Discipleship and the Preaching for the Times). By Johannes Weiss. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1895. The purpose of the work is to show those who fill our pulpits what they ought to preach—how they should represent Christ and the relation of the believer to him in our age and in our state of intelligence. He rejects the Ritschlian idea, according to which Christian life depends indeed upon the impression which the portrait of the historical Christ makes upon the individual, but mediately through the Church and the work of education; also Hermann's idea that the normal way of attaining to faith is by means of the overpowering influence of the historical Christ, thereby making the gate of life too narrow. So also he rejects Kaftan's notion that the fundamental condition of a true Christian life is communion with the risen Christ. Weiss seeks a formula which shall approach as near as possible toward those who are strangers to Christ and which shall at the same time make a minimum of demand upon those who would become Christians. This is not found in faith in the risen Christ, who is supposed to be, nevertheless, really with his people, leading them and giving them victory. Nor can this formula be found in the notion of Christ as a great historical reality of the past whom we may follow according to Franciscan fashion with self-denial and obedience. The Johannean idea of obedience to the commands of Christ is insufficient because the ethics of Jesus breathe a spirit which is strange to the ideals of life prevalent since the Reformation. We are shut up, therefore, to the thought of a purely intellectual relationship to Christ, such as we have with other absent personalities which, when vividly recalled to mind, exercise a powerful influence upon us. This intellectual conception of Christ is adapted to all changes in circumstance in the history of the world. If he intended to make matters just as easy as possible for intellectual unbelievers Weiss has certainly succeeded. All that is required is to believe that at one time a good man by the name of Jesus lived, and to presuppose some slight admiration for goodness in said unbelievers, and Jesus Christ can

be followed by them. But Weiss has traveled so far from the path of common observation that he does not know that religious earnestness does not ask an easy way, but covets difficulties.

"**Der Stoiker Epiktet und sein Verhältnis zum Christenthum**" (Epictetus the Stoic and his Relation to Christianity). By Theodor Zahn. Leipzig, A. Deichart Nachf, 1895. The old question, as to whether the resemblances to Christian principles found in heathen writers who lived subsequent to the ministry of Christ indicate dependence upon Christian writings or contact with Christian teachings, directly or indirectly, is here once more brought to the front. Zahn thinks that when Epictetus speaks of the Galileans as looking with lofty contempt upon the evils which surround them it is proved that he has reference to the Christians, and hence that he must have read New Testament writings and gotten the name Galileans from them. As a critic of Zahn says, however: "It did not probably often happen in the earlier period of the history of Christianity that heathen read Christian writings before they came into close relations with the followers of Christ and were about to become converts." Zahn himself holds that it is not safe to assume an influence of Christianity upon heathen writers wherever we find thoughts or expressions in them similar to those in Christian writings. In fact, this jealousy for the Christian revelation which causes so many to fear lest a thought which is found in the New Testament might have developed without Christian influence is itself unchristian. God has never at any time in any place left himself without a witness. That the heathen had some light none ought to deny. If that light came from God it must resemble, in part, at least, the light of the Gospel. Besides, those resemblances lie upon the periphery of Christianity, and may easily be accounted for on the ground that as men of different nations thought on the highest themes it was most natural for them sometimes to hit upon the same truth and to express it in essentially the same form, just as discoveries are sometimes made in the realms of science by men who work entirely independent of each other. The real revelation of Christ was not in these things, but in the profound mystery of the plan of salvation. This we do not find portrayed anywhere else but in the New Testament or in the writings of Christian authors. Let Christians cease to dishonor God by denying that he allowed the heathen the least light, even upon questions of practical morality.

"**Huldreich Zwingli. Sein Leben und Wirken nach den Quellen dargestellt**" (Ulrich Zwingli, his Life and Work, as Gathered from Original Sources). By Rudolph Stähelin. Basel, Schwabe, 1895. It is to be regretted that the study of Zwingli has not called forth greater self-sacrifice and enthusiasm. Much has indeed been done to make possible a thorough understanding of the great Zurich reformer; but much that ought to have been done has remained undone. There is not even a complete and available edition of his works, nor any immediate prospect

of one. His correspondence needs editing. The Swiss have the money, but apparently not the disposition, to provide for these works. This is partly owing, no doubt, to the feeling that Zwingli's place in history is by no means equal to that of his great contemporary, Luther. But it is also partly due to the fact that the purely Zwinglian type of theology has few earnest supporters. He was overshadowed by Calvin. How would it have been had he lived to know and combat that great theologian, as combat him he surely would have done? But still the study of the Zwinglian reformation is progressing, however slowly, and Stähelin was able to employ collections of material which had not been made when the works of Mörikofer were written, nearly thirty years ago. We have referred to the smaller historical stature of Zwingli as compared with Luther. One cannot say how much of this is due to the more limited field of his operations. But certain it is that Zwingli met the conditions which surrounded him with as much skill and success as did Luther those of Germany. Zwingli had as much will power as Luther, but this did not have so many opportunities of displaying itself in dramatic scenes, nor did Zwingli depend so much on mere force of will as did Luther, but rather upon the employment of reason. This corresponded with the fact that the sensibilities were not, relative to other mental faculties, so prominent in Zwingli as in Luther. Hence he does not appeal so powerfully to the popular mind as his contemporary. But while he was as firm in his faith as Luther he was also more clear-sighted as to what a true reformation demanded; although, if Luther stopped short out of regard for the consciences of weak brethren, Zwingli went too far in practical protest against the usages of Romanism. These reflections are not so much contained in as suggested by Stähelin's work, which should be read by all who are masters of the German.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

Professor Harnack in the Role of an Apologist. The great Church historian has been so roundly and persistently denounced as a rationalist or worse that it is interesting to find him defending Christianity in the presence of the local branch of the Evangelical Alliance of Berlin. Being an historian, he naturally takes up his task in the light of the principles of historical research. Nor do we miss any of the scientific exactness of the historian when he turns apologist, which fact accounts for the caution with which he proceeds, and the limitations of his arguments to those points which he regards scientifically unassailable. In other words, one cannot make out how much more he believes than he defends. We shall give the outline of his argument as an item of news, for it is no insignificant event when such a man proclaims the reasons for his faith. The first objection which he attempts to meet is that since the Christian religion belongs in the realm of history, and all history is development, Christianity is purely a link in this development, and hence no special or peculiar place in history can be attributed to its Founder.

Fully agreeing with the view, that all history is development, and that it cannot be understood except on this theory, he denies that all history can be regarded as merely the result of a natural process. In the history of ideas the environment is not an adequate cause. No progress has ever been made in religion without the intervention of a person. Humanity honors all its great men, but it reveres only its prophets and religious founders; for in them only it sees a power which frees us from the world and lifts us above ordinary life. And of all the religious founders and prophets, so vivid in character and gifts, there is One only of whom we know that he united with the profoundest humility and the purest purposes the claim that he was greater than all others before him, even the Son of God. Only of him it is true that those who ate and drank with him honored him as Prophet, Teacher, and King, and above all as the Prince of their lives, their Redeemer, the Judge of the world, the living Power of their being, and that soon with them there were many Jews and heathen, wise and fools, and that all received grace from the fullness that dwelt in him. This unquestionable fact stands alone in history, and it demands that the fact of the personality which lies behind it all should be respected as peculiar and unprecedented also. So the objection to giving Christ any special place in history because all history is development is set aside. Development and personalities must unite in the explanation of history. The second objection he meets admits that Jesus was an incomparable man, but asserts that since he lived centuries ago he cannot be the rock upon which we shall build, but only his doctrine or his principles. Or, to put it more sharply, in religion the relation of the soul to God is everything, and everything which intervenes between the soul and God disturbs the depth and freedom of the religious life. Taking up this second form of the objection, which in reality denies the necessity for Christ as a mediator in any form, Harnack admits the definition of religion as correct. But he says it is one thing to see the peace and beauty of a pious life and another thing to possess it. God speaks to men in various ways. But it is the rule that God uses one Christian to help another, and so men have been helping one another to become believers from the time of Christ to the present day. At the farther end of this series of messengers of God stands Christ as the Founder. The life of each came, even though mediately, from him. All live by him and through him. But the Christian faith does not think of Christ as in the past, but rather as being present with us. Christianity deals with the question of deciding for God and against the world, of eternal life, of the recognition of the fact that above nature there is a kingdom of holiness and love, a city not built with hands, whose citizens we ought to be. In connection with this message comes to us the demand for a change of life purpose, for self-denial, and we feel that we must choose. Is victory possible in the struggle? Is there here any higher reality in comparison with which the world is valueless? Do we deceive ourselves concerning our feelings and aspirations? Are we perhaps completely bound within the circle of predetermined laws of our earthly being? These are the great ques-

tions and doubts which come to us. They are resolved by looking to Christ. When we sink into doubt and despair the person of Christ is able to save us. Here is a life wholly in the fear of God, firm, unselfish, and pure; here shines a loftiness and a love which draws us to itself. Here all was a continuous struggle with the world; little by little every earthly good vanished. At last even his life itself went shamefully down; yet no one can escape the impression that he who dies so does not die, but lives. In this life and death humanity for the first time acquires the certainty of an eternal life and a divine love which overcomes, not only all evil, but sin itself. Here we first see the relative valuelessness of the world and all its good. Eighteen hundred years separate us from him. But when we earnestly address ourselves to the question, What gives us courage to believe that God rules in history, and that there is eternal life? we answer, We build only upon Christ; Jesus lives, and with him we live also. He is the firstborn among many brethren. Hence it is his person, not merely his teaching, that has the principal place in the life of the Christian. The third objection says, You can say what you will concerning Jesus, but you have no certainty that it is as you say; for historical criticism has partly dissolved the portrait and partly made it uncertain, and even were everything more sure than it is individual historical facts can never be so well ascertained as to become the foundation of religious faith. Harnack admits that criticism has destroyed the credibility of much of what the Gospel affords us relative to the external facts of Christ's life. But he does not find that the fundamental facts in the life and words of Christ are affected by criticism. And the same is true of his witness to himself. Had historical investigation been able to prove that he was an apocalyptic fanatic or a dreamer it would be different. But it has not been, and cannot be, proved. His influence upon his followers no historical criticism contests. And by the side of this fact all others are but trifles. To the demand for external facts Harnack insists that while they do much for many people, yet faith and piety can have their final security only in the contents of faith in God the Lord and confidence in Jesus Christ, whose word and Spirit still prove themselves to human hearts as the power of God. Sad would it be if our faith rested upon a number of external facts to be demonstrated by the historian. The spiritual content of a life, of a person, is an historical fact also, and one which has its assurance in its effects. Nevertheless, while the individual external facts of the life of Christ have not a fundamental significance, they have significance. It is first of all to be investigated whether they are not true and real. Much which was once rejected has come to acceptance by more thorough investigation and more comprehensive experiences. For example, who can reject the miraculous healings so easily as former scholars did? Then they have also a significance for doctrine. We defend them not for themselves, but for the teaching they contain. Then they have a symbolic value. They are figures and parables, even when historically verifiable. In closing, Christianity need not fear the closest scrutiny.

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

Is church attendance on the decline? Eight prizes were lately offered by the *British Weekly* for letters on this question from the clergy and laity of England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales. The editorial comment of the *Weekly* on these letters, as republished in *Christian Literature* for October, forms one of the noticeable articles of the current month. The conditions which obtain in the British Isles do not seem largely different from those prevailing in the United States, and may be summed up in a semi-indifference to the Church on the part of the multitudes, and a general ground for anxiety among Christian leaders. "In England," says the editorial, "allowance being made for the shifting of population, matters do not seem to have greatly altered. In Scotland there is evidently a decided decline; but when it is remembered how strictly the Lord's day used to be observed in Scotland, and what a strong force of public opinion compelled regular attendance on the sanctuary, this is not surprising, and we may well hope that the tide will soon begin to turn. In Ireland and in Wales there is evidently no decrease, while in some places there is even an increase. All over the kingdom the practice of attending once a day is growing, and this reduces the congregation." But the depressing feature of the replies, says the *Weekly*, is that very few of its correspondents "can speak of growing interest in the things of God. In a certain way the Churches were never so active and never so liberal, and yet it seems that they barely hold their own, so far, at least, as attendance is concerned. . . . Very little progress is being made among the masses outside the Church, and even those within show a tendency, not as yet pronounced, to become indifferent. This is true of all the Churches. . . . We are in presence of a general tendency affecting the whole field, a tendency from which some suffer more than others, but from which all are suffering." Among remedies for the existing condition the editorial suggests, in quotation from Bishop Butler, "the importance of maintaining the externals of religion," and also that the Church "needs to be revived in nonconformity." "Let us remember," it furthermore adds, "when we come into the sanctuary Who is there and what are the blessings which he has promised to those who meet in his name." The concluding stricture on pulpit methods, also, may possibly have an appropriateness this side of the Atlantic: "Many of the letters we have received condemn in the strongest manner the preaching of the higher criticism and the ignoring of the great themes of the Gospel as responsible for much indifference toward church services."

What may have been the method of ancient baptism is ably discussed by Dr. B. B. Warfield in the October number of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, under the title of "The Archæology of the Mode of Baptism." We

might wish that the author had arrived at a more definite result than the one he reaches. "Our archæological inquiry as to the mode of Christian baptism," he concludes, "leaves us hanging, then, in the middle of the second century. What Christian baptism was like at that point of time we can form a tolerably clear notion of. It was a cleansing bath, usually performed by a form of triune immersion. . . . Such being the case, we appear to be forbidden to assume that second-century baptism any more certainly reproduces for us Christian baptism than the second-century eucharist reproduces for us the primitive Lord's Supper, or the second-century church organization the primitive bishop-presbyter. Where, then, it may be asked, are we to go for knowledge of really primitive baptism? If the archæology of the rite supplies ground for no very safe inference where can we obtain satisfactory guidance? Apparently only from the New Testament itself. We are seemingly shut up to the hints and implications of the sacred pages for trustworthy information here." In the following three articles the Rev. Henry Hayman, D.D., shows "The Great Pentateuchal Difficulty Met;" the Rev. E. S. Carr writes of "Schleiermacher and the Christian Consciousness;" and the Rev. W. S. Watson contributes "The Final Chapters of Deuteronomy." Under the title of "A Question of Interpretation" the Rev. J. M. Stifler, D.D., asks and answers the inquiry as to whether Christianity displaces and takes the place of Judaism. To what lengths the clamorous campaign discussions of the autumn have invaded all departments of literature is shown by the publication in this conservative quarterly of three distinctively political articles, with which its table of contents concludes. They are, "Silver Money," by Professor W. E. C. Wright, D.D.; "What Government Cannot Do," by Z. Swift Holbrook; and "The Question of the Free Coinage of Silver," by Professor E. W. Bemis, Ph.D.

THE sweet songs of Christina G. Rossetti are recalled by the *London Quarterly Review* for October, in its article entitled "The Rossettis." The paper also includes some attractive reminiscences of Christina's brother poet, Dante Gabriel Rossetti. In "The Confidences of a Society Poet" is reviewed the autobiographical sketch of Frederick Locker-Lampson. His father, John Locker, was Civil Commissioner of Greenwich Hospital at his birth, in 1821. "He was a very pretty and precocious, but an exceedingly delicate, boy; and remained all through life physically fragile and sensitive." In 1842 he became a junior clerk in the Admiralty. His wife was Lady Charlotte Bruce, sister of Lady Augusta Stanley. Among the celebrities whom Mr. Locker sketches are Anthony Trollope, "hirsute and taurine of aspect, glaring at you from behind fierce spectacles;" Leigh Hunt "in his old age, discursive and amiable, fantastically arrayed in a sacerdotal-looking garment;" Carlyle, who, when presented to the queen, sat himself in a chair with the remark, "I am an old man, and, with your Majesty's leave, I will sit down;" George Eliot, whose "soaring genius" nature had disguised in "a homely and insig-

nificant form;" and Dean Stanley, with his "small alert figure," his "sensitive refined face," and his "eager sweetness" of address. Two years after the death of his wife in 1872 Mr. Locker married the daughter of Sir Curtis Lampson, and added their name to his own patronymic. Charming are the instances of his verse which are quoted, illustrating "the gifts of insight and expression that make the poet." But he was, besides, magnetic as a man. "It is no small power to have been able to attach to yourself a character so pure as Arthur Stanley's, or personalities so marked in diverse ways as those of Marian Evans, Robert Browning, Alfred Tennyson. . . . Surely we owe a debt of no small gratitude to this charming writer and kindly-spirited gentleman, for that, before he passed forever from the stage of this life, he left this legacy of pleasant and helpful memories for his descendants and for us." The third article of the *Quarterly* is a lengthy historical review of "The Growth of British Policy," the volume itself which it notices being lately issued by Sir J. R. Seeley. The value of a life nobly lived is suggested by the fourth article, on "Dr. Hort and the Cambridge School." In "Life and Letters of Oliver Wendell Holmes" the reviewer ranks this poet "higher than any of his American contemporaries except Lowell, perhaps." The sixth paper traces the history of the "English Chartered Companies;" the seventh, having the title of "Woman Under Monasticism," notices four books that during the present year have been issued on some phase of the subject; the concluding article reviews "Democracy and Liberty," by W. E. H. Lecky.

THE contents of the *Presbyterian Quarterly* for October are: 1. "The Constitution of the Seminary Curriculum," by B. B. Warfield, LL.D.; 2. "The Old Testament in its Relation to Social Reform," by Louis Voss; 3. "The Church of the Living God," by H. M. White, D.D.; 4. "The Authority of the Catechisms and Confessions of the Reformed Churches Holding the Presbyterian System," by H. C. Minton, D.D.; 5. "Christian Giving in the Sanctuary Service," by R. E. Prime; 6. "The Testing System for Ministerial Students in the Presbyterian Church of Ireland," by T. C. Johnson, D.D. The first article was read by Dr. Warfield before the association of Presbyterian theological professors of the United States, in June, 1896, and is an exhaustive consideration of the curricula of the various theological seminaries of their denomination. To his conclusion he gives the following practical turn: "Let us foster in our students the idea that they constitute a church, and are to live as becomes those who are, in their corporate union, a church of God. Shall I go further? Shall I say that, constituting a church, they ought to have a pastor? . . . Amid the multitude of agencies gathered together to further the intellectual advancement of our students, may it not be worth considering whether there may not be work enough to be done in the advancement specifically of their religious life to occupy all the energies and time and thought of one man?" The author of the second article states the purpose of his paper as follows: "In the revealed word of God alone are to

be found the ways which lead to a reconciliation of the contending parties [among men] and to the amelioration of the social relations. Not until men return to God will peace be established. To prove all this, with the aid of the Old Testament, is the object of this paper." In the third article Dr. White exalts the value of Presbyterian government and doctrine. The following statement from his pen will, incidentally, come with the force of a new revelation to the learned historians of Methodism, if allusion is made to our denominational headquarters in New York: "An agent of the American Tract Society, Rev. Jonathan Lyon, attended a meeting of the Methodist Conference of North Carolina when they were debating the proposition to establish a publication house for their use as a denomination. One of the speakers objected, urging the fact that they then had excellent religious literature, suitable for devotional purposes, published and sold on good terms by the American Tract Society, and that it would be a misappropriation of money to spend it in building a house they did not need. The argument was answered by saying that, while the literature of the Tract Society was good, yet it contained Calvinism in dangerous quantities. . . . His argument prevailed, and the Conference cast its vote in favor of what is now known as the 'Methodist Book Concern.'" Inasmuch as the American Tract Society as such was not formed till 1825, while the Book Concern was established in 1789, the anachronism is one to which we would respectfully invite the attention of Dr. White. The next article was read at the sixth General Council of the Alliance of the Reformed Churches holding the Presbyterian system, in June, 1896. In the fifth article the writer affirms that giving is a natural act of worship. It should be a thanksgiving and a cheerful freewill offering; and it should include the best one has. As to the form of giving, "there is no model in the Scripture for the order of church services." The writer of the last article, after describing the examination of ministerial students in Irish Presbyterianism, expresses his belief that the standard of education in the Southern Presbyterian Church is "far too low."

A GREAT and growing evil is powerfully pictured by Frederick J. Masters in the *Chautauquan* for October, under the title, "The Opium Traffic in California." The vice, he declares, "has spread with such alarming rapidity during the last fifty years that in China it is estimated that one adult male in five is now addicted to its use. Among the twenty thousand Chinese swarming in the six blocks of that portion of San Francisco called Chinatown the proportion is even higher." Nor is this the worst aspect of the case. "The most serious phase of the opium evil is the increasing number of white people who are learning to smoke. It is no uncommon thing to see young men and even women of our race stealing into Chinatown at night for 'dope.' . . . Frequent arrests are made by the police of youths found in opium resorts. Scores of dens are to be found outside of Chinatown where the drug is regularly sold and smoked, and it is even finding its way into the fash-

ionable homes of the western suburbs." The legalization of the traffic by Congress is one of the crying shames in American legislation. From the San Francisco customs statistics the writer quotes, to show that during the past sixteen years there has annually been imported through the customhouse in that city an average of over eighty-three thousand pounds of the drug, while there has been collected "an average yearly revenue of over $700,000." The importation and sale of opium for smoking purposes should be prohibited, says Mr. Masters; the officers of internal revenue should be empowered to destroy it, when found, as contraband goods; and the treasury of the nation should be forever shut "against a revenue derived from human misery, vice, and shame." This can now be done. "But if we wait until the traffic has taken hold of American capital and enthralled our people in its chains it may be too late."

THE memory of a gifted and good man is perpetuated in the life sketch of "The Reverend Talbot Wilson Chambers, S.T.D., LL.D.," which opens the October number of the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review*. "He was," writes Professor J. Preston Searle, D.D., "a precocious, an indefatigable, a lifelong student. . . . His plan for daily work included the reading of Hebrew before breakfast and Greek before dinner. In later life the Greek Testament found its place, in the daily routine, alongside the Hebrew in the earlier hour, on account of the greater quiet he could then secure. That this was no abbreviated hour is seen from the fact that he always rose as early as six o'clock, and frequently at half-past four. As to the outcome of this life of study we know in part that he possessed a critical knowledge of Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, German, and Dutch, and a wide acquaintance with the literature of these languages. He also read Arabic, Syriac, Italian, and Spanish." As one of the pastors of the Collegiate Reformed Dutch Church of New York city; a member of the company of Old Testament revisers; acting professor of New Testament Exegesis at Princeton, Union, Hartford, and New Brunswick, and of dogmatic theology at the latter place; the Chairman of the Committee on Versions of the American Bible Society; and an author and denominational leader, his life was busy and useful. "The ninety-first of the Psalms he loved," says the writer, "describes Talbot Wilson Chambers's career and its end." In the second article Professor E. D. Morris, LL.D., comprehensively describes "The Jerusalem Chamber," and recalls that "Catholic and Protestant, Episcopalian and Presbyterian and Independent" each has "some share in the remarkable memories that are clustered there." A fascinating, and by no means a flippant or unprofitable, inquiry is raised by W. A. Holliday, D.D., in "The Effect of the Fall of Man upon Nature." The Rev. H. A. Johnston, D.D., contributes "Wanted—A Definition of Conscience;" the Rev. W. R. Notman considers "The Early Bermuda Church;" and D. R. Breed, D.D., in his "Christian Endeavor and the General Assembly," inquires into the meaning of the recent action of the last-named body

regarding young people's societies. The editorial departments of this issue of the *Review* are most ably sustained. Among noticeable papers are outlines of the doings of the recent Presbyterian General Assembly at Saratoga and of the Glasgow Council, and two charming sketches by Drs. Eldridge Mix and W. M. Paxton of the late A. D. F. Randolph.

Under the title of "After Fifty Years" Bishop E. R. Hendrix, D.D., LL.D., writes in the September *Methodist Review* of the Church South of the division of the Church in 1844, and the organization of the new body in 1845. His article was first delivered at the semicentennial jubilee of the Church South in Louisville, Ky., May 1, 1895. It is clear in historical outline, pacific in spirit, and able in construction.——In the *North American* for October Bishop S. M. Merrill writes on "Our Electoral System," showing how the method of the fathers may be improved upon. The gist of his argument seems to be in these words: "How can equality be secured? It cannot be till voters throughout the country vote for the same number of electors. This requires the election of presidential electors by districts instead of by States."——The *New World* for September opens with an article by Josiah Royce on "Browning's Theism." The poet's faith, he holds, was "never a philosophy, always an intuition, but freely illustrated from experience, and insistently pondered through long and manifold arguments." The second article, by C. F. Dole, on "The Christocentric Theology," dethrones our Lord. "The Raising of the Dead in the Synoptic Gospels," by E. A. Abbott, learnedly scrutinizes some of the Gospel narratives, and concludes that such a miracle as that at Nain "is not history, but metaphor misunderstood."——The first article in the *Nineteenth Century* for October, by Sir Wemyss Reid, is entitled, "Why Russia Distrusts England." Taking for his text Cardinal Newman's "reference to omissions in great histories" E. S. Purcell writes "On the Ethics of Suppression in Biography," and justifies the contrary course which he followed in his life of Cardinal Manning.——The *New Church Review* for October opens with "Balzac and Swedenborg," by T. F. Wright. Other papers are, "The End of the Jewish Church," by L. G. Hoeck; "The Divorce Question," by W. H. Mayhew; "The Church of To-day," by James Reed; and "Some Glimpses of the Unity of Truth, in Dante," by S. W. Paine.——Among the articles in the *Methodist Magazine and Review* for October are "The Greater Britain of the Southern Seas," Australia being the land which is pictured; "In Search of His [Christ's] Grave," by Bishop Vincent; "Memories of the Bay of Naples," by E. A. R. Bell and W. H. Withrow; "James Russell Lowell and the Bigelow Papers," by C. A. Chant; "John Nelson—the Yorkshire Mason," by Dr. W. H. Withrow; "An Inspiring Chapter in Methodist History," by James Mudge, D.D. —a study of the beginnings of Primitive Methodism, reprinted from the *Methodist Review;* "The Far Distances of Our Universe," by Agnes Giberne; and a chapter from "Hiram Golf's Religion."

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

The Christian Democracy. A History of its Suppression and Revival. By JOHN MCDOWELL LEAVITT, D.D., LL.D. 12mo, pp. 391. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, $1.50.

The learned author of this book has spent a long life in the ministry of the Protestant Episcopal Church, with which he is still connected: a clergyman of distinction, formerly Editor of the *American Quarterly Church Review* and President of Lehigh University. His book was not made; it grew. It contains the conclusions forced upon the author by a lifetime of scholarly research, and the convictions of a man who is master of his theme. It is in its way one of the ablest books on its vitally important subject. It discusses a question overlooked by ecclesiastical writers, yet one fundamental in the constitution of the Church. Where does sovereignty reside? Is the Christian Church an autocracy in the pope, an oligarchy in bishops, or a democracy of believers, lay and clerical? The latter theory is proved in this work by arguments that seem irrefutable. Always in the Old Testament and in the New the Church is considered under three aspects. Its *priestly* power centers in the forgiveness of sins; its *prophetical* power in declaring the terms of remission; and its *kingly* power in legislation. By unanswerable reasoning our author shows from the gospels and Acts that in the Christian Church each species of power was in the whole body of believers. Sovereignty was not in popes and bishops. It was in the people. On this foundation the book is built. Ecclesiastical polity and history appear in a new and true light. All the old issues between episcopacy and presbytery are included and avoided. Pope and bishop lose themselves in the sovereignty of a Christian democracy. Our author paints in glowing words the preparations and the obstacles of the young ecclesiastical commonwealth. Persecution was the trial and the triumph of the faith. The Christian anvil wore out the pagan hammer. When martyr fires were fiercest war between presbyter and bishop burst forth. Both at Carthage and Rome strife raged among Christians while heathen tyrants forged fetters and kindled flames. Cyprian asserted his episcopal authority to settle controversies. His order was supreme and immaculate. In the bishops were the unity and sovereignty of the Church. The Roman pontiff confirmed the Carthaginian hierarch. Martyrdom glorified the authority of a Cyprian, a Fabianus, and a Cornelius. Soon the Apostolical Constitutions made their view the universal law. East and West were revolutionized. Emperors assisted popes and patriarchs. The laity were eliminated from the life and work and legislation of the Church. Constantine and Justinian and Charlemagne obliterated every vestige of the primitive Christian Democracy. Now we approach the second part of the historical inquiry. The writer remarks: "Decay in the outer or-

ganism presumes corruption in the inner life. Henceforth we are to consider those living truths which can alone preserve ecclesiastical freedom. But the power of the Church is not a human inspiration. It is the breath of the Holy Ghost. We cannot, however, separate the Spirit of God from the doctrine of God. Liberty of soul implies knowledge of Scripture." Faith in the blood of the divine Christ is the root of spiritual freedom. In the Bible is found one uniform sequence—Godhead, creatorship, incarnation, atonement. "About the feebleness of the humanity of the Redeemer are the miracles of his divinity. On his cross he shakes the earth he called out of chaos. He rends the rocks he laid in his world's foundations. He parts the veil of the temple he filled with his glory as Jehovah. He darkens the sun he hung in the heavens. He opens graves and promises paradise. Remission through faith in the blood of our incarnate God begins our liberty. But bondage to my evil self must be broken. This is the work of the Holy Ghost, represented by birth which translates from darkness to the light of the illimitable universe that serves the infant. Our Saviour employs, too, the sublime image of the atmosphere. It enfolds a world. In its vast circumference, how mighty its invisible movements! Home of the lightning, the clouds, and the tempest, this free, quick, powerful, irresistible, universal air is the symbol of the Holy Ghost brooding over humanity in that regenerating energy of God which completes the liberty of man." Our author then proceeds to show how the spiritual freedom of the Christian Democracy, through remission and regeneration, was assailed by heresies, confused by Fathers, petrified in creeds, fettered in liturgies, overwhelmed by councils, corrupted by saint-worship, strangled by sacerdotalism, under encroachments of bishops and conspiracies of papacy and empire, until morals were polluted and mediæval gloom and bondage became universal. This involves in a new view the whole cause of ecclesiastical history. In this inquiry we commend to notice the chapters on the "Clementines" and "Pelagianism." Always it is insisted that the subversion of the inner liberty is the cause of the outer revolution in which perished the Original Scriptural Christian Democracy. Out of this universal gloom and slavery arose the Reformation. "Luther revised the doctrine of remission and regeneration, taught by Christ and expounded by Paul, which can alone give true liberty to men and nations. He so powerfully enforced Scripture against tradition and papacy that its supremacy will never be dislodged from the human mind. He restored the laity to the councils of the Church. He opened a new era of religious and political liberty, which gave impulse to art, to literature, to science, to government, and which is emancipating every department of society and every region of the world. The work of Martin Luther will be most fully acknowledged when over earth has become universal the primitive Christian Democracy." Trent and Jesuitism opposed the Reformation, and two chapters are devoted to a history and analysis of these powerful forces; and are followed by sketches of those pontiffs who did most to establish and to corrupt the papacy and thus impair spiritual liberty. Anglicanism is

impartially but unsparingly dissected. Of Protestantism the type and epitome is Wesley: "To him high Anglicanism had brought no peace. Like Paul and Luther, he was slain by the law. He was a slave with no power to rend his fetters. Salvation did not come to him in the cathedral. He went to a meeting in Aldersgate Street, London. The Preface to the Epistle to the Romans, by the great German reformer, is read. As salvation had shone over Germany it was now kindled in England. The light of faith burst on the soul of Wesley. What had occurred two centuries before at Erfurth was repeated at London. Reformation and revival had beginning in the same truth. As Wesley hears he believes in the blood of Christ for the remission of his sins. He experiences the witness of his forgiveness. He knows that his load of guilt is gone. Reconciled through the cross, he calls God Father and receives the Holy Ghost. Here was a new life for himself and millions. Out of that moment sprang our regenerated Christianity. To this conversion of Wesley we trace a new birth of Protestantism to liberty, diffusiveness, and victory."

But after all the progress since the Reformation we see Christendom yet divided. "If the leaves of the tree are diseased we should examine its roots. Does the fruit wither? The blight is from within. Not in the bark, but in the sap, is the lingering death. Is Christianity an original Scriptural Democracy, which, first losing its interior liberty of faith, passed into the bondage of oligarchy and autocracy? Then the cure must be from within, and not from without. Paul was its typical preacher and expounder. When he converted Asian and European Gentiles what did he proclaim? Paul preached remission of sins through faith in the blood of our incarnate God and Saviour, Jesus Christ, followed by the gift of the Holy Ghost in regeneration, in adoption, in assurance, in comfort, in enlightenment, in sanctification, in power. Paul aimed to bring Christ into the man and cast out that pride which seeks oligarchy and autocracy. Paul sought to establish in the heart the love and purity and liberty which alone can maintain in the world the beauty and brotherhood of a Christian Democracy. Nations were born again. The seeds of life were planted for an immortal harvest. Only by spiritual revolution can you restore and extend Christian Democracy." "But we must remember that ecclesiastical sovereignty in the people does not necessitate uniformity in organization and worship. As in State, so in Church, it may choose either a monarchic or a republican form. It only insists that the power of election be in itself. The primitive Catholic unity developed into a natural and generous variety. Indeed, the greater the inner liberty the greater may be the outer difference. This condition is the life of freedom, and thus becomes its law. Millennial unity in faith and love may exhibit itself in innumerable forms, as the same life in the universe animates insect and archangel, and the same light shines over creation in colors of beauty and glory more delicate and more dazzling because broken into an infinitude of hues and splendors." Here is the author's statement, in the chapter on

the popes, of the great events which followed close after Pio Nono's decree of papal infallibility in 1870: "How marvelous the effect on Pio Nono! His humiliation in three months was as deep as that of Hildebrand or Boniface. On his knees, like a vulgar pilgrim, he climbed Pilate's staircase, bade farewell to his Lateran cathedral, and retired for life, self-imprisoned within his Vatican boundaries. After his pontifical abasement what a rush of events! We are bewildered at the vastness and rapidity of the revolution: Sedan; Metz; in Paris conquering Germans; the Emperor of France a captive; Napoleonic imperialism, that life-guard of papacy, shivered into fragments; on the steps of the palace of Louis the Grand the Prussian William proclaimed emperor; Victor Emmanuel in the pontifical palace of the Quirinal; the papal territory, procured by forgery, vanished like a cloud; a French republic; a united Italy; a Protestant German empire; political Romanism shattered forever; a way opened for the triumph of the future universal Christian Democracy." The heaviest blows of this striking book are dealt against sacerdotalism and Anglicanism, which is just now being sorely smitten from before and behind and on either side. Dr. Leavitt's volume, the clear and concise work of a born teacher and experienced instructor, is admirably fitted for use as a text-book in all Protestant and non-Anglican seminaries. We invite the attention of ecclesiastical educators to it for this purpose. In chapter xxiii we see the work of Wesley brilliantly set forth by one who has had no connection with Wesleyanism. Dr. Leavitt is also the author of *Visions of Solyma, and Other Poems*, published by A. D. F. Randolph in 1895.

The Student's Life of Jesus. By GEORGE HOLLEY GILBERT, Ph.D., D.D. 8vo, pp. 412. Chicago: Press of Chicago Theological Seminary. Price, cloth, $1.50.

The title of this newest life of Jesus indicates its purpose and spirit. It is written, not for the cursory reader, but for those "who take the life of Jesus so seriously that they wish to get at the very facts." While the author, as a theological professor, has naturally had the needs of theological students and young ministers prominently in mind, he has studiously avoided classroom technicalities. Although constantly teaching the Greek Testament and reading deeply in German theology, he has not put into his book a letter of Greek nor a quotation in German. He believes that there is a large and growing number of intelligent laymen who are eager to know what new light has been shed upon the character and life of Jesus by the researches of modern scholars. The title intimates correctly, also, that the work is undertaken from an historical rather than a theological standpoint. With an unflinching faith in the supernatural, with a joyful confidence in "the risen and reigning Lord who is actually conquering the world," Professor Gilbert holds "that a believer in Christianity may investigate the life of Jesus as scientifically as an unbeliever." These quotations give the keynote and spirit of the book. It is written by an historical scholar who, in his effort to "get at the very facts," is not hindered by a preconceived theory concerning the nature of the Gospel records. He says of the living Christ: "The power of

Christianity is his spiritual presence, and not the inspiration or infallibility of the story of his earthly life. Our faith does not stand or fall with these things. The essential claims of the Gospel are daily established by the deepest experiences of millions of souls. So the Christian, whose life rests, not upon any alleged quality of the Gospel, nor even on the written Gospel itself, but whose life consists rather in a personal relation to the living Lord, is, to say the least, as well able to investigate the documents of Christianity impartially as is the unbeliever." It seems proper to dwell thus upon the spirit and standpoint of the writer because precisely these matters give to his book its especial interest and value. Nothing is so certain or so significant in the tendencies of the younger theological scholars of most evangelical Churches as a movement in the direction indicated in Professor Gilbert's book. With wide differences in detail and in degree, the trend is toward a profounder reliance upon the reality of religious experience. Professor Gilbert's method is simple, practical, and attractive. The sources of the life of Jesus are first treated under these three heads: the Synoptic Gospels, the Fourth Gospel, and the Gospel Outside the Gospels. Contrary to the prevailing view, the author holds that the synoptic gospels are mutually independent. For this position he produces much evidence, some of which is new. He holds, further, that the writers of these gospels used, to some extent, written sources. It is worthy of note that the author infers from his views that "the differences, sometimes amounting to contradiction, cannot be regarded as intentional changes made by the writers of these gospels." They are to be "set down largely to the fact that there were several or many eyewitnesses of the life of Jesus, and partly to unconscious or even designed alterations by those who repeated the story over and over in the early years of the Church." Professor Gilbert regards this position as favorable to the essentially historical character of the synoptic gospels. He defends, also, the Johannine authorship and historical trustworthiness of the fourth gospel, while admitting "at the outset that the teaching of Jesus is not given with the same historical accuracy, as regards its *form*, that characterizes the synoptic version." Proceeding with the life of Jesus, the writer follows in the main the chronological order, discussing point after point with admirable clearness, conciseness, and vigor. He accepts the supernatural conception, while holding that it would "be a wide misrepresentation of the New Testament teaching to say that it esteems the supernatural conception of Christ as being no less necessary than the miracle of his resurrection." From a multitude of matters, all of them interesting to the student of this immortal theme, and many of them of great importance, it is possible here to name only a few. In regard to the temptation in the wilderness, the dove and voice at the baptism, and the transfiguration, the author inclines to the theory of spiritual vision rather than that of objective reality. He holds, however, that the "demonized ones were, according to the synoptists, and according to Jesus himself, actually possessed by an evil spirit." This is intrinsically no more

difficult to understand than how the Holy Spirit can enter into a human being. "But centuries of Christian experience prove that the Holy Spirit does thus enter into men and control them." All the miracles of Jesus were wrought, he thinks, "not by virtue of inherent omnipotence, but through faith" by the Spirit of God. The objective reality of the resurrection is the only view reconcilable with the narratives. In referring to authorities outside the Bible, Professor Gilbert gives the decided preference to Weiss and Beyschlag. Possibly the book bears too strongly the character of a review of the works of these two men on the same subject. In the second rank are noticed the positions of Edersheim and Keim. Yet it is one of the excellencies of this work that it is not burdened with a mass of references. Dr. Gilbert has given to students a stimulating, suggestive, and instructive life of Jesus, such a one as did not exist before. He would be the last person to claim that his book is perfect or that all his positions are final and unassailable. With all his keen discrimination and impartial temper he seems occasionally to slip into dogmatism. He appears also to struggle at times in his efforts to work the events and teachings of the fourth gospel smoothly into the synoptic narrative. But he has undoubtedly made a contribution to this theme of themes for which earnest students may well be profoundly grateful.

The Crisis of This World; or, The Dominion and Doom of the Devil. By S. M. MERRILL, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. 16mo, pp. 190. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. New York: Eaton & Mains. Price, cloth, 60 cents.

In their solidity the three discourses included in this volume are like blocks of granite cut from the mountain side. They constitute Bishop Merrill's latest published excursion into the field of theological controversy, and are impressive in their massive strength. In no better way can their contents be put before the reader than by a running quotation from their pages. The first discourse—and the whole booklet, the author tells us, is but "a sermon enlarged"—gives the title to the volume, and is based upon the utterance of Jesus in John xii, 31, "Now is the judgment of this world: now shall the prince of this world be cast out." The period meant is held by the bishop to be the "crisis" in human history involved in the crucifixion. "The great event, which was the turning point in human history and in the history of divine government over men, was the death of Jesus Christ. For this purpose and for this hour he came. His birth and life were preparatory; his death was the climax. It was the culmination of his mission. In that event centered all human interest and human hope. It was the turning point of destiny, the crisis of this world, the decisive hour for rulership in the spiritual realm." But, intimately connected with the fact of this crisis is another tremendous fact which is inseparably related to man's temporal and eternal interests—the personal existence of the devil and his struggle for human mastery. If one is looking for a volume which wavers on the subject of the Satanic personality this is not the book. With sturdy and refreshing words the bishop advocates the belief—and is it not the belief of the orthodox Church?—in the diabolism of the New Testament. The

mere "personification of evil," in his judgment, falls far short of meeting the conditions of the case. Evil, as a mere quality, has "no existence apart from its substance." A personification cannot "seduce." "Who stands in awe of a metaphor?" Devils exist. A chief devil exists—"Beelzebub, 'the prince of devils,' 'the prince of darkness,' 'the prince of this world.'" The tempter of Job and of Christ, he is contending with the Son of God for the ownership of the earth. "This world is now the battlefield. Wherever the war began, it is to be fought out here. Here Satan has his seat; here he has obtained dominion; . . . and here all the forces of his kingdom are gathered, 'the rulers of the darkness of this world,' making their final struggle for the mastery. The prize is the control of the human race. For this prize every energy of the kingdom of darkness is enlisted." But, adds the author, in conclusion, Satan is to be dethroned and cast into the "outer darkness." The two sermons which follow are logical corollaries of the discourse on the crisis of the world. The second sermon considers "The Unpardonable Sin," holds that the text applies to the present dispensation, and shows that "in the blinding and hardening process" involved in a course of willful sin Satan is "an active agent." The final sermon is on "The Duration of Punishment," and is in part a judicial examination of such crucial words as "aiōnios," "aphtharsia," "athanasia," "amarantos," "akatalutos," and "diēnekes." The conclusion from which is that "the final decree of judgment consigns the devil and his angels, and all the ungodly of our race, to a perdition out of which there is no redemption. . . . Where the Judge Eternal places them we must leave them." Such is an outline of a strong book, and if we have considered it only after a cursory method it is because orthodoxy will have no disposition to assail its conclusions.

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

An Ethical Movement: A Volume of Lectures. By W. L. SHELDON, Lecturer of the Ethical Society of St. Louis. Crown 8vo, pp. 319. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, cloth, $1.75.

Mr. Sheldon has been the minister of the "ethical" church in St. Louis for ten years. For two years he served an apprenticeship under Felix Adler, whom he regards as the true leader of the ethical movement, which first took organized form in New York city about twenty years ago. Nobody is responsible for the views expressed in this volume but the author, and it is intimated that Mr. Adler would probably disagree with them in many particulars. We incline to the opinion that Mr. Sheldon is less out of sympathy with the Christian position and plan than Mr. Adler. His lectures seem to us to be suffused with more of the essentially religious. Probably these lectures contain as correct, intelligible, and complete a presentation as can be found anywhere of the spirit, basis, purpose, and plans of "the ethical movement." The ethical culture societies of America have as a part of the constitution of their union the following clause: "The general aim of the ethical movement

as represented by this union is to elevate the moral life of its members and that of the community; and it cordially welcomes to its fellowship all persons who sympathize with this aim, whatever may be their theological or philosophical opinions." Mr. Sheldon attributes "the New Emphasis on Ethics" in part to "the combined influence of Kant in Germany, of Darwin in England, and, in this country, of Ralph Waldo Emerson. The teaching of Immanuel Kant reconsecrated the idea of Duty, and the halo survives in spite of any changes of attitude which may have taken place toward other features of his great system. Charles Darwin, with his discovery of the method by which organic life has gone through its processes of transition on this planet, threw a great new light upon the groping philosophy of evolution, opening out the whole province of the social sciences as well, so that now when we desire to help our fellows we know how to go about it without necessarily injuring the very purpose we are striving for." (The author does not explain what he means by this; but he proceeds to tell us what Emerson contributed to the impulse from which the ethical movement was born.) "Emerson added the prophetic fire, speaking as with a 'Thus saith the Lord,' without system or method, straight from his moral consciousness. His 'Sovereignty of Ethics' ranks with Kant's 'Apostrophe to Duty,' and belongs to the 'inspired literature' of modern times." With his eye on the Churches the author says: "For ages the debate has gone on as to the true idea of the Deity, the historic value of the Scriptures, the relative worth of the various sects or religions. But amid all these discussions the old, old query has been ever pressing—why something more cannot be done to influence human conduct. To lead one individual to become a better man, to inspire him with higher ideals and more exalted purposes—may not this be worth for the future of the world as much as to prove or disprove the historic value of a 'Bible,' or to present convincing evidences of the existence of a Deity? May it not be more important to awaken and foster in the characters of men those high ethical attributes we have been accustomed to attribute to a Deity than to instill into the *minds* of men certain beliefs about such a Being? Should it not be our consideration to care more to live the kind of life followed by Jesus than to throw the stress of feeling and enthusiasm on the worship of Jesus? Religious teaching has not been exerting its true influence on the public mind, because it could not adequately apply itself to the actual daily affairs of human life. Whether, by throwing the stress on moral issues, we may be able to restore the right hold for religion, is the problem to be solved by a true ethical movement." (Religious teachers are bound to consider whether these criticisms are just. If the ethical culture societies *are* taking up an important religious work which has been neglected by the Churches, the Churches ought to know it at once, and rise to the level, and move out into the field of their duty.) The St. Louis lecturer summarizes as follows his conceptions of the mission of the ethical societies: "An ethical society exists for the purpose of inducing people to think more about conscience, duty, justice, the cultivation of the higher nature,

working for others, about high conduct in all its phases, morality in all its aspects. It exists for the purpose of persuading people to *do* more than they are doing toward making themselves better men and women and toward improving the rest of the world. It exists for the purpose of keeping public attention on the moral aspects of the questions of the day, and not allowing people to judge on such matters from their own personal interests or from purely material considerations. An ethical society exists for the purpose of organizing practical educational work in social reform on a basis which shall be strictly neutral on all matters pertaining to religion. It exists in order to serve as a meeting ground for people who are unable to agree in their religious beliefs and yet are warmly interested in working together for their own moral improvement and that of the whole human race. It exists for the sake of cultivating the sense of reverence and fostering the moral and spiritual nature of each person, while allowing every man to think as he pleases or as his judgment may compel him to think. It exists for the purpose of awakening and fostering high scruples in one's conduct in the home, personal affairs, public life, commercial affairs, and in all one's relations to the city, the State, or the nation to which one may belong. An ethical society, amid the changes now going on in religious beliefs, exists for the purpose of persuading men to hold tenaciously to the great moral principles established by the experience of past ages and approved by the voice of conscience, while at the same time seeking light wherever it may be found. It exists in order to accomplish these various purposes by means of lecture courses, educational clubs, classes for children, organized efforts for social reform, courses of reading or study, all concentrated on the one aim." We are glad to let the ethical culturist thus state on these pages the mission and aim of his society; but is there anything of any importance in his purposes and plans that is not more than covered by the program of the Churches? And does not his statement seem like a pale and imperfect reduplication of the moral work of Christianity? The contents of the book may be inferred from the titles of the chapters: "Being Religious—What It Means to an Ethical Idealist;" "Duty—to One who Makes a Religion of It;" "The Attitude We Should Take toward the Religious Beliefs of Others;" "How People of Many Minds can Use the Word 'God;'" "The Message of the Stoics to the People of To-day;" "Does High Conduct in the Long Run Bring the Greatest Amount of Happiness?" "The Value of Poetry to Those who Wish to Live in the Spirit;" "Marriage—in the Light of the New Idealism;" "The Family—Can Ethics Improve on It, or Offer a Substitute for It?" "Law and Government, and Why We Should Revere Them;" "Social Ideals, and What They Signify to an Ethical Idealist;" "The Difficulty for the Idealist in Taking Sides on the Questions of the Day;" "On What Basis Can Ethics Justify Private Property?" Whatever we may think of the scheme of our "ethical" friends, it is right and necessary to give them a respectful and studious hearing; and if they can teach us anything good we are under ethical obligation to learn it. Therefore let

us read and listen and think, with our New Testament open at our right hand for comparison; and let us examine ourselves in the light of "ethical culture" and of the Gospel lest by any possibility "ethical culture" be found to manifest more of the mind of Christ in its dealing with questions of the day and problems of human life than our Christian Churches exhibit. We must surpass "ethical culture" or bow to it and concede its claims.

The Whence and the Whither of Man: A Brief History of His Origin and Development Through Conformity to Environments. By JOHN M. TYLER, Professor of Biology, Amherst College. 12mo, pp. 312. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, cloth, $1.75.

These chapters are the Morse Lectures delivered at Union Theological Seminary in 1895. For this lectureship Professor S. F. B. Morse, famed for his relation to telegraphy, gave ten thousand dollars, in memory of his father, Rev. Dr. Jedediah Morse. Professor Tyler, a Christian evolutionist, sets forth in this book the present scientific view of the development of man from the simple living substance. He begins by saying: "We take for granted the probable truth of the theory of evolution as stated by Mr. Darwin, and that it applies to man as really as to any lower animal." And from the history of the past, as biology reads it, he thinks, something of man's future development may be foretold. Chapter I states the problem and deals with the mode of its solution. Chapter II is on "From Protozoa to Worms: Cells, Tissues, and Organs." Chapter III is "From Worms to Vertebrates: Skeleton and Head;" Chapter IV, "Vertebrates: Backbone and Brain;" Chapter V, "The History of Mental Development and its Sequence of Functions;" Chapter VI, "Natural Selection and Environment;" Chapter VII, "Conformity to Environment;" Chapter VIII, "Man;" Chapter IX, "The Teachings of the Bible;" Chapter X, "Present Aspects of the Theory of Evolution." Then follow a chart showing sequence of attainments and of dominant functions, a phylogenetic chart of the animal kingdom, and a good index. Man is considered as composed of atoms and molecules, and hence subject to chemical and physical laws; as a living being; as an animal; as a vertebrate; as a mammal; as a social being; as a personal and moral being, with a conflict in him between the higher and the lower; as a religious being; as a hero; a being who has not yet attained, but who in the future will utilize all his powers, duly subordinating the higher to the lower. One must look far to find a nobler chapter in any book than that on "The Teachings of the Bible," the contents of which are as follows: "Subject of the Bible. *Man:* Body, Intellect, Heart. *God:* Law, Sin, and Penalty. God Manifest in Christ. Salvation, the Divine Life Permeating Man. Faith. Prayer. Hope. The Church. The Battle. The Victory. The Crown." From this part of the book we would like to quote many things did space permit. Whoever wishes a clear and comprehensive statement of the present form and condition of scientific theory as to the whence and the whither of man can perhaps find nowhere else a better book than this. Also whoever has had difficulty in understanding how any true Christian can be an evolutionist will have his compre-

hension assisted by reading Professor Tyler's views. At least two chapters are really grand sermons—those on man and the Bible. The Scribners also publish the Morse Lectures for 1894, by William Elliot Griffis, on *The Religions of Japan;* for 1893, by Principal A. M. Fairbairn, on *The Place of Christ in Modern Theology;* as well as the Ely Lectures for 1891, by Dr. F. F. Ellinwood, on *Oriental Religions and Christianity;* and for 1890, by Professor L. F. Stearns, of Bangor Theological Seminary, on *The Evidence of Christian Experience.*

The Pith of Astronomy, without Mathematics. The Latest Facts and Figures as Developed by the Giant Telescopes. By SAMUEL G. BAYNE. With Illustrations. 16mo, pp. xii, 122. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, $1.

As the title indicates, this is not an exhaustive treatise on astronomical science, but a valuable compendium for ready reference and for those general readers who wish at a glance simply the established results of research. Its style is direct, pithy, and compressed. We can exhibit its method of treatment no better than by quoting connectedly the beginning of its section on Mars: "The planet Mars is 141,000,000 miles from the sun. Its diameter is 4,200 miles. Its year contains 687 days. Its mean distance from the earth is 48,000,000 miles. The day on Mars is half an hour longer than ours, or about 24 hours and 37 minutes. It has two moons. It moves at the rate of 15 miles a second. Mars is the fourth planet from the sun, and is called the red planet, from its well-known color." The description goes on in this manner, each statement forming a separate paragraph. While not taking the place of more elaborate works, this little manual has an obvious use and value.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

The Way of Faith Illustrated. Autobiography of Hü Yong Mi, of the China Mission Conference. 12mo, pp. 259. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. New York: Eaton & Mains. Price, cloth, $1.

This variously interesting book "records the life of an intelligent, well-born Chinese gentleman, who was converted to Christianity and gave nearly thirty years of faithful service as an evangelist and preacher of the Gospel. In straightforward, simple style he tells of his childhood and youth, of his adherence to the faith of his fathers, of his first contact with Gospel truth, of the struggle through which his darkened mind came into the marvelous light, and of the heroic years spent in preaching Christ to his benighted fellow-countrymen." Yong Mi, who was one of the most remarkable Chinese Christians the Church has yet had among its members, died in 1893, leaving this story of his life to the care and judgment of Dr. S. L. Baldwin, by whom, as well as by Dr. John F. Goucher and others, he had been urged to write it. Yong Mi's father was a military officer of comfortable fortune, who because of the humble garb he chose to wear was called "Officer Plain-clothes;" while his mother was known as "Mother Plain-clothes." He records his conviction that the grace of God was with him before his conversion to Christ,

and even from the beginning of his life, saving him out of many temptations, guiding him, helping him, and assisting him out of pitfalls. "Had it not been so I should have gone to perdition ere ever I heard the Gospel preached. I know truly that from before my entrance into the world the grace of God has protected me. Praise to Jehovah for the evidence that, from ancient times, he has cared tenderly for our China." Yong Mi's father heard something of the teachings of Christian missionaries, and said to his family and friends: "Christianity is good. I myself am so pressed by business affairs that I have not time to investigate the doctrine, and fear I should practice imperfectly. I advise you all, friends, to begin before me to be Christians." That sort of man is numerous in America—knows Christianity is a good thing, but is too busy to attend to religion now, and fears he could not live up to the standard he himself has set for Christians; wants his family, however, to attend church and be religious. But the Spirit of God worked in the father's heart so that Yong Mi writes: "I, with my parents and others, were baptized by Rev. R. S. Maclay and Rev. Otis Gibson at the Church of the True God, in 1858." The father died in 1860, saying, "The Saviour has come. Now, immediately, he will receive my soul into heaven." Yong Mi was ordained to deacon's and elder's orders by Bishop Kingsley. When he first went to a Christian church he found fault with two things: hymns of praise to the Lord of heaven and earth were sung to common popular song tunes, and the people stood to pray—not assuming a humble and reverential attitude. His feeling toward the Bible and the Sabbath at the very beginning of his Christian life is thus described: "I hungered and thirsted for the reading of the Holy Scriptures, but I did not know how to bring out the meaning. If very little only was plain to me it gave me added joy. I often went to Chong Seng Sang to ask Rev. Mr. Maclay to explain a passage to me. He told me that he read the Bible frequently in the evening, kneeling; and if the meaning were not clear he prayed the Holy Spirit to reveal it. In the same manner, accordingly, I studied the Bible each night, kneeling. By day, as I worked at painting, a portion of the Bible lay at my left hand to read as I mixed paints with the right. Sometimes two or three others who were seekers after truth came together with me, and we conferred upon our mutual experience and the knowledge we had attained. Often on Sabbath the missionary preacher used for his text the very passage of Scripture which I at the time most wished explained. So, gradually, I profited in the things of the Gospel. I revered the Sabbath of the Lord as most precious—so great regard, so great affection, so great gladness in the day, that too slowly it came, and all too quickly passed away." Here is what he thinks was one of the faults of his early preaching: "Although I early had ardor to exhort men, my words were mostly declamatory against the wickedness of the world. I regarded men's faults as a controversialist, pleased when, in debate, my opponents were humbled and silenced. Notwithstanding this was somewhat in accord with the necessity of the time, truly I was deficient in tenderness and affection."

At first he was afraid to leave his trade and go about preaching, lest people should say, "This young man wishes not to work, but has a very ambitious spirit." Friends, when they first heard him talk, said: "This man, when young, never wished to speak a word. If he spoke it was in a very soft voice. Now, suddenly, he has great courage, and speaks in a loud voice, without ceasing." Strangers also marveled and asked: "How came this man to be so? Why hangs always the name of Jesus upon his lips? Reviled by men with many evil words, why does he not become angry and retort? He does not appear stupid or crazy. Ah, probably he has taken some foreign drug which has bewitched him." When assaulted by a crowd with missiles he praised God aloud for having committed to him the charge of suffering for Jesus. In China, as in America, some poor specimens are among the converts; there was one "whose nature was like a reed. He was fond of eating, disinclined to work. It was difficult to improve him. Gradually he disconnected himself from the Church." Some in China, as in America, are after loaves and fishes. Twenty gamblers who had lost all in a lottery came to the missionary and asked: "How much money shall we receive a month for all becoming Christians?" In one village Yong Mi found several hundred men who declared they were willing to worship God if they were paid cash for it. But in China, as in all lands, are found some noble, heroic, and shining converts. Here is one, Ngoi Cheng Ting: "He tells any man he sees of the joy he experiences—the joy of salvation. He is not eloquent, but his heart is full and it beams in his countenance. He was formerly a mason, but has given up his business to preach Christ, although not a licensed preacher. He has a banner on which are inscribed characters signifying God's power and love, the crucifixion of Christ for the sin of mankind, the Ten Commandments, and his own experiences. This banner he bears on his back as he travels hundreds of miles, everywhere letting men read the inscriptions. . . . He tells his experiences to all, and earnestly prays for those who are not converted. He greatly longs for the Saviour's Gospel to spread quickly over all the earth." Here is another valuable specimen. A wretched vagabond who was seen many times standing outside the chapel listening to Yong Mi's preaching was asked by him why he did not come inside the chapel. He replied, "You are so clean and so grand, how could I enter?" Being asked what he had heard, he said, "Not one sentence which was not exceedingly good." Being exhorted to become a disciple, he shook his head and sighed, as if to say, "That happiness is not for me." Soon he came again, and said, "I wish to ask if the Saviour is willing to receive the most wicked, most unworthy of men?" Being asked if he knew himself to be a sinner, he replied, "Ah, my sins are more than I can tell. All wickedness have I committed." The bystanders confirmed his words, saying: "We all know him, his bad name, his wicked deeds. He has opened gambling places, opium shops. He himself eats opium. All fear him. He has been employed to recover bad debts, because none dare refuse him. Every wickedness has he done. Formerly his father bound him with an iron chain. He loosed it and ran

away." And the poor sinner himself went on: "My heart perceives that it has offended against the law of God and broken all commands. Now, how is salvation possible?" Yong Mi explained the Gospel and prayed with him. The man gave up the opium business and gambling, destroyed his utensils, ceased from all bad practices. The effort to do without opium made him very sick. "One day he lay on the roadside as if dying. All men knew it was a case of opium illness. They tried to draw him into an opium den, telling him that two pipefuls would make him well. He answered, 'Men who have not the opium habit also take sick and die.' He would not touch the drug, and he recovered." He became a fish peddler, and manifested in his business that he was honest, just, and sincere; sold only what was good, and charged only a fair price, not cheating in any way. Everybody discussed this matter of his sudden change to goodness. Men said: "Can such a bad man have become good? No; perhaps he has become a false Christian to deceive the Christian minister in some way." They tried various means to tempt him and to test him, but, failing to move him, they said, "This man is truly a Christian. What magic did the minister use? Has this doctrine power to transform such a bad man into a good one?" Then they went to him and questioned him: "You—man—how or why did you become so changed?" He answered, "It was the power of God which regenerated me. It was the grace of Jesus which saved me. I, Tiong Lung, this man, with no man near me—only the love of Jesus so great that he was willing to receive me—this caused me to live again from the dead." Men kept asking him this question, until finally he said, "I have told you many times over; why are you not willing to believe?" "Thus," writes Yong Mi, "the reputation of Jesus's doctrine became fragrant everywhere. Many people came afterward to have great faith in Tiong Lung. Beforetime men were not willing to trust him with a single cash. Now traders, rich men, and genteel, gave him large sums of silver to take to Foo Chow for the purpose of making purchases. His latter state differs widely from his former and manifests the power of the Holy Spirit to transform the inner heart of man. Tiong Lung still lives, a firm Christian and an honest tradesman, in Lĕk Tu." In a village which was the center of the idol festivities many were sick with intermittent fever; Yong Mi says he gave them "quinine and the Gospel." Here is Yong Mi's experience with the Church in Ku-cheng, about forty members, mostly poor. These poor people being in need of assistance because of a severe drought, he appealed to the members who were better off to contribute for the relief of the distressed. "It was done; but there was dissatisfaction about the distribution of this fund, one thinking too little had been given him and that another had too much." These began to harbor ill-will against Yong Mi. "Some wished certificates to go and join the English Church. There were also members who gambled and were quarrelsome. One was addicted to opium." Yong Mi says: "Some too favorite members had been treated as is often a precocious child. It is overpetted. It is busy all the day in all manner of activities, till the parents are too weary to eat. One must just have patience with such." There were a few

discreet, consistent, and zealous members, who acted withhim to restore tranquillity, and he writes—and his story is like the experience of many a troubled minister: "These circumstances were not unprofitable to me. God used them for my discipline. I had before resorted to secret prayer and fasting, to prevent self-trust and negligence of important matters. Now, again, I felt that it was necessary I should fast. I also, with a few members of like mind, met daily before daylight to pray for the Church. Before long we had help from God. The Church was lifted up. I began holding meetings in private houses in different villages round about. I saw the Church members, ardent in spirit, longing for the Gospel, serving the Lord with gladness of heart." Methodists in China, it seems, have one very peculiar experience: "Certain members of the English Church frequently said, 'The Methodist Episcopal Church is not established,' meaning not a State Church, and caused men to contemn us." In one place Yong Mi preached to his enemies until they were humbled and confessed their wrong, and listened to his preaching so that they forgot their meals. When members of their families came to summon them to dinner they replied, "Hearing this doctrine is better than eating." Once Yong Mi was sent to a hard appointment where no preacher wished to go, and he thought it was because of prejudice against him in the Conference. He thought the missionaries wanted to compel him to retire from the work and therefore gave him a hard place. He says these suspicions were due to a fit of depression of mind. He went to his appointment, thinking to himself: "All things are in God's hand to rule and determine. Dare to doubt? No. I must put away every imagination of my own. Preachers, whether in sorrow or joy, must finish their course. Therefore I, in depressing circumstances, must trust the Lord the more and hope for the manifestation of his power." Going in this spirit, he found on his large circuit a wide open door for the Gospel and won many victories; so that he afterward wrote: "In all things it is best to follow God's guidance. It is not profitable to heed what one sees, hears, or imagines. I have repented of my suspicions concerning my appointment, as a sin." The Chinese are peculiar in the almost superstitious value they set upon every bit of paper which has anything printed on it. "All printed paper is held in great esteem; must not be used for wrapping paper nor trampled under foot; this because of their regard for books and learning." We have societies for almost everything, but the Chinese are one ahead of us; they have a "Society for the Preservation of Lettered Paper," which detects and punishes those who are guilty of misusing printed paper. All through Yong Mi's book the grateful attachment of the native converts to our missionaries comes out in appreciation of the patience and self-denial and loving-kindness of such men as Drs. Wentworth and Maclay and Gibson and S. L. Baldwin; as also testimony to the helpfulness and impressiveness of the visits of our bishops to our missions in China. No testimony can be more important than that of converted heathen and native preachers in the field. This book, with its simple, strong, sincere, heroic story, is a good one for all men to read.

English Lands, Letters, and Kings. By DONALD G. MITCHELL. 12mo, pp. 354. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, cloth, $1.50.

Two previous volumes covered the ground "From Celt to Tudor" and "From Elizabeth to Anne." This one treats of "Queen Anne and the Georges." The very name of the author is a guarantee of racy and charming narrative, character study, scenic description, and moralizing. The literary flavor and finish of the book make delightful reading, and knowledge is absorbed without the effort of study. It has been said that the author endows his readers, not merely with his critical opinions, but with his prejudices. We cannot do better than borrow the words of another reviewer: "There is a sly stroke at Gibbon apropos of the marriage which never took place that illustrates the author's skill in suggestive criticism where personal character and literary mastery are thought of together. 'Not a nice person, that Gibbon,' the author seems to say, 'but, dear me! my young friend, if you are going to write history, let me urge you not to meddle with the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. That has been done.' One finds out soon enough that Mr. Mitchell has an astonishing respect for Hume and a curious contempt for Rousseau. But he is, on the whole, as tender as he can be with everybody—even with that ideal of malice, Samuel Rogers, one of the best specimens in literary history of a poet made after he was born to something quite different. In his own fashion Mr. Mitchell has given a gallery of portraits, sketched rapidly. All the salient features necessary to complete recognition are there, though perhaps the details are not filled in. Some pictures which another artist might have neglected—for example, that of White of Selborne—are unexpectedly elaborate. The abnormally pious Cowper is as carefully done as the skeptical Hume; and Crabbe, whom the author does not admire, is as fully treated as Wordsworth, for whom he still retains the reverence of his college days. He regrets that he did not make bold to call on Wordsworth in those days, and he still remembers his glimpse of the aged poet one Sunday morning in the little chapel on the Heights of Rydal, when 'from my seat I saw him enter, knowing him on the instant; tall (to my seeming), erect, yet with step somewhat shaky, his coat closely buttoned, his air serious and self-possessed, his features large, mouth almost coarse, hair white as the driven snow, fringing a dome of baldness; an eye with a dreamy expression in it, and seeming to look beyond and still beyond. He carried, too, his serious air into his share of the service, and made his successive responses of "Good Lord, deliver us!" and "Amen!" with an emphasis that rung throughout the little chapel.'" As to Chesterfield's *Letters to His Son* the author quotes Samuel Johnson's saying that they taught "the morals of a courtesan and the manners of a dancing master."

Bringing the Sheaves. Gleanings from Harvest Fields in Ohio, Kentucky, and West Virginia. By WILLIAM I. FEE, D.D., of the Cincinnati Conference. Crown 8vo, pp. 663. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. New York: Eaton & Mains. Price, cloth, $1.50.

This is a refreshing book for the devout Methodist. The author is in the line of spiritual descent from those first itinerants who, a century since, rode the forests of the New World preaching the strange doctrine of a

conscious and full salvation. Though chronologically he belongs to these last times, yet in his consecration, zeal, and methods he links us to Asbury, Lee, and Whatcoat. The territory where he labored has witnessed some of the most heroic struggles of our American Methodism and some of her most remarkable achievements. In her growth through the middle West Dr. Fee seems to have been an important factor. And it is well that the old warrior should now tell the story of his battles. While we may not dwell upon his successive appointments, through a long half century, we are persuaded that his volume is a valuable addition to the historical archives of Ohio, Kentucky, and West Virginia Methodism. But, besides its local value, his history has a lesson for all the preachers of our Methodism. In their hands it would be no mean text-book on the burning question of how to secure revivals. The price that Dr. Fee paid was enthusiastic consecration to the one work of soul saving; the methods that he followed were an implicit reliance upon the office work of the Holy Spirit, the enlistment of the godly members of his churches as his helpers, importunate prayer, pungent preaching, and opportune pastoral work; the results he saw were glorious outpourings and great additions whose very description is a means of grace to the reader. Nor can we think that the day has gone by for the application of the methods which Dr. Fee followed. The chief work of Methodism in the world is to give bread to starving souls, and well will it be if she is not diverted from this great mission. We have already alluded to the singleness of spirit in which Dr. Fee has prosecuted his lifework—and he is now dwelling too happily under the mellow skies of the Beulah land to mistake our words for those of fulsome compliment. He sought no appointments, but went where he was "sent;" he carried his protest against an acceptance of the presiding eldership to the point of threatening to locate, and was sent out upon a district in spite of this protest; he was elected to the General Conference of 1880, though he had so "little ambition" for the honor that he did not permit conversation upon the subject. His mission, in short, as expressed by himself, recalls the solemn vows which are taken at the door of an Annual Conference. "I felt it was my duty," he says, "to give myself wholly to this work, no matter what might be involved in it; no matter what cost or reproach it might bring upon me; that I ought to make full proof of my strength, and that the great business of my life was the conversion of men." His volume of reminiscences is published in response to the request of the Cincinnati Conference in 1884. Its introduction is written by Bishop Foster, a lifelong acquaintance and friend. Its vivid descriptions, as Dr. Fee's "sun of life is going down behind the western hills," should come as an inspiring call to his brethren who are yet gathering their sheaves under the sun of midday.

English Seamen in the Sixteenth Century. By JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE, late Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford. 8vo, pp. 228. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, cloth, $1.75.

These nine lectures were delivered at Oxford in 1894. Froude is too well known to need commendation or characterization. The titles of the

chapters give the contents of the book: I. "The Sea Cradle of the Reformation;" II. "John Hawkins and the African Slave Trade;" III. "Sir John Hawkins and Philip the Second;" IV. "Drake's Voyage Round the World;" V. "Parties in the State;" VI. "The Great Expedition to the West Indies;" VII. "Attack on Cadiz;" VIII. "Sailing of the *Armada;*" IX. "Defeat of the *Armada.*" Put this book with Charles Kingsley's *Westward Ho*, and read the great story of those great days told in both, and no man can wonder at England's pride in her thousand years of history, and no American can fail to feel a thrill of exultation over his own ancestral share in that heroic history nor suppress a throb of admiration at the deeds and victories of English-speaking men.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Illustrative Notes, 1897. A Guide to the Study of the International Sunday School Lessons. With Original and Selected Comments, Methods of Teaching, Illustrative Stories, Practical Applications, Notes on Eastern Life, Library References, Maps, Tables, Pictures, and Diagrams. By JESSE LYMAN HURLBUT and ROBERT REMINGTON DOHERTY. 8vo, pp. 376. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, $1.25.

This book is a valuable commentary upon the International Sunday School Lessons for 1897, as found in Acts and various of the epistles. Besides such faithful interpretations of the text as have been written by the editors themselves, quotations have been made from nearly three hundred eminent authorities in modern biblical interpretation. In addition to which the "hints" provided for the use of teachers, the pertinent illustrative anecdotes, the tables and maps inserted, and the many graphic illustrations spread through the volume make it all that could be desired as a practical handbook for adult Sunday school workers. It is, in fact, a worthy issue in a long line of invaluable lesson helps. The comprehensive claim that it makes on its title-page of manifold aids to lesson study seems borne out by the facts in the case. For the results which have been reached it is only just to mention in commendation the name of Dr. Hurlbut, editor-in-chief of our Sunday school publications, and of Dr. Doherty, whose constant and wise workmanship has enriched the issue. All Sunday school teachers and adult scholars should add to their facilities in lesson study for 1897 by the ownership of the volume.

A Lone Woman in Africa. Six Years on the Kroo Coast. By AGNES MCALLISTER, Missionary under Bishop William Taylor. 12mo, pp. 295. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Curts & Jennings. Price, cloth, $1.

No more readable book than this has appeared in many a day. The story is told in a straightforward, simple manner, with no effort at embellishment, and yet from the very beginning the reader's attention is so aroused that the desire to finish it at one sitting is well-nigh irresistible. We can scarcely imagine how anyone who follows Miss McAllister through the narrative can fail to become inspired with the "enthusiasm of humanity" which led her to welcome sacrifices that are inseparable from a life of mission work in the Dark Continent. Not the least interesting portion

of the narrative is the author's description of her divine call to go to Africa. Thinking one evening that she heard a rap at the door, she opened it only to find that no one was visible; but she "heard a voice plainly say, 'I want you to become a missionary. . . . Will you go?'" Hesitating to reply, the burden upon her soul became intolerable; but at last, like St. Paul, she became "obedient unto the heavenly vision," answered "Yes, Lord," and "so it was all settled." Given the relation of this experience, her subsequent devotion to the Master's work is rendered easy of comprehension. A few pages suffice to describe her conversion, the "call to the work," and the journey to Liberia; the remainder of the volume describes her personal experiences among the heathen, and the manners and customs of the various tribes with whom she came in contact during the six years of her residence at Garraway. That the Lord has abundantly blessed her labors, "confirming the word with signs following," is one of the many wholesome conclusions to be drawn from this unpretentious, but none the less charming, volume.

Origin and Development of the Nicene Theology, with Some Reference to the Ritschlian View of Theology and History of Doctrine. Lectures delivered on the L. P. Stone Foundation at Princeton Theological Seminary, in January, 1896. By HUGH M. SCOTT, D.D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Chicago Theological Seminary. 8vo, pp. 390. Chicago: Chicago Theological Seminary Press. Price, cloth, $2.

A book by a specialist for specialists, and of very little value to anyone else. It claims to be, and so far as we know undoubtedly is, "the first attempt in English to outline the growth of the Nicene theology with any real reference to the work of the school of Ritschl." It is a thoroughly German production, vigorously defending orthodox Christology against Harnack, Pfleiderer, Nitzsch, Schultz, Loofs, Zahn, Kaftan, Hermann, and great numbers of others. The pages bristle with these names, and are laden with their opinions. Defective views of all sorts are set right, and recondite lines of development are traced in respect to many doctrines. A vast amount of scholarship is shown, and good work is done, but the circle of those who will be interested in these exceedingly abstruse and abstract dogmatics must, we think, be very small.

In His Footsteps. A Record of Travel to and in the Land of Christ, with an Attempt to Mark the Lord's Journeyings in Chronological Order from His Birth to His Ascension. By WILLIAM E. MCLENNAN. 12mo, pp. 111. New York: Eaton & Mains. Price, cloth, 50 cents.

This is a well-planned and successfully executed endeavor to make the life of Christ more interesting to young people. A teacher takes his pupils from New York to Bethlehem, then from Bethlehem to Nazareth, and so on in the footsteps of the Master until at Bethany those sacred feet are lifted from earth. Views, charts, and maps in abundance help to make the scenes more vivid and the routes more real. The references to Scripture are also very complete, and the chronology follows the high authority of Andrews. It is evident that the best sources of information have been drawn on in the preparation of this handbook, and only good can follow from its proper use. Dr. Schell particularly recommends it to those having in charge Epworth League juniors.

INDEX.

Africa, Northern, etc., Christianity and Mohammedanism in: *Kidder*, 528.
Africa, The Developments in (Miss. Rev.), 804.
After Capitalism, What? *Bishop*, 366.
Aim, Loss of, in the Ministry (Itin. Club), 795.
"Altchristlichen Litteratur in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten, Geschichte der" (For. Out.), 811.
American Bible Society as Missionary Agency (Miss. Rev.), 803.
American Board Mission in Turkey, The (Miss. Rev.), 481.
Amusements, Law of Methodist Episcopal Church, etc.: *Sibley*, *McChesney*, 284, 289.
Ananias, Paul and, before Sanhedrin at Jerusalem: *Bowman*, 570.
Ancient Coins, Educational Functions of: *Bristol*, 874.
Anglo-Chinese Colleges, Application for Students of (Miss. Rev.), 145.
"Anothen"—A Word Study (Arena), 792.
Appointment, The Power of (Notes and Dis.), 294.
Arabia, etc., Christianity and Mohammedanism in: *Kidder*, 528.
Archæology and Old Testament Criticism (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 136.
Armstrong: The Return to Faith, 66.
Articles for *Review*, Contributed (Notes and Dis.), 293.
Aryanism, Revived, in Connection with Modern Theistic Movement in India: *Brooks*, 559.
Assurance, Recent Discussion of Doctrine of (For. Out.), 324.
Austria, Methodism in (For. Out.), 658.
Austrian Retrograde Political Movement, An (For. Out.), 486.

Balzac, The Moral Influence of: *Tuttle*, 60.
Baptists of Sweden and Finland (For. Out.), 487.
"Baptized for the Dead," etc. (Itin. Club), 468.
Beggs: The Mormon Problem in the West, 754.
Benevolences, Our: *Herrick*, 205.
Berger, Arnold E. (For. Out.), 147.
Berlin Society for Diffusion of Christian Literature (For. Out.), 659.
Bible, How to Study the (Itin. Club), 471, 974.
Bible as a Strain of Music (Notes and Dis.), 948.
Bible Society, American, as a Missionary Agency (Miss. Rev.), 803.
Biblical Criticism and the Task of the Preacher (For. Out.), 812.
Biblical Criticism, Conditions of Authoritative: *Buttz*, 191.
Biblicist, A Rising Conservative (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 477.
Bigham: The New Psychology, 345.
Bishop: After Capitalism, What? 366.
Bishops, Inadvisability of Districting (Notes and Dis.), 299.
Boetticher, Carl (For. Out.), 985.
Book Reviews as Contributed Articles (Notes and Dis.), 293.
Boyard: Benjamin Franklin Crary, D.D., 177.
Bowman: Paul and Ananias before the Sanhedrin at Jerusalem, 570.
Bristol: Educational Functions of Ancient Coins, 874.
British Museum, Cylinders in the (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 799.
Brooks: Revived Aryanism in Connection with Modern Theistic Movement in India, 559.
Buttz: Conditions of Authoritative Biblical Criticism, 191.

Capitalism, After, What? *Bishop*, 366.
Carbon Compound, The (Arena), 636.
Carroll: Misrepresentations of Missions and Missionaries, 273.
Catholic Propaganda in Germany, A New Roman (For. Out.), 487.
Catholicity: *Reed*, 377.
"Catholics, Our Attitude toward Roman," An Exception Taken (Arena), 791.
Chaffee: Comparative Religion, 409.
Character, The Forces which Determine: *Fairall*, 29.
"Characteristik des religiösen Standpunkt des Erasmus, Zur" (For. Out.), 809.
Chinese Literati in Peking University: *Taft*, 921.
Christ, Posthumous Humanity of (Arena), 789.
Christian Conception of God, The: *Odell*, 728.
Christian Literature, Berlin Society for Diffusion of (For. Out.), 659.
"Christian" Rationalism (Notes and Dis.), 445.
Christianity and Mohammedanism in Arabia, etc.: *Kidder*, 528.
Church, Obligations to Educational Institutions (Itin. Club), 640.
Church History, The Literary Development of: *Hurst*, 681.
Church in Madagascar, The Protestant (For. Out.), 659.
Church Membership, The Necessity of: *Lance*, 902.
Church Papers for Sunday Reading (Arena), 463.
Civil Service Reform (Notes and Dis.), 776.
Civilization, Bearing of Confucianism on (Miss. Rev.), 651.
"Clemens von Alexandrien, Der neutestamentliche Schriftcanon und" (For. Out.), 483.
Coe: The Theoretical and the Practical, 594.
Coins, Educational Functions of Ancient: *Bristol*, 874.
Coles, Abraham, the Physician-Poet: *Tuttle*, 580.
Comforter, The Minister As (Itin. Club), 469.
Comparative Religion: *Chaffee*, 409.
Conditions of Authoritative Biblical Criticism: *Buttz*, 191.
Conference Course of Study, Progress in, etc. (Itin. Club), 135.

Confucianism, The Bearing on Civilization (Miss. Rev.), 651.
Congo Free State, The (Miss. Rev.), 982.
Congregations, How to Win (Itin. Club), 133.
Conn: Three Great Epochs of World Evolution, 885.
Conservative Force, The Ministry as a (Itin. Club), 971.
Constitution of the Methodist Episcopal Church, The: *Pearson*, 260.
Contingency, Foreknowledge and (Arena), 308, 790.
Contributed Articles for *Review* (Notes and Dis.), 293.
Countess, A Missionary (For. Out.), 487.
Course of Study, Progress in Conference, etc. (Itin. Club), 135.
Cowgill: Language as a Fine Art, 940.
Crane's *Holiness*, etc., Dr. Whedon on (Notes and Dis.), 160.
Crary, Benjamin Franklin, D.D.: *Bovard*, 177.
Criticism, Archæology and Old Testament (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 136.
Criticism, Biblical, and the Task of the Preacher (For. Out.), 812.
Criticism, Conditions of Authoritative Biblical: *Battz*, 191.
Crowder: The Relations of Knowledge and Feeling in Spirituality, 552.
Curnick: New England Liberal Theology, 599.
Cylinders in the British Museum (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 799.

Debts of Missionary Societies (Miss. Rev.), 981.
Declaration of 1888, That Pseudo-Judicial, etc.: *Warren*, 81.
Declaration of 1888, The Real: *Reynolds*, 87.
Did Paul Preach on Mars' Hill? *Parsons*, 546.
"Did Paul Preach on Mars' Hill?" (Arena), 969.
Diocese and District (Arena), 462.
Diplomatic Storm Centers (Notes and Dis.), 947.
Districting Bishops, Inadvisability of (Notes and Dis.), 299.
"Divine Comedy," The: *Kuhns*, 242.
Divine Immanence, Doctrine of the: *Graham*, 35.
Doctrine of the Future Life in Book of Job: *Plantz*, 45.
Doctrine of the Holy Spirit, The: *Merrill*, 513.
"Dogmatique chrétienne (For. Out.), 810.
Downey: Methods and Principles, A Study in Methodist Polity, 420.
Du Bose: Bishop Haygood as a Philosopher and Reformer, 587.

Ecclesiasticus and Philo (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 646.
Educational Functions of Ancient Coins: *Bristol*, 874.
Educational Institutions, Obligations of Church to (Itin. Club), 640.
Egypt, etc., Christianity and Mohammedanism in: *Kidder*, 523.
Egyptian Monuments, Israel and (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 976.
Egyptians, The Wisdom of the: *Fradenburgh*, 229.
Elective Judiciary, An (Notes and Dis.), 444.
Elsenhans, Theodore (For. Out.), 146.
Emerson as a Philosopher: *Lockwood*, 702.
Entire Sanctification (Arena), 788.
"Epiktet und sein Verhältnis zum Christenthum, Der Stoiker" (For. Out.), 988.
Epistemology of the Saints, The (Notes and Dis.), 120.
"Erasmus, Zur Characteristik des religiösen Standpunkt" (For. Out.), 809.
Ethical Culturists, Suggestions to (Notes and Dis.), 776.
"Eureka," Edgar A. Poe's Addenda, etc., 9.
"Eureka," Poe's, and Addenda (Notes and Dis.), 111.
Evolution, Pure Religious (Notes and Dis.), 629.
Evolution, The Three Great Epochs of World: *Conn*, 885.
Ewald, Paul (For. Out.), 653.
Exegetical—Heb. vi, 4–6 (Itin. Club.), 973.
Exegetical—Rom. v, 1 (Itin. Club), 797.
Exegetical—Rom. ix, 3 (Itin. Club), 311.
Exegetical Theology (Notes and Dis.), 293.
"Exorcismus in Herzogtum Braunschweig seit den Tagen der Reformation," Der (For. Out.), 810.
Experience of Life, The Ripening (Notes and Dis.), 450.

Fairall: The Forces which Determine Character, 29.
Faith, Phases of: *Hammell*, 437.
Faith, The Return to: *Armstrong*, 66.
Feeling in Religion, Thought and (Notes and Dis.), 293.
Feeling in Spirituality, Knowledge and, etc.: *Crowder*, 552.
"Feeling in Spirituality, Knowledge and" (Arena), 968.
Fever for Universities, Danger of the (Notes and Dis.), 442.
Fiction, Studies in Recent: *Townsend*, 911.
Finland, Baptists of Sweden and (For. Out.), 487.
Forces which Determine Character, The: *Fairall*, 29.
Foreign Fields, Methodist Polity in (Miss. Rev.), 141.
Foreign Missions, A Quadrennium of Methodist (Miss. Rev.), 478.
Foreknowledge and Contingency (Arena), 308, 790.
Formosa, Affairs in (Miss. Rev.), 650.
Four Years Ago—A Remembrance (Notes and Dis.), 630.
Fradenburgh: The Wisdom of the Egyptians, 229.
"François d'Assisi, Vie de" (For. Out.), 654.
Friendly Response to Friendly Appeal [Warren's Reply to Reynolds on Eligibility of Women], (Arena), 306.
Friendly Word with Critics (Arena), 125.
Future Life in Book of Job, Doctrine of: *Plantz*, 45.

General Conference, Perils of (Notes and Dis.), 293.
General Conference of German Society for Advancement of Morality (For. Out.), 325.
German Society for Advancement of Morality, General Conference of (For. Out.), 325.
German Work in the United States (Miss. Rev.), 479.
Germany, New Roman Catholic Propaganda in (For. Out.), 487.
Germany, The Christian Socialist Party of (For. Out.), 814.
"Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten" (For. Out.), 811.
"Glaube und seine Bedeutung fur Erkenntniss, Leben, und Kirche," etc., "Der" (For. Out.), 986.
God, The Christian Conception of: *Odell*, 75.
Godet, F. (For. Out.), 984.
Graham: Doctrine of the Divine Immanence, 35.
Grünberg, Paul (For. Out.), 898.

Hammell: Phases of Faith, 437.
Harnack, Professor, in the Rôle of an Apologist (For. Out.), 989.
Haupt, Erich (For. Out.), 482.
Haupt's Polychrome Old Testament (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 644.
Haygood, Bishop, as a Philosopher and Reformer: *Du Bose*, 587.
Haygood, Death of Bishop (Notes and Dis.), 293.
Hebrew Text of the Old Testament, The (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 473.
Heb. vi, 4-6, Exegesis (Itin. Club), 973.
Herrick: Our Benevolences, 205.
Historical Perspective (Notes and Dis.), 115.
Holiness, Whedon on Dr. Crane's Book (Notes and Dis.), 109.
Hollweck, Joseph (For. Out.), 807.
Holy Spirit, The Doctrine of the: *Merrill*, 513.
Homer, Writing in (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 139.
Hospital in Jerusalem, The (For. Out.), 153.
"Huldreich Zwingli," etc. (For. Out.), 988.
Humanity of Christ, Posthumous (Arena), 789.
Hunt, Death of Sandford, D.D., 441.
Hurst: The Literary Development of Church History, 681.

Ideals, The Minister's (Itin. Club), 639.
Immanence, Doctrine of the Divine: *Graham*, 35.
India, Aryanism in Connection with Modern Theistic Movement in: *Brooks*, 559.
India, Converts and their Theology (Miss. Rev.), 145.
India, Our Methodist Work in, etc. (Miss. Rev.), 806.
Individualism and Socialism (Notes and Dis.), 617.
Inspiring Chapter in Methodist History, An: *Mudge*, 19.
Intellect, The Public Duties of the Trained (Notes and Dis.), 782.
Israel and Egyptian Monuments (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 976.
Italy, Church of the Waldenses in (For. Out.), 659.

Japan, Missionary Problems in (Miss. Rev.), 319.
Jerusalem, The Hospital in (For. Out.), 153.
Job, Doctrine of Future Life in Book of: *Plantz*, 45.
Jones: The Philosophy of Prayer, 77.
"Joodsche achtergrond van den Brief aan de Romeinen, De" (For. Out.), 484.
Judicial Declaration of 1888, That Pseudo-, etc.: *Warren*, 81.
Judicial Declaration of 1888, The Real: *Reynolds*, 87.
Judiciary, An Elective (Notes and Dis.), 444.

Kahl, Wilhelm (For. Out.), 321.
Keats, John, etc.: *Kenyon*, 353.
Kenyon: Dante Gabriel Rossetti and His Sister Christina, 743.
Kenyon: John Keats, etc., 353.
Kidder: Christianity and Mohammedanism in Arabia, etc., 528.
"Kirchengeschichte, Lehrbuch der" (For. Out.), 655.
Knowledge and Feeling in Spirituality, The Relations of: *Crowder*, 552.
"Knowledge and Feeling in Spirituality" (Arena), 963.
Krenkel, Max (For. Out.), 146.
Kuhns: The "Divine Comedy," 242.

Lance: The Necessity of Church Membership, 902.
Land, The Value of (Arena), 467, 633.
Land, The Value of; Reply to Drs. Wheeler and Steele (Arena), 966.
Language as a Fine Art: *Cowgill*, 949.
Law of Methodist Episcopal Church as to Amusements, etc.: *Sibley, McChesney*, 284, 289.
"Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte" (For. Out.), 655.
"Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte" (For. Out.), 656.
Letter and Spirit (Notes and Dis.), 777.
Li Hung Chang, Applications of, for Students, etc. (Miss. Rev.), 145.
Liberal Theology, New England: *Curnick*, 599.
"Libris Prohibitis Commentarii, De" (For. Out.), 485.
Life, The Ripening Experience of (Notes and Dis.), 450.
Literary Development of Church History, The: *Hurst*, 681.
Literary Interest of *Review* (Notes and Dis.), 109.
Literature, Berlin Society for Diffusion of Christian (For. Out.), 659.
"Litteratur in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten, Geschichte der altchristlichen (For. Out.), 811.
Liturgical Developments of New Testament Times: *Reeder*, 926.
Lockwood: Emerson as a Philosopher, 702.
Lord's Supper, Recent Disputes Relative to (For. Out.), 657.
Loss of Aim in the Ministry (Itin. Club), 795.
Luther on Relation of Human Will to Doctrine of God (For. Out.), 149.

McChesney: Law of Methodist Episcopal Church as to Amusements, etc., 289.
McCreary on Sociology (Arena), 637.
McCreary's Reply to his Critic (Arena), 957.
MacDonald: The Personal Element in Social Reform, 403.
McDowell: The New Municipal Movement, 735.
Madagascar, Protestant Church in (For. Out.), 659.
Madagascar, The Situation in (Miss. Rev.), 143.
Mars' Hill, Did Paul Preach on? *Parsons*, 546.
"Mars' Hill, Did Paul Preach on?" (Arena,) 960.
Matter—Organic and Inorganic (Arena), 309.
Measures and Opinions, New (Itin. Club), 794.
Meinhold, J. (For. Out.), 652.
Membership, Necessity of Church: *Lance*, 902.
Mendenhall, J. W.: A Remembrance (Notes and Dis.), 620.
Merrill: The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit, 513.
Methodism, The Tasks of (Notes and Dis.), 625.
Methodism in Austria (For. Out.), 658.
Methodist Episcopal Church, Law as to Amusements, etc.: *Sibley, McChesney*, 284, 289.
Methodist Episcopal Church, The Constitution of: *Pearson*, 260.
Methodist Episcopal Church in the South: *Stevenson*, 381.
Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America: *Neely*, 213.
Methodist Foreign Missions, A Quadrennium of (Miss. Rev.), 478.
Methodist History, An Inspiring Chapter in: *Mudge*, 19.
Methodist Polity, A Study in, etc.: *Downey*, 420.

Methodist Polity in Foreign Fields (Miss. Rev.), 141.
Methodist Work in India, etc. (Miss. Rev.), 806.
Methods and Principles, etc., *Downey*, 420.
Minister as a Comforter, The (Itin. Club), 469.
Minister's Ideals, The (Itin. Club), 639.
Ministerial Rests (Itin. Club), 312.
Ministry, Loss of Aim in (Itin. Club), 795.
Ministry as a Conservative Force, The (Itin. Club), 971.
"Miracle, La notion biblique du" (For. Out.), 323.
Mission in Turkey, The American Board (Miss. Rev.), 481.
Missionaries in India, Criticism of (Miss. Rev.), 145.
Missionaries in Turkey, American (Miss. Rev.), 144.
Missionary Agency, American Bible Society as (Miss. Rev.), 803.
Missionary Countess, A (For. Out.), 487.
Missionary Problems in Japan (Miss. Rev.), 319.
Missionary Societies, Debts of (Miss. Rev.), 981.
Missions, A Quadrennium of Methodist Foreign (Miss. Rev.), 478.
Missions, Study of in Theological Seminaries (Miss. Rev.), 318.
Missions and Missionaries, Misrepresentations of: *Carroll*, 273.
Mohammedanism in Arabia, etc., Christianity and: *Kidder*, 528.
Moral Influence of Balzac, The: *Tuttle*, 60.
Morality, General Conference of German Society for Advancement of (For. Out.), 325.
Mormon Problem, A Reply from the Utah Mission (Arena), 962.
Mormon Problem, Article on (Notes and Dis.), 947.
Mormon Problem in the West, The: *Beggs*, 754.
Mudge: An Inspiring Chapter in Methodist History, 19.
Mudge's Answer to His Critics (Notes and Dis.), 109.
Mudge's Friendly Word with His Critics (Arena), 125.
Municipal Movement, The New: *McDowell*, 735.
Music, Bible as a Strain of (Notes and Dis.), 948.

"Nachfolge Christi und die Predigt der Gegenwart, Die" (For. Out.), 987.
Necessity of Church Membership: *Lance*, 902.
Neely: The Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America, 213.
Nelson: Paul's Psychology, 722.
"Neutestamentliche Schriftcanon und Clemens von Alexandrien, Der" (For. Out.), 483.
New England Liberal Theology: *Curnick*, 599.
New Measures and New Opinions (Itin. Club), 794.
New Municipal Movement, The: *McDowell*, 735.
New Psychology, The: *Bigham*, 345.
New Testament, Socialism and: *Wheeler*, 865.
New Testament Times, Liturgical Developments of: *Reeder*, 926.
New Testament Writings, Old and New Method of Treating (For. Out.), 150.
"Notion biblique du miracle, La" (For. Out.), 323.

Odell: The Christian Conception of God, 728.
Old and New Testament Writings, New Method of Treating (For. Out.), 150.
Old Testament, Haupt's Polychrome (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 644.
Old Testament, The Hebrew Text of the (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 473.
Old Testament Criticism, Archæology and (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 136.
Opinions, Measures and, New (Itin. Club), 794.
Our Benevolences: *Herrick*, 205.

Palestine Exploration Fund, Report of the (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 802.
Papers for Sunday Reading, Church (Arena), 463.
Parliament of Religions as Seen on Foreign Mission Fields (Miss. Rev.), 648.
Parsons: Did Paul Preach on Mars' Hill? 546.
"Paul, La Vue future d'apres Saint" (For. Out.), 149.
Paul and Ananias Before the Sanhedrin at Jerusalem: *Bowman*, 570.
Paul on Mars' Hill, Did he Preach? *Parsons*, 546.
"Paul on Mars' Hill, Did he Preach?" (Arena,) 969.
Paul's Psychology: *Nelson*, 722.
Pearne: History of the Third Restrictive Rule, 430.
Pearson: The Constitution of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 260.
Peking University, Chinese Literati in: *Taft*, 921.
Personal Element in Social Reform, The: *MacDonald*, 403.
Perspective, Historical (Notes and Dis.), 115.
Phases of Faith: *Hammell*, 437.
Philo, Ecclesiasticus and (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 646.
"Philosophie d' Ernest Renan, La" (For. Out.), 148.
Plantz: Doctrine of Future Life in Book of Job, 45.
Poe's Addenda, Edgar A., etc., 9.
Poe's "Eureka," and Addenda (Notes and Dis.), 111.
Political Reform, A: *Sibley*, 610.
Polity, A Study in Methodist, etc.: *Downey*, 420.
Polity, Methodist, in Foreign Fields (Miss. Rev.), 141.
Polychrome Old Testament, Haupt's (Arch. and Bib. Res.) 644.
Posthumous Humanity of Christ (Arena), 789.
Power of Appointment, The (Notes and Dis.), 294.
Practical, The Theoretical and the: *Coe*, 394.
Prayer, The Philosophy of: *Jones*, 77.
Preacher and Biblical Criticism, etc. (For. Out.), 812.
Preacher's Need of Seclusion (Notes and Dis.), 441.
Protestant Church in Madagascar, The (For. Out.), 659.
Pseudo-Judicial Declaration of 1888, That, etc.: *Warren*, 81.
Psychology, Paul's: *Nelson*, 722.
Psychology, The New: *Bigham*, 345.
Public Duties of the Trained Intellect, The (Notes and Dis.), 782.

Rationalism, "Christian" (Notes and Dis.), 445.
Reading, Church Papers for Sunday (Arena), 463.
Real Judicial Declaration of 1888, The: *Reynolds*, 87.

Reason and Sentiment as Factors in Social Progress: *Super*, 94.
Recent Fiction, Studies in: *Townsend*, 911.
Reed: Catholicity, 377.
Reeder: Liturgical Developments of New Testament Times, 925.
Reform, A Political: *Sibley*, 610.
Reform, The Personal Element in Social: *MacDonald*, 403.
Relations of Knowledge and Feeling in Spirituality, The: *Crowder*, 552.
Religion, Comparative: *Chaffee*, 409.
Religion both Thought and Feeling (Notes and Dis.), 293.
Religionsgeschichte, Lehrbuch der (For. Out.), 656.
Religious Evolution, Pure (Notes and Dis.), 629.
"Renan, La philosophie d'Ernest" (For. Out.), 148.
Restrictive Rule, History of the Third: *Pearne*, 430.
Rests, Ministerial (Itin. Club), 312.
Return to Faith, The: *Armstrong*, 66.
Review, Contributed Articles for (Notes and Dis.), 293.
Review, Literary Interest of (Notes and Dis.), 109.
Reviews and Magazines:
African Methodist Episcopal Church Review, 491; American Catholic Quarterly, 157; American Kitchen Magazine, 157; Bibliotheca Sacra, 327, 491, 661, 819, 992; Catholic World, 157; Chautauquan, 157, 328, 488, 491, 995; Christian Literature, 157, 328, 491, 992; Edinburgh, 154, 326, 816; Forum, 663; Homiletic, 157; London Quarterly, 327, 815, 993; Lutheran Quarterly, 327; Methodist Magazine, 157, 997; Methodist Review of the Church South, 155, 662, 818, 997; Missionary Review, 328, 663; New Church Review, 328, 491, 997; New England Historical and Genealogical Register, 328; New World, 157, 490, 819, 997; Nineteenth Century, 326, 662, 817, 997; North American, 155, 328, 491, 660, 815, 997; Our Day, 157; Preachers' Magazine, 157, 663; Presbyterian and Reformed, 328, 996; Presbyterian Quarterly, 994; Quarterly of the United Brethren, 328; Review of Reviews, 663; The Study, 488; Treasury, 157; Yale, 154, 663.
Revised Text in 1 Tim. iii, 16 (Itin. Club), 642.
Revised Version, How Shall the Church Utilize the? (Itin. Club,) 131.
Revived Aryanism in Connection with Modern Theistic Movement in India: *Brooks*, 559.
Reynolds: The Real Judicial Declaration of 1888, 87.
Reynolds, Warren's Reply to (Arena), 306.
Reynolds' Reply to Warren (Arena), 308.
Ripening Experience of Life, The (Notes and Dis.), 450.
Ritschl, Otto (For. Out.), 807.
Roman Catholic Propaganda in Germany, A New (For. Out.), 487.
"Roman Catholics, Our Attitude toward," An Exception Taken (Arena), 791.
Rom. v, 1, Exegetical (Itin. Club), 797.
Rom. ix, 3, Exegetical (Itin. Club), 311.
"Romeinen, De Joodsche Achtergrond van den Brief aan de" (For. Out.), 484.
Rossetti, Dante Gabriel, and his Sister Christina: *Kenyon*, 743.
Russia, Sunday School Work in (For. Out.), 659.

Saints, The Epistemology of the (Notes and Dis.), 120.
Sanctification, Entire (Arena), 788.
Sanhedrin at Jerusalem, Paul and Ananias before: *Bowman*, 570.
Schäder, E. (For. Out.), 652.
Schimmelmann, Countess (For. Out.), 487.
Schools of Theology, Our (Notes and Dis.), 618.
Seclusion, Preachers' Need of (Notes and Dis.), 441.
Sentiment, Reason and, in Social Progress: *Super*, 94.
Sibley: A Political Reform, 610.
Sibley: Law of Methodist Episcopal Church as to Amusements, etc., 284.
Social Progress, Reason and Sentiment as Factors in: *Super*, 94.
Social Reform, The Personal Element in: *MacDonald*, 403.
Socialism, Individualism, and (Notes and Dis.), 617.
Socialism and the New Testament: *Wheeler*, 865.
Socialist Party of Germany, The Christian (For. Out.), 814.
Socialists, The Latest Congress of (For. Out.), 153.
Sociology, Dr. McCreary on (Arena), 637.
Sociology, McCreary's Reply to Critic (Arena), 967.
Solomon's Song, "An Answer to the Question" (Arena), 635.
Solomon's Song—"Of What Use is It?" (Arena,) 130.
Soul a Substantial Entity, The (Arena), 465.
South, The Methodist Episcopal Church in the: *Stevenson*, 384.
South American Opportunity, The (Miss. Rev.), 980.
Spirit, Letter and (Notes and Dis.), 777.
Spirit, The Doctrine of the Holy: *Merrill*, 513.
"Spirituality, Knowledge and Feeling in" (Arena), 963.
Spirituality, Relations of Knowledge and Feeling in: *Crowder*, 552.
Stevenson: The Methodist Episcopal Church in the South, 384.
"Stoiker Epiktet und sein Verhaltnis zum Christenthum, Der" (For. Out.), 988.
Storm Centers, Diplomatic (Notes and Dis.), 947.
Strain of Music, The Bible as (Notes and Dis.), 948.
Studies in Recent Fiction: *Townsend*, 911.
Study, Progress in Conference Course during 1895 (Itin. Club), 135.
Subjective Theology (Arena), 970.
Sunday Reading, Church Papers for (Arena), 463.
Sunday School Work in Russia (For. Out.), 659.
Super: Reason and Sentiment as Factors in Social Progress, 94.
Sweden and Finland, Baptists of (For. Out.), 487.
Syriac Codex and Virgin Birth, The Newly Discovered (For. Out.), 152.

Taft: Chinese Literati in Peking University, 921.
Tasks of Methodism, The (Notes and Dis.), 625.
Telford: Westminster Abbey, 758.
Theistic Movement in India, Revived Aryanism in Connection with: *Brooks*, 559.
Theological Seminaries, Study of Missions in (Miss. Rev.), 318.
Theology, Exegetical (Notes and Dis.), 293.
Theology, New England Liberal: *Curnick*, 599.
Theology, Our School of (Notes and Dis.), 618.
Theology, Subjective (Arena), 970.

Theoretical and the Practical, The: *Coe*, 394.
Third Restrictive Rule, History of: *Pearne*, 430.
Thought and Feeling in Religion (Notes and Dis.), 293.
Three Great Epochs of World Evolution: *Conn*, 885.
Tiefenthal, P. (For. Out.), 984.
Townsend: Studies in Recent Fiction, 911.
Trained Intellect, The Public Duties of (Notes and Dis.), 782.
Turkey, American Board Mission in (Miss. Rev.), 481.
Turkey, American Missions in (Miss. Rev.), 144.
Tuttle: Abraham Coles, the Physician-Poet, 580.
Tuttle: The Moral Influence of Balzac, 60.

United States, German Work in (Miss. Rev.), 479.
United States of America, The Methodist Episcopal Church in: *Neely*, 213.
Universities, Danger of the Fever for (Notes and Dis.), 442.
Use of Solomon's Song (Arena), 130, 635.
Utah Mission, Reply on Mormon Problem (Arena), 962.

Vallow's Reply to Drs. Wheeler and Steele [Value of Land], (Arena), 467, 966.
Value of Land: Reply to Drs. Wheeler and Steele (Arena), 966.
Value of Land, The (Arena), 633.
"Verhältnis der menschlichen Willensfreiheit zur Gotteslehre," etc., "Das" (For. Out.), 149.
Version, How Shall the Church Utilize the Revised? (Itin. Club.,) 131.
"Vie de S. Francois d'Assisi" (For. Out.), 654.
Virgin Birth, Newly Discovered Syriac Codex and (For. Out.), 152.
"Vue future d'apres Saint Paul, La" (For. Out.), 149.

Waldenses in Italy, The Church of (For. Out.), 659.
Warren, Reynolds' Reply to Dr. (Arena), 308.
Warren: That Pseudo-Judicial Declaration of 1888, etc., 81.
Warren: When this World is Not, 849.
Warren's Reply to Judge Reynolds (Arena), 306.
Weiss, Johannes (For. Out.), 482.
Westminster Abbey: *Telford*, 758.
Whedon on Crane's *Holiness*, etc. (Notes and Dis.), 109.
Wheeler, Is Dr. Right? (Arena,) 467, 633.
Wheeler: Socialism and the New Testament, 865.
When this World is Not: *Warren*, 849.
"Willensfreiheit zur Gotteslehre, Das Verhältnis," etc. (For. Out.), 149.
Wisdom of the Egyptians, The: *Fradenburgh*, 229.
Woman in Antiquity (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 314.
Women, Eligibility of: *Warren* and *Reynolds*, 81, 87.
Women, Eligibility of (Arena), 306, 308.
World Evolution, Three Great Epochs of: *Conn*, 885.
Writing in Homer (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 139.

Zahn, Adolph, D.D. (Arch. and Bib. Res.), 477.
Zweynert, Emil (For. Out.), 322.
"Zwingli, Huldreich," etc. (For. Out.), 988.
Zwingli on Relation of Human Will to Doctrine of God (For. Out.), 149.

BOOK NOTICES.

Adams, etc.: History of Prussia under Frederic the Great, 846.
Africa, A Lone Woman in: *McAllister*, 1015.
Agnostic, Why I Am Not: *Smith*, 164.
Alden [*Clemens*]: Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc, 845.
Aldrich, Unguarded Gates, etc., 165.
American Society of Church History, Papers of: *Jackson*, 174.
Anima Poetæ: *Coleridge*, 337.
Anthology, A Victorian: *Stedman*, 343.
Arnold, Letters of Matthew: *Russell*, 333.
Astronomy, The Pith of, etc.: *Bayne*, 1008.
Auld Lang Syne, Days of: *Maclaren*, 512.

Bacon, etc.: Origin of Canon of Old Testament, 666.
Baird: The Huguenots and the Revocation of Edict of Nantes, 171.
Barabbas: *Corelli*, 677.
Baskervill: Joel Chandler Harris, 689.
Bayne: The Pith of Astronomy, etc., 1008.
Beet: The New Life in Christ, 824.
Bennett: The Theology of the Old Testament, 496.
Berdoe: Browning and the Christian Faith, 670.
Besant: Westminster, 680.
Bible, The Modern Reader's: *Moulton*, 829.
Blessed Be Drudgery: *Gannett*, 344.
Bohemia, The Story of: *Gregor*, 679.
Bringing the Sheaves: *Fee*, 1013.
Browning and the Christian Faith: *Berdoe*, 670.

Canon of the Old Testament, The Origin of: *Wildeboer*, *Bacon*, and *Moore*, 666.
Central America, Three Gringos in, etc.: *Davis*, 676.
Christ, The New Life in: *Beet*, 824.
Christ Enough: *Smith*, 344.
Christian Democracy, The, etc.: *Leavitt*, 998.
Christian Faith, Browning and the: *Berdoe*, 670.
Christianity Vindicated by Its Enemies: *Dorchester*, 830.
Church History, Papers of American Society of: *Jackson*, 174.
Claflin: Under the Old Elms, 176.
Clemens [*Alden*]: Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc, 845.
Clinton: Extraordinary Cases, 847.
Coleridge: Anima Poetæ, 337.
Corelli: Barabbas, 677.
Creation—God in Time and Space: *Foster*, 329.
Creedless Gospel and Gospel Creed: *Sutterlee*, 331.
Creighton: Persecution and Tolerance, 827.
Crisis of this World, The: *Merrill*, 1003.
Critical Kit-Kats: *Gosse*, 832.

Davis: Three Gringos in Venezuela and Central America, 676.
Dawson: Eden Lost and Won, 669.
Dawson: London Idylls, 511.
Dawson: The Making of Manhood, 511.
Days of Auld Lang Syne, The: *Maclaren*, 512.
Democracy, The Christian, etc.: *Leavitt*, 998.
Denial, The Witness of: *Scudder*, 333.
Diggle: Religious Doubt, 158.
Dixie, etc.: *Ralph*, 512.
Dogmatic Theology, An Introduction to: *Weidner*, 826.
Doherty, etc.: Illustrative Notes, 176, 1015.
Dorchester: Christianity Vindicated by Its Enemies, 830.

Doubt, Religious: *Diggle*, 158.
Drudgery, Blessed Be: *Gannett*, 344.
Drummond: Joy, Rest, and Faith, 344.

Earth, This Goodly Frame, the: *Tiffany*, 341.
Eden Lost and Won: *Dawson*, 669.
Elms, Under the Old: *Claflin*, 176.
Empire of the Ptolemies, The: *Mahaffy*, 507.
English Lands, Letters, and Kings: *Mitchell*, 1013.
English Seamen in the Sixteenth Century: *Froude*, 1014.
Essentials of New Testament Greek: *Huddilston*, 668.
Ethical Movement, An: *Sheldon*, 1004.
Experience, The Gospel of: *Newbolt*, 828.
Extraordinary Cases: *Clinton*, 847.

Faith, Browning and the Christian: *Berdoe*, 670.
Faith Illustrated, The Way of: Hü Yong Mi, 1008.
Fee: Bringing the Sheaves, 1013.
Forbes: Memories and Studies of War and Peace, 339.
Formosa, From Far: *Mackay* and *MacDonald*, 343.
Foster: Creation—God in Time and Space, 329.
Frederic the Great, History of Prussia under: *Tuttle* and *Adams*, 845.
Froude: English Seamen in the Sixteenth Century, 1014.

Gannett: Blessed Be Drudgery, 344.
Gilbert: The Student's Life of Jesus, 1001.
God in Time and Space—Creation: *Foster*, 329.
Godkin: Reflections and Comments, 503.
Gordon, Adoniram Judson: *Gordon*, 842.
Gordon: Adoniram Judson Gordon, 842.
Gordon, etc.: How Christ Came to Church, 667.
Gospel, Creedless, and Gospel Creed: *Satterlee*, 331.
Gospel of Experience, The: *Newbolt*, 828.
Gosse: Critical Kit-Kats, 832.
Great Meaning of Metanoia, The: *Walden*, 497.
Greek, Essentials of New Testament: *Huddilston*, 668.
Gregor: The Story of Bohemia, 679.

Half-Hours with St. Paul, etc.: *Steele*, 162.
Harris, Joel Chandler: *Baskerrill*, 680.
Hill: The Principles of Rhetoric, 170.
Holland: A Lent in London, 678.
Holmes, Life and Letters of Oliver Wendell: *Morse*, 672.
Home Making: *Maclaren*, 344.
Hopkins: The Religions of India, 664.
How Christ Came to Church: *Gordon* and *Pierson*, 667.
Hü Yong Mi: The Way of Faith Illustrated, 1008.
Huddilston: Essentials of New Testament Greek, 668.
Huguenots and the Revocation of Edict of Nantes, The: *Baird*, 171.
Hurlbut, etc.: Illustrative Notes, 176, 1015.
Hurst: Literature of Theology, 161.

Idylls, London: *Dawson*, 511.
Illustrative Notes, 1895: *Hurlbut* and *Doherty*, 176.
Illustrative Notes, 1897: *Hurlbut* and *Doherty*, 1015.
In His Footsteps: *McLennan*, 1016.
India, The Religions of: *Hopkins*, 664.
Jackson: Papers of American Society of Church History, 174.
Jesus, The Student's Life of: *Gilbert*, 1001.
Joan of Arc: *Lowell*, 509.
Joan of Arc, Personal Recollections of: *Alden* [*Clemens*], 845.
Joy, Rest, and Faith: *Drummond*, 344.

Lakewood: *Norris*, 680.
Law, Moral and Civil, etc.: *Ritter*, 836.
Leaders, Little: *Payne*, 506.
Leavitt: The Christian Democracy, etc., 998.
Lent in London, A: *Holland*, 678.
Letters of Matthew Arnold: *Russell*, 333.
Life, The Spiritual, etc.: *Needham*, 344.
Literature of Theology: *Hurst*, 161.
Little Leaders: *Payne*, 506.
London, A Lent in: *Holland*, 678.
London Idylls: *Dawson*, 511.
Lone Woman in Africa, A: *McAllister*, 1015.
Lowell: Joan of Arc, 509.

McLennan: In His Footsteps, 1016.
MacDonald, etc.: From Far Formosa, 343.
Mackay, etc.: From Far Formosa, 343.
Maclaren: Home Making, 344.
Maclaren: The Days of Auld Lang Syne, 512.
McAllister: A Lone Woman in Africa, 1015.
Mahaffy: The Empire of the Ptolemies, 507.
Man, The Whence and Whither of: *Tyler*, 1007.
Manhood, The Making of: *Dawson*, 511.
Memories and Studies of War and Peace, *Forbes*, 339.
Merrill: The Crisis of this World, 1003.
Metanoia, The Great Meaning of: *Walden*, 497.
Mind of the Master, The: *Watson*, 820.
Mitchell: English Lands, Letters and Kings, 1013.
Modern Reader's Bible, The: *Moulton*, 829.
Moore, etc.: Origin of Canon of Old Testament, 666.
Moral Law and Civil Law, etc.: *Ritter*, 836.
Morse: Life and Letters of Oliver Wendell Holmes, 672.
Moulton: The Modern Reader's Bible, 829.
Movement, An Ethical: *Sheldon*, 1004.
My Brother and I, 836.

Nantes, The Huguenots and Revocation of Edict of: *Baird*, 171.
Needham: The Spiritual Life, etc., 344.
Nevius, The Life of John Livingston, etc.: *Nevius*, 510.
Nevius: The Life of John Livingston Nevius, etc., 510.
New Life in Christ, The: *Beet*, 824.
New Testament Greek, Essentials of: *Huddilston*, 668.
Newbolt: The Gospel of Experience, 828.
Nicene Theology, Origin and Development of, etc.: *Scott*, 1016.
Norris: Lakewood, 680.

Old Elms, Under the: *Claflin*, 176.
Old Testament, The Origin of the Canon of: *Wildeboer*, *Bacon*, and *Moore*, 666.
Old Testament, The Theology of the: *Bennett*, 496.
Our Industrial Utopia, etc.: *Wheeler*, 167.

Paul, Half-Hours with St., etc.: *Steele*, 162.
Payne: Little Leaders, 506.
Persecution and Tolerance: *Creighton*, 837.
Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc: *Alden* [*Clemens*], 845.
Pierson, etc.: How Christ Came to Church, 667.
Pith of Astronomy, etc.: *Payne*, 1003.
Prothero: Letters and Verses of Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, 498.

Prussia, History under Frederic the Great: *Tuttle* and *Adams*, 846.
Ptolemies, The Empire of the: *Mahaffy*, 507.

Ralph: Dixie, etc., 512.
Reflections and Comments: *Godkin*, 503.
Regeneration, Reply to Max Nordau, 830.
Reid: Lord John Russell, 840.
Religion, Thoughts on: *Romanes*, 175.
Religions of India, The: *Hopkins*, 664.
Religious Doubt: *Diggle*, 158.
Rhetoric, The Principles of: *Hill*, 170.
Ritter: Moral Law and Civil Law, etc., 836.
Romanes: Thoughts on Religion, 175.
Russell: Letters of Matthew Arnold, 333.
Russell, Lord John: *Reid*, 840.

Satterlee: Creedless Gospel and Gospel Creed, 331.
Scott: Origin and Development of the Nicene Theology, etc., 1016.
Scudder: The Witness of Denial, 333.
Seamen in Sixteenth Century, English: *Froude*, 1014.
Sheldon: An Ethical Movement, 1004.
Smith: Christ Enough, 344.
Smith: Why I Am Not an Agnostic, 164.
Smyth: Bayard Taylor, 838.
Spiritual Life, etc.: *Needham*, 344.
St. Paul, Half-Hours with, etc.: *Steele*, 162.
Stanley, Letters and Verses of Arthur Penrhyn: *Prothero*, 498.
Stedman: A Victorian Anthology, 343.
Steele: Half-Hours with St. Paul, etc., 162.
Stephenson: Uncle Ben, etc., 848.
Story of Bohemia, The: *Gregor*, 679.
Student's Life of Jesus, The: *Gilbert*, 1001.
Sunset Memories: *Vansant*, 844.

Taussig: Wages and Capital, 834.
Taylor, Bayard: *Smyth*, 838.
Theology, An Introduction to Dogmatic: *Weidner*, 826.
Theology, Literature of: *Hurst*, 161.
Theology of the Old Testament, The: *Bennett*, 496.
Theology, Origin and Development of the Nicene, etc.: *Scott*, 1016.
This Goodly Frame, the Earth: *Tiffany*, 341.
Thompson: The World and the Wrestlers, 492.
Thoughts on Religion: *Romanes*, 175.
Three Gringos in Venezuela, etc.: *Davis*, 676.
Tiffany: This Goodly Frame, the Earth, 341.
Tuttle, etc.: History of Prussia under Frederic the Great, 846.
Tyler: The Whence and Whither of Man, 1007.

Uncle Ben, etc.: *Stephenson*, 848.
Under the Old Elms: *Claflin*, 176.
Unguarded Gates, etc.: *Aldrich*, 165.
Utopia, Our Industrial, etc.: *Wheeler*, 167.

Vansant: Sunset Memories, 844.
Venezuela, Three Gringos in, etc.: *Davis*, 676.
Victorian Anthology, A: *Stedman*, 343.

Wages and Capital: *Taussig*, 834.
Walden: The Great Meaning of Metanoia, 497.
War and Peace, Memories and Studies of: *Forbes*, 339.
Watson: The Mind of the Master, 820.
Way of Faith Illustrated, The: *Lü Yong Mi*, 1008.
Weidner: An Introduction to Dogmatic Theology, 826.
Westminster: *Besant*, 680.
Wheeler: Our Industrial Utopia, etc., 167.
Whence and Whither of Man, The: *Tyler*, 1007.
Why I Am Not an Agnostic: *Smith*, 164.
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